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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 853

H. R. 12130

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INDEX AND SUMMARY OF H. R. 12130

July 6, 1956 House Appropriations Committee reported H. R. 12130. House Report No. 2636. Print of bill and report.
Rules Committee reported resolution for consideration of H.R. 12130. Print of resolution.

July 9, 1956 House began debate on H.R. 12130.

July 11, 1956 House passed H.R. 12130 with amendments.

July 12, 1956 H. R. 12130 was referred to the Senate Appropriations Committee. Print of bill as referred.

July 13, 1956 Senate committee ordered H. R. 12130 reported with amendment.

July 14, 1956 Senate committee reported H. R. 12130 with amendments. Senate Report No. 2579. Print of bill and report.

July 20, 1956 Senate began debate on H. R. 12130.

July 21, 1956 Senate continued debate on H.R. 12130.

July 24, 1956 Senate passed H. R. 12130 with amendments. Senate conferees appointed. Print of bill with Senate amendments numbered.

July 25, 1956 House conferees appointed.
House received conference report. House Report No. 2931. Print of report.

July 26, 1956 House agreed to conference report.

July 27, 1956 Senate agreed to conference report.

July 31, 1956 Approved: Public Law 853, 84th Cong.

Hearings: House and Senate Appropriation
Committees on H. R. 12130.

DIGEST OF PUBLIC LAW 853

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION ACT, 1957.

Provides \$250,000,000 for development assistance; \$135,000,000 for technical cooperation; \$15,500,000 for U. N. technical assistance program, but limits the 1957 U. S. contribution to 33.33 per cent of the U. N. program; \$2,500,000 for payments of ocean freight charges on U. S. voluntary relief agencies' shipments; \$50,000,000 for defense support for Spain, provided that not less than \$18,500,000 of the amount shall be used for agricultural commodities.

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued July 9, 1956
For actions of July 6 and 7, 1956
84th--2nd, Nos. 113 and 114

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HIGHLIGHTS: House committee reported mutual security appropriation bill. House passed bill to increase postal rates. Senate committee reported bill for payment-in-lieu-of-taxes on Government property. Sen. Watkins introduced and discussed bill to transfer antitrust authority over packers from USDA to FTC. House committee reported supplemental appropriation bill. House passed bill to increase CCC borrowing power. House received conference reports on: Mutual security authorization bill. Military construction bill. House committee reported Great Plains bill. House passed fisheries bill. Senate committee ordered reported bill for study of foreign assistance program.

HOUSE - July 6

1. SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957. The Appropriations Committee reported this bill, which includes the following items: Sugar Act program, CSS, \$189,000 increase (same as Budget estimate) in administrative-expense limitation (no additional appropriation required); Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, \$13,000,000 (same as Budget estimate) to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe and pay for capital stock of the Corporation in order to provide adequate working capital; export control, Commerce Department, \$3,000,000; Budget Bureau, \$375,000 (\$30,000 below the Budget estimate), to assist in effectuating Hoover Commission recommendations on budgeting, accounting, and management; Commission on Government Security, \$600,000; increase in capital of general supply fund, GSA, \$8,000,000; Virgin Islands Corporation, for loans, \$125,000; D.C. Auditorium Commission, \$150,000; and funds for payment of claims, audited claims, and judgments. (H. R. 12138, H. Rept. 2638, Congressional Record of July 7, p. 10862.)

Excerpts from committee report:

Sugar Act program. "Language was included in House Document No. 403 to increase by \$189,000 the limitation for administrative expenses for fiscal year 1957 to meet additional functions contained in revisions to the Sugar Act... To enable the Department to meet these new responsibilities, and to place compliance checking on a current basis as rapidly as possible, the Committee recommends the budget proposal."

Crop insurance. "The proposed language contained in the accompanying bill will authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to provide an additional \$13,000,000 for capital stock of the corporation. Capital stock of \$100,000,000 is authorized of which \$27,000,000 has been subscribed to date.

"In view of heavy crop losses in certain disaster counties in recent years, the capital stock of the Corporation has been substantially reduced. It is estimated that the Corporation's net capital was about \$13.7 million as of June 30, 1956. Since a major portion of indemnities for the current year will be due in August and the bulk of premium collections are not available until several months later, early loss claims could exhaust the \$13.7 million before premium income is available.

"The Committee therefore recommends the proposed increase in the capital stock at this time to assure continued operation of this program, particularly in view of possible heavy losses in drought and disaster areas. It believes that assistance in disaster areas through this program is preferable to aid through disaster relief programs."

Advisory Committee on Weather Control. "The Committee has denied the estimate of \$350,000 for this activity, feeling that serious question exists as to whether or not its continuation is necessary. In addition, legislation authorizing extension of the Advisory Committee has not as yet been approved."

Budgeting; accounting. The committee report discusses in detail the Hoover Commission recommendations regarding cost-type budgets, annual accrued expenditure budgeting, etc.

The "Daily Digest" states that the Rules Committee "deferred action on a bill making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1957. Representative Patman request rule waiving points of order, Representative Taber opposed granting of rule until authorizing legislation is enacted." p. D751

2. POSTAL RATES. Passed, 217 to 165, with amendments H. R. 11380, to increase certain postal rates (p. 10808). Rejected a Foage amendment to modify the increases in rates for publications devoted to agriculture (p. 10847).
3. CONSERVATION. The Agriculture Committee ordered reported H. R. 11833, to authorize a Great Plains conservation program. p. D750
4. FOREIGN AID. The "Daily Digest" states: "Conferees, in executive session, agreed to file a conference report on the differences between the Senate- and House-passed versions of H. R. 11356, mutual security program for fiscal year 1957. As agreed by the conferees, the bill would authorize a total of \$3.927 billion. The Senate- and House-passed totals were \$4.310 and \$3.567 billion, respectively." p. D751

The Appropriations Committee reported the mutual security appropriation bill for 1957 (H. R. 12130, H. Rept. 2636), and Rep. Taber waived points of order on the bill. p. 10854

The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of the mutual

security appropriation bill. p. 10859

5. MILITARY PUBLIC WORKS; SURPLUS COMMODITIES. The conferees agreed to file a report on H. R. 9893, which authorizes certain military public works and includes provision for financing some of these works from surplus agricultural commodities. p. D751
6. FCA AUDIT. Received from the Comptroller General the report on the audit of FCA for the fiscal year 1955 (H. Doc. 441); to Government Operations Committee. p. 10858
7. RECLAMATION. At the request of Rep. Forrester, S. 1622, to authorize the Interior Department to make payment for certain improvements located on public lands in the Rapid Valley unit, S. Dak., of the Missouri River Basin project, was recommitted to conference committee. p. 10856.
8. ELECTRIFICATION. The Public Works Committee reported without amendment H. R. 11477, to authorize construction of certain works of improvement in the Niagara River for power and other purposes (H. Rept. 2635). p. 10859
9. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Majority Leader McCormack announced that D. C. bills will be considered Mon., to be followed by the mutual security appropriation bill and the supplemental appropriation bill, respectively. He stated that a number of miscellaneous bills will then be taken up, including trip leasing, loans for central markets. Regarding adjournment prospects, he said: "I would say so far as the House is concerned, if we put in an hour or two extra at night, we ought to be able to get through with the necessary program in the House within the next 3 weeks." pp. 10851, 10852.

SENATE - July 6

10. TAXATION; REAL PROPERTY. The Government Operations Committee reported without amendment S. 4183, to authorize the payment to local governments of sums in lieu of taxes and special assessments with respect to certain Federal real property (S. Rept. 2424). p. 10787
11. RECLAMATION. Sen. Goldwater inserted a list of organizations which have been working against private development of Hells Canyon. p. 10790
12. STATES' RIGHTS. Sen. Stennis commended the Judiciary Committee for reporting S. 3143, to strengthen States' rights. p. 10792
13. ADJOURNED until Mon., July 9. p. 10804

BILLS INTRODUCED - July 6

14. PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS. S. 4177, by Sen. Watkins, to remove the special anti-trust jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture over packers, contained in the Packers and Stockyards Act, and to restore general jurisdiction over packers to the Federal Trade Commission; to Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Remarks of author, p. 10788.
15. PERSONNEL. H. R. 12128, by Rep. Pelly, to establish a system for the classification and compensation of scientific and professional positions in the Government; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee. p. 10859
16. TRANSPORTATION. H. J. Res. 675, by Rep. Priest, designating the period Oct.

22 to 27, 1956, as National Transportation Week; to Judiciary Committee.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX - July 6

17. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Reed, N. Y., inserted an editorial favoring private development of Niagara power. p. A5311
18. FOREIGN AID. Extension of remarks of Rep. Chipperfield favoring foreign aid. p. A5312
19. EXPENDITURES. Rep. Forand inserted a Knights of Columbus magazine article favoring economy in Government expenditures. p. A5342
20. SURPLUS COMMODITIES; FOREIGN AID. Sen. Martin/Iowa, inserted an article by Alice Widener opposing S. Res. 85 and 86, providing for an international food bank. p. A5316
21. RECLAMATION. Rep. Green, Oreg., inserted a letter favoring the high Hells Canyon dam. p. A5345
She also inserted an AFL-CIO letter favoring the project. p. A5349

HOUSE - July 7

22. COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION. Passed with amendment S. 3820, to increase the borrowing authority of CCC. The amendment to S. 3820 consisted of the insertion of the language of H. R. 11132, which had been passed as reported. H. R. 11132 was subsequently laid on the table. pp. 10864, 10895
23. GREAT PLAINS. The Agriculture Committee reported without amendment H. R. 11833, to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide for a Great Plains conservation program (H. Rept. 2640). p. 10926
24. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION; SURPLUS COMMODITIES. Received the conference report on H. R. 9893, to authorize certain construction at military installations. The bill authorizes the Secretary of Defense to use for family housing construction in foreign countries, foreign currencies not to exceed \$250 million acquired through provisions of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act or other commodity transactions of CCC (H. Rept. 2641). pp. 10886, 10926
25. FOREIGN AID. Received the conference report on H. R. 11356, the mutual security authorization bill (H. Rept. 2643). The conference report includes the following provisions: Authorizes appropriation of \$3,927,575,000 to carry forward the mutual security program, which is \$360,100,000 more than the original House bill. Authorizes \$293,000,000 for development assistance instead of \$243,000,000 as contained in the House bill; provides for a single economic development fund for all the countries of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa; provides that 80% of development assistance be on a loan basis, except to the extent that funds are used for financing sales of surplus agricultural commodities under sec. 402 or for regional projects. Increases the House authorization of \$1,400,000 for ocean freight charges on gift packages shipped by voluntary non-profit agencies to \$3,000,000, and eliminates the \$14,000,000 authorization for ocean freight charges on surplus agricultural commodities distributed by voluntary agencies "because provision has been made for paying such expenses out of Commodity Credit Corporation funds, under an amendment to the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, which was enacted after the mutual security bill passed the House"; increases the ceiling on U. S. annual contributions to the Food and Agriculture Organization

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

JULY 6, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. PASSMAN, from the Committee on Appropriations, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H. R. 12130]

The Committee on Appropriations submits the following report in explanation of the accompanying bill making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957.

GENERAL COMMENTS

As has been pointed out previously, one of the problems which faces this Committee each year is the necessity for it to consider appropriation requirements for this program in advance of enabling legislation. Again this year, the Committee has had to hold its hearings and prepare the appropriation bill without knowing how much will finally be authorized for each program and what special restrictions and limitations may be imposed on the various activities.

The accompanying appropriation bill is based largely on the authorizing bill as adopted by the House. Final adjustments will be worked out with the Senate when the appropriation bill is considered in Conference.

Consideration of the bill is further complicated by the worldwide scope of the program and the fact that some 60 or more nations are receiving assistance from funds provided for this purpose. Each of these countries has its own internal military, economic, and political problems as well as its international relationships. Further, each change in the international approach of the Soviet introduces new

factors which affect the internal and external policies of the nations with which this program deals.

Committee deliberations are made more difficult, too, by the lack of information as to past accomplishments and the vagueness of data on projected programs. It appears that frequently programs are formulated with little or no consideration of the needs of the country or countries concerned.

In order that the Committee may have more complete information with which to judge appropriation needs in the future, it proposes to have a thorough investigation made during the next year of both the military and nonmilitary phases of the program.

SUMMARY OF BILL

The total of the budget estimates as contained in House Document No. 360, dated March 20, 1956, is \$4,859,975,000. In addition to the request for \$4,859,975,000 in new appropriations, it was requested that unobligated balances totaling \$211,900,000 be reappropriated. The sum of \$90,000,000 remaining unobligated in the President's fund for Asian economic development automatically remains available by the terms of last year's Act until June 30, 1958. Thus the total obligational authority proposed for fiscal year 1957 is \$5,161,-875,000.

In order to reconcile the appropriation request of \$4,859,975,000 with the authorization request of \$4,672,475,000, it is to be noted that the appropriation request of \$75,000,000 for infrastructure, the request of \$100,000,000 for the President's fund for Asian economic development and the request of \$12,500,000 for the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration were all authorized under prior legislation. The amount of the authorization request plus the three items previously authorized total the sum of the appropriation request.

Appropriations totaling \$3,425,120,000 are included in the accompanying bill for fiscal year 1957. This is an increase of \$721,778,250 over the appropriation for fiscal year 1956. It is a reduction of \$1,434,855,000 in the 1957 budget estimate. In addition the Committee is recommending the reappropriation of \$240,800,000 of unobligated balances of prior year appropriations. This makes a total of \$3,665,920,000 available in the bill for obligation. This sum plus the \$90,000,000 already available in the President's Asian fund makes a total obligational authority for fiscal year 1957 in the amount of \$3,755,920,000.

The following tabulation summarizes the appropriation by major program.

	Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	Recommended, 1957	Bill compared with—	
				Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957
Military assistance:					
Appropriation.....	\$1,022,200,000	\$3,000,000,000	\$1,735,000,000	+\$712,800,000	-\$1,265,000,000
Unobligated and unreserved.....	35,900,000	166,000,000	195,500,000	+161,600,000	+28,900,000
Total.....	1,056,100,000	3,166,000,000	1,930,500,000	+574,400,000	-1,236,100,000
Defense support:					
Appropriation.....	999,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	+129,500,000	-2,000,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000			-25,000,000	
Total.....	1,024,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	+104,500,000	-2,000,000
Development assistance.....	162,000,000	170,000,000	130,000,000	-32,000,000	-40,000,000
Technical cooperation.....	153,000,000	157,500,000	146,500,000	-6,500,000	-11,000,000
Other programs:					
Appropriation.....	366,941,750	401,775,000	284,920,000	-\$2,021,750	-116,855,000
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	+41,666,750	
Total.....	370,575,000	447,075,000	330,220,000	-40,355,000	-116,855,000
Total, Mutual Security:					
Appropriation.....	2,703,341,750	4,859,975,000	3,425,120,000	+721,778,250	-1,434,855,000
Unobligated balance.....	62,633,250	211,600,000	240,800,000	+178,266,750	+28,900,000
Total.....	2,765,975,000	5,071,575,000	3,665,920,000	+900,045,000	-1,405,955,000

EXPENDITURES

While it was estimated at the time of the hearings last year that expenditures during fiscal year 1956 would exceed \$5 billion, present estimates are that only \$3.77 billion will be expended. The total unexpended balance for the Mutual Security program as of June 30, 1956, is estimated at \$6,877,700,000, which at the 1956 rate of expenditure would carry the program for nearly two years. This balance is made up of \$5,059,100,000 for the military and \$1,818,600,000 for non-military.

The expenditure figure for fiscal year 1957 for this program as contained in the Budget submission is \$4,265,000,000. The military witnesses contended that they expect to expend an additional \$400,000,000 over their earlier estimate, making total expenditures of \$4,665,000,000 for both military and non-military. Based on estimated versus actual expenditures during fiscal year 1956, it is possible that this could be overstated as much as 20-25 percent.

The sum of the unexpended balance as of June 30, 1956, of \$6.87 billions and the new funds recommended by the Committee will permit total expenditures of \$10.3 billions. At the 1956 rate of expenditure, this amount would be enough for nearly three years of operation. Even at the most optimistic rate of expenditure envisioned by military and ICA officials, the new amount recommended herein, together with the unexpended balance as of June 30, 1956, would meet expenditure requirements for well over two years.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Programs included under this general head are designed to provide the military equipment, training, and direct forces support for 36 nations to develop or maintain specific military and related units at a given level of effectiveness.

The budget request for military assistance is \$3,000,000,000. The following tables show a comparison between the fiscal year 1956 program and the amount requested for fiscal year 1957 by region and service:

Region	Fiscal year 1956	Amount requested for fiscal year 1957
Europe.....	\$282,545,000	\$760,471,000
Near East and Africa.....	105,076,000	471,918,000
Asia.....	604,848,000	1,166,813,000
Latin America.....	8,833,000	35,546,000
Nonregional program.....	355,898,000	565,252,000
Total.....	1,357,200,000	3,000,000,000

Service	Fiscal year 1956	Amount requested for fiscal year 1957
Army.....	\$615,601,000	\$1,432,200,000
Navy.....	262,856,000	385,767,000
Air Force.....	122,847,000	616,780,000
Nonregional program.....	355,896,000	565,253,000
Total.....	1,357,200,000	3,000,000,000

The authorizing legislation as passed by the House provided \$1,925,000,000 for military assistance exclusive of infrastructure which had been previously authorized and for which the budget request for fiscal year 1957 is in the amount of \$75,000,000. The Senate version of the authorizing bill provides \$2,525,000,000 for military assistance, exclusive of the infrastructure program.

This Committee recommends \$1,735,000,000 for military assistance, of which \$60,000,000 is for infrastructure, plus the reappropriation of \$195,500,000 of unobligated and unreserved funds heretofore appropriated.

The estimated unexpended balance on June 30, 1956, is \$5,059,100,000. The total expenditures in fiscal year 1955 were \$2.3 billion and the latest estimate of expenditures for fiscal year 1956 is \$2.2 billion. During the hearings last year the Committee was advised that estimated expenditures for the military for fiscal year 1956 would be \$3.0 billion. The military, according to testimony, will therefore actually have between \$700 and \$800 million more unexpended and in the pipeline as of June 30, 1956, than they had anticipated a year ago.

It should be pointed out, however, that expenditures through May 31 as reported by the Department of Defense are \$1,734 million. Other military expenditures through May 31 made directly by the International Cooperation Administration are reported to be \$127 million. This results in total military expenditures of \$1,861 million for eleven months, against an estimated \$2.2 billion for the entire fiscal year. It is extremely doubtful that total expenditures for fiscal year 1956 will exceed \$2.1 billion.

As of March of this year the expenditures for the military portion of this program for Fiscal Year 1957 were estimated at \$2.5 billion. Since that date, this estimate has been revised several times; the latest figure furnished the Committee is \$2.9 billion. Based on actual expenditures compared with estimates for previous years, particularly for fiscal year 1956, the Committee is inclined to believe that even the original estimate of \$2.5 billion is optimistic.

The new funds provided herein together with the unexpended balance will provide sufficient funds to continue the military assistance program for over three years at the same rate of expenditure as that for fiscal year 1956. Even at the maximum projected rate estimated for 1957, funds available would cover a period of 33 to 34 months.

Explanations presented to the Committee on the matter of lead-time required for military items has been very unsatisfactory. With the exception of certain advanced weapons, most of the items have been and are being delivered from inventories on hand in the military departments. Also there is an increasing trend toward a maintenance rather than a buildup program, especially in Europe. Therefore, the Committee concludes that the stated average lead-time of two years is excessive. Furthermore, the administrative lead-time of six to eight months for a program that has been in full operation beginning with fiscal year 1952 is definitely excessive and inefficient.

DEFENSE SUPPORT

Programs within this classification are designed primarily to support the military efforts of certain countries which are receiving military assistance. Such support involves the provision of general supplemental resources which a recipient country requires if its economy is to support a defense program of the size which United States policy regards as necessary and if, at the same time, it is to maintain or attain that minimum level of economic strength or growth which is consistent with the United States national interest. The Committee was advised that thirteen countries, exclusive of Latin America, aligned with us do not have the resources to maintain defense forces at necessary levels and simultaneously to develop and stabilize their own economies.

The budget estimates for this item total \$1,130,700,000 distributed as follows:

Europe (2 nations):		Asia (8 nations):	
Spain	\$45, 000, 000	Pakistan	(1)
Yugoslavia	30, 000, 000	Cambodia	(1)
Interregional expenses	1, 200, 000	Korea	\$300, 000, 000
Western Europe technical exchange	2, 500, 000	Laos	(1)
		Philippines	25, 000, 000
		Taiwan	86, 000, 000
		Thailand	30, 000, 000
Subtotal	78, 700, 000	Viet Nam	(1)
		Subtotal	882, 000, 000
Near East and Africa (3 nations):		Grand total	1, 130, 700, 000
Greece	(1)		
Iran	(1)		
Turkey	(1)		
Subtotal	170, 000, 000		

¹ Amount is classified.

The authorization bill as passed by the House provided a total of \$1,152,700,000. This was a net increase of \$22,000,000 over the authorization request and budget estimate due to the inclusion of \$37,000,000 for Latin America under this heading, offset by a reduction of \$15,000,000 in the amount for Yugoslavia. The total provided in the Senate Committee version of the authorizing bill was \$1,167,700,000, or an increase of \$15,000,000 over the House bill due to the restoration of the full amount for Yugoslavia.

This Committee recommends a total of \$1,128,700,000 for this item. A comparison of the amount recommended with the budget estimates by area is as follows:

Area	Budget estimate	Amount recommended
Europe	\$78, 700, 000	\$63, 700, 000
Near East and Africa	170, 000, 000	165, 000, 000
Asia	882, 000, 000	865, 000, 000
Latin America		35, 000, 000
Total	1, 130, 700, 000	1, 128, 700, 000

The Committee was advised that there was a total of \$2,445,523,000 available for expenditure for defense support in fiscal year 1956. The estimated expenditures in fiscal year 1956 are \$1,213,316,000, leaving an estimated unexpended balance as of June 30, 1956, of \$1,232,207,000.

The amount recommended for fiscal year 1957 together with the unexpended balance on hand, will provide sufficient funds to cover expenditures for approximately two years. Testimony furnished the Committee indicates that a pipeline or lead time of approximately 18 months is sufficient for this operation.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Development assistance is economic aid supplied to certain nations not receiving significant military assistance from the United States and is provided because of United States and Free World interest in maintaining economic and political stability in the recipient country.

The budget request for this item totals \$170,000,000 distributed as follows:

Near East and Africa:			
Egypt-----	(1)	Nepal-----	\$1, 000, 000
Israel-----	(1)		
Jordan-----	(1)	Subtotal-----	80, 000, 000
Lebanon-----	(1)		
Libya-----	(1)	Latin America:	
Subtotal-----	\$63, 000, 000	Bolivia-----	(1)
		Guatemala-----	(1)
		Subtotal-----	27, 000, 000
Asia:		Grand total-----	170, 000, 000
India-----	70, 000, 000		
Ceylon-----	5, 000, 000		
Indonesia-----	4, 000, 000		

¹Amount is classified.

The authorization bill as passed by the House provided a total of \$243,000,000 for development assistance. This amount included the funds for Asia and for Near East and Africa, the President's fund for Asian economic development and the special authorization requested for the Middle East and Africa. The amount for Latin America was deleted from this item and included in defense support.

As approved by the Senate, the enabling bill includes the full amount requested for Asia and the Near East and Africa under this appropriation item. In addition, it reestablishes the authorizations for the two Presidential funds as separate items later in the bill.

The accompanying appropriation bill includes \$130,000,000, of which \$60,000,000 is for the Near East and Africa and \$70,000,000 is for Asia. As noted above, funds for Latin America have been included under the appropriation for defense support. The Presidential funds were considered separately and the Committee action in regard thereto is set out separately later in this report.

The Committee was informed that there was a total of \$385,073,000 available for expenditure for development assistance during fiscal year 1956. The estimated expenditures for fiscal year 1956 are \$163,030,000, leaving an estimated unexpended balance of \$222,043,000 as of June 30, 1956, which represents considerably more than another full year's expenditure requirements.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Technical cooperation—known also as Point 4—involves the sharing of skills, knowledge, and techniques with people of the underdeveloped areas of the world. Such programs are carried out at the request of foreign governments to supplement their own efforts to increase their levels of technical competence, to further their economic development, and to improve the standard of living of their people. Technical cooperation is extended by sending technicians to participating countries to advise and teach, and by bringing selected foreign technicians to the United States or other countries for advanced training.

Technical cooperation, general authorization.—The budget request for this purpose totals \$140,500,000. This is broken down by country and area as follows:

Near East and Africa:

Egypt.....	\$3, 800, 000
Ethiopia.....	3, 000, 000
Greece.....	1, 000, 000
Iran.....	8, 000, 000
Iraq.....	2, 300, 000
Israel.....	2, 000, 000
Jordan.....	2, 700, 000
Lebanon.....	2, 100, 000
Liberia.....	1, 800, 000
Libya.....	2, 000, 000
Turkey.....	2, 000, 000
Overseas Territories.....	1, 200, 000
Regional and undistributed.....	2, 200, 000

Total..... \$34, 100, 000

Asia:

South Asia:

Afghanistan.....	\$3, 000, 000
Ceylon.....	1, 000, 000
India.....	10, 000, 000
Nepal.....	1, 000, 000
Pakistan.....	9, 000, 000

Far East:

Cambodia.....	2, 500, 000
Indonesia.....	8, 000, 000
Japan.....	2, 850, 000
Korea.....	5, 500, 000
Laos.....	1, 500, 000
Philippines.....	5, 900, 000
Taiwan.....	3, 400, 000
Thailand.....	4, 600, 000
Viet Nam.....	5, 000, 000

Total..... 63, 250, 000

Latin America:

Argentina.....	\$50, 000
Bolivia.....	3, 195, 000
Brazil.....	4, 739, 000
Chile.....	2, 521, 000
Colombia.....	1, 536, 000
Costa Rica.....	1, 026, 000
Cuba.....	690, 000
Dominican Republic.....	330, 000
Ecuador.....	1, 993, 000
El Salvador.....	1, 005, 000
Guatemala.....	1, 730, 000

Latin America—Continued

Haiti.....	\$1, 152, 000
Honduras.....	1, 290, 000
Mexico.....	1, 185, 000
Nicaragua.....	919, 000
Panama.....	1, 195, 000
Paraguay.....	1, 684, 000
Peru.....	2, 996, 000
Uruguay.....	619, 000
Venezuela.....	225, 000
Overseas territories.....	812, 000
Regional and undistributed.....	1, 458, 000

Total.....	\$32, 350, 000
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Interregional expenses.....	10, 800, 000
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Total.....	140, 500, 000
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The Committee recommends a total of \$135,000,000 for the fiscal year 1957 for this purpose. This is an increase of \$7,500,000 over 1956. In recommending less than the budget request, the Committee took into account two factors: (1) The large increases approved for this program for the past two years, and (2) the difficulties in recruiting trained technicians for overseas assignments and resulting delays in filling authorized positions.

The appropriation for this program for fiscal year 1955 was \$105,000,000. The amount provided for fiscal year 1956, \$127,500,000, represented an increase of over 20 percent. The budget request for fiscal year 1957 is a further increase of over 10 percent. The Committee feels that a more modest rate of increase than that proposed by the Executive Branch for fiscal year 1957 will result in a more effective and efficient program.

Recruitment of technicians during the past several years has been difficult and slow. The appropriation for fiscal year 1956 provided funds for a total of 5,070 technicians. As of March 31, 1956, only 3,965 technicians had actually been employed, leaving 1,105 authorized positions unfilled. As of April 30, 1955—a year earlier—unfilled positions totaled about 1,200.

The budget request for fiscal year 1957 provides for 5,748 technicians, an increase of 1,783 over those on the payroll as of March 31. About 900 persons were added to this program during the past year. Based on the experience of the past two years, it appears reasonable to expect that no more than half of the vacant positions covered by the 1957 budget can be filled during the next year.

United Nations technical assistance.—An appropriation of \$15,500,000 is requested to meet the United States contribution to this activity for the calendar year 1957. The estimated program for the various agencies participating in this program in 1957 totals \$31,000,000.

The Committee is not fully satisfied with several features of this program. In the first place, the various United Nations agencies receiving funds from this source also receive United States support through State Department appropriations. It is extremely difficult to distinguish between their regular activities and those for which these additional funds are provided. Further, a certain amount of

duplication between this program and the bilateral technical assistance program of the United States continues to exist. Also, the opportunity for unfriendly nations to use this program for their own propaganda purposes is inherent in this type of operation.

Accordingly, the Committee is proposing only \$10,000,000 for 1957 for this purpose. It believes that a greater portion of United States funds should be used for those programs over which more direct control can be exerted.

Organization of American States.—The full budget estimate of \$1,500,000 is recommended for the calendar year 1957. This is the same amount as was provided for 1956. This program is making an important contribution to the development of Latin America. The Committee feels that it should be supported as fully next year as in the past.

OTHER PROGRAMS

Special Presidential Fund.—This fund which was established by the Mutual Security Act of 1954 is intended to cover program requirements in any part of the world which may become important subsequent to passage of the appropriation bill. The enabling legislation as passed by both Houses includes authority for the budget request of \$100,000,000. It also permits the President to transfer to the fund up to \$150,000,000 of amounts appropriated to other items in the bill.

The Committee recommends the full budget estimate of \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 1957.

Special assistance, joint control areas.—This program provides for financial assistance to West Berlin and technical exchange projects in Berlin and Austria. The budget estimate for this purpose, which conforms to the authorizing legislation, includes \$12,000,000 for Berlin and \$200,000 for Austria.

The full budget estimate is recommended by the Committee for fiscal year 1957 in view of the continued strategic importance of these areas to the Western World.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration: This program is intended to assist the movement of persons from overpopulated countries of Europe to countries such as Canada, Australia, and various Latin American countries, which can use additional manpower. The Committee, which is composed of 26 governments, was organized in 1951. It is estimated that about 500,000 people have been relocated to date and an additional 145,000 refugees will be moved during the calendar year 1957.

The budget request for 1957 of \$12,500,000 is based on the continuing authorization included in the Mutual Security Act of 1954. This is the same amount as was appropriated for 1956.

The full budget estimate is approved. The results of the program to date and the continuing need to lessen the economic and political strain on European governments by moving such migrants to other areas appear to justify the continuation of United States support at present levels.

United Nations refugee fund.—This is a voluntary United Nations program established in 1954 (1) to assist refugees in establishing themselves as self-supporting members of the free world, (2) to find institutions which will accept difficult cases for lifetime care and main-

tenance, and (3) to provide emergency assistance for refugees who are destitute and can obtain assistance from no other source. Those being assisted are persons who, owing to fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion, are outside the country of their nationality.

The budget request of \$2,300,000 for fiscal year 1957 is an increase of \$1,100,000 over funds appropriated for fiscal year 1956. The amount requested covers 18 months—the calendar year 1956 plus the first six months of calendar year 1957. This represents an effort to move part way in the direction of placing the financing of this program on a calendar year basis similar to that for other United Nations activities.

The Committee has included the sum of \$2,000,000 in the bill, which is intended to cover all United States contributions through June 30, 1957. A reasonable rate of expansion of this program will be possible within the amount recommended during the 18 months' period covered.

Escapee program.—The purpose of this United States program is to provide reception, interim care and maintenance, and resettlement assistance to Soviet and satellite escapees in Europe and to undertake special assistance projects in behalf of selected escapee groups or individuals in all areas of the world. It is used to supplement the care and help extended by the countries of asylum to such escapees.

Between March 1952, the date on which this program was started, and January 1956, a total of 80,600 persons in Europe and the Middle East had been registered. Of these, 26,900 had been resettled in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Latin America, or had been locally integrated in Europe.

An appropriation of \$6,000,000 is proposed for the fiscal year 1957—the same amount as provided for fiscal year 1956. In view of the decrease in the caseload of this program during the past several years, the Committee does not feel that the additional \$1,000,000 requested can be recommended.

United Nations Children's fund.—This fund supports programs for the health and welfare of mothers and children in the newly developing areas of the world. In the calendar year 1955, the fund aided 264 projects in 92 countries and territories which benefited an estimated 32 million children and mothers.

As is the case with other United Nations programs, this activity is operated on a calendar-year basis. Last year the Congress appropriated \$14,500,000 to cover a full 18 months' period, July 1955 through December 1956, so as to place the financial support on a calendar-year basis. The \$10,000,000 included in the bill for next year represents the United States contribution for only 12 months, the calendar year 1957.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency.—This organization is concerned with relief and rehabilitation of the Arab refugees from Palestine. As of June 30, 1955, there were nearly one million such refugees located in the Middle East, including 499,606 in Jordan, 214,601 in the Gaza strip, 103,600 in Lebanon, and 88,179 in Syria.

The 1956 appropriation bill provided \$62,000,000 for this program, \$58,366,750 by new appropriation and \$3,633,250 by reauthorizing

the use of unobligated balances of prior year funds. It is estimated that \$16,700,000 of this amount will be used in fiscal year 1956, leaving \$45,300,000 unobligated as of June 30, 1956. The large unobligated balance is due to the fact that the resettlement projects included in the 1956 program have not proceeded according to plans outlined a year ago.

The Committee is including language in the bill continuing the unused balance available through June 30, 1957.

Ocean freight, voluntary relief shipments.—This appropriation is used to pay costs of ocean freight on shipments of relief supplies collected by United States voluntary agencies from their members for distribution overseas to those in need.

The appropriation request for fiscal year 1957 is \$1,400,000, a decrease of \$600,000 below 1956. This amount was included in the authorizing bill as passed by the House. It was increased to \$3,000,000 by the Senate in view of the elimination of the separate authorization for ocean freight on surplus agricultural commodities.

The Committee recommends the full amount approved by the House in the authorizing bill, \$1,400,000.

Ocean freight, surplus agricultural commodities.—This appropriation has been used to pay costs of ocean freight on shipments of United States surplus agricultural commodities made available by the United States Department of Agriculture to United States voluntary agencies for distribution overseas.

An appropriation of \$13,000,000 was made for the fiscal year 1956 for this purpose. The budget estimate for fiscal year 1957 included \$14,000,000, an increase of \$1,000,000. The enabling legislation as passed the House included authorization for the budgeted amount. However, the Senate eliminated this authorization from the bill in view of the fact that Public Law 540, the Agricultural Act of 1956, authorizes the Commodity Credit Corporation to take over the cost of transportation on these commodities.

No funds have been included in the bill for this purpose in view of the change in basic authorization included in the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Control Act expenses.—The Director of the International Cooperation Administration is responsible for the administration of the Battle Act program (the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951) for controlling exports of strategic materials to the countries behind the Iron Curtain by countries which receive United States aid.

The sum of \$1,175,000 was provided for administration of this program during the fiscal year 1956. The authorizing legislation as approved by both Houses and the budget estimate provide for the same amount for the fiscal year 1957. The Committee has included this amount in the bill for the coming fiscal year.

President's fund for Asian development.—This fund is provided to cover regional projects in the areas of east and south Asia and to meet emergency programs which cannot be planned in advance. In fiscal year 1956 the enabling legislation authorized a total of \$200,000,000 to be obligated over a period of three years. Of this amount, \$100,000,000 was appropriated last year. The budget for fiscal year 1957 requests the appropriation of the second \$100,000,000.

The authorizing legislation adopted by the House for fiscal year 1957

combined this fund with the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa and the development assistance programs for the Near East and Africa, Asia, and Latin America, reducing the combined total by \$100,000,000. It also deleted the separate authorization for the Asian development fund. The Senate restored the basic authorization for this fund as a separate item and authorized the full request for the other items.

Testimony before this Committee indicates that only about \$10 million of the fund provided for fiscal year 1956 will be obligated as of June 30, 1956. This will leave \$90 million available for use in fiscal year 1957. In view of this situation, the Committee has not approved the additional \$100,000,000 requested in the 1957 budget document.

Special authorization for Middle East and Africa.—This is a new appropriations item which has not appeared in previous legislation. The fund is proposed for economic purposes only and is designed for use exclusively in the Middle East and Africa.

The budget requested \$100,000,000 for this purpose for fiscal year 1957. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the authorizing bill as passed by the House combined this fund with the President's Asian fund and the development assistance programs. The Senate version of the enabling bill restored the fund as a separate item in the amount of \$100,000,000.

The Committee recommends the full \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 1957 in view of the necessity of providing the President with sufficient financial flexibility to meet any type of economic problem which may arise in this area during the next twelve months. The bill includes the amount as a separate appropriation, rather than as a combined development assistance fund as provided by the House authorizing bill.

Foreign research reactor projects.—The bill includes \$5,500,000 for expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out foreign research reactor projects as authorized by section 10 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956 to help other nations acquire the basic equipment knowledge and skills required for widespread peaceful use of atomic energy. The United States contribution to any one reactor project is limited to \$350,000. The Committee was informed that the average cost of a project is \$700,000.

Administrative expenses.—The Committee recommends \$34,145,000 for necessary administrative expenses other than military under chapter 1 of title I and section 124. The amount provided is \$1,105,000 below the budget estimate and is the same amount as used for the fiscal year 1956 when comparative transfers are taken into consideration.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

The provision prohibiting the use of mutual security appropriations and counterpart funds for the payment of foreign government debt is continued. The additional proviso recommended by the executive branch has been agreed to with the understanding that it is applicable to only two countries and relates only to transactions which occurred prior to the original enactment of the provision.

LIMITATIONS AND LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

The following limitations and legislative provisions not heretofore carried in connection with any appropriation bill are recommended:

On page 6, in connection with General Provisions:

SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this Act nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result of assistance under this or any other Act shall be used to make payments on account of the principal or interest on any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; nor shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country to make payment on such debts: Provided, however, That to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section 142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed purpose consistent with the provisions of such Act.

COMPLIANCE WITH RULE XIII, CLAUSE 3

The following is submitted in compliance with clause 3, of rule XIII:

PENDING BILL

On page 7, lines 4 to 10 inclusive, in connection with a general provision relating to the Mutual Security Appropriation Act:

SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Congress), is hereby amended by substituting "*during the two succeeding fiscal years*" for "*until June 30, 1958*" in the third sentence thereof, and by substituting "*under the authority of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended*" for "*in this Act*" in the fifth proviso thereof.

EXISTING LAW

Public Law 208, 84th Congress, section 108 of the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956:

SEC. 108. Funds heretofore or hereafter allocated to the Department of Defense from any appropriation for military assistance (including funds consolidated with any such appropriation but excepting funds obligated directly against any such appropriation for offshore procurement or other purposes) shall be accounted for by geographic area and by country solely on the basis of the value of materials delivered and services performed (such value to be determined in accordance with the applicable provisions of law governing the administration of military assistance). Within the limits of amounts available from funds so allocated, the Department of Defense is authorized to incur, in

PENDING BILL

EXISTING LAW

applicable appropriations, obligations in anticipation of reimbursement from such allocations, and no funds so allocated and available shall be withdrawn by administrative action until the Secretary of Defense shall certify that they are not required for liquidation of obligations so incurred. Unobligated amounts of such allocations equal to the value of orders placed with the military departments against such allocations shall be reserved and shall remain available until June 30, 1958, for making such reimbursements (except in case of funds obligated directly against such allocations) only upon the basis of materials delivered and services rendered: *Provided*, That reports of items to be delivered against funds reserved as provided herein shall be furnished quarterly by the Secretary of Defense to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and the House of Representatives and, not less often than once each quarter, said Secretary shall make a detailed report to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and the House of Representatives, on a delivery or service-rendered basis, on all military assistance funds allocated and available to the Department of Defense as of the end of the preceding quarter: *Provided further*, That no reimbursements for materials or services shall be made after June 30, 1955, until the value of materials delivered and services performed shall equal the amount of expenditures made from all appropriations herein and heretofore made for military assistance as of said date: *Provided, however*, That not to exceed \$302,000,000 of any reimbursement heretofore made by the Air Force to military assistance appropriations as of

PENDING BILL

EXISTING LAW

June 30, 1955, pursuant to the provisions of this section shall be considered null and void and materials and services of an equivalent amount shall be delivered or performed by the Air Force for military assistance purposes without reimbursement: *Provided further*, That in the event the President shall determine that supplies and equipment ordered against funds so allocated are required for the defense of the United States, the amount allocated for supplies and materials required for such purpose shall be returned to the appropriation from which allocated: *Provided further*, That funds appropriated in this Act for military assistance (including specified amounts of unobligated balances and funds consolidated with any such appropriation), amounts certified pursuant to section 1311 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1955, and, where authorized by the President, funds made available to the Department of Defense under section 401 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, shall be maintained in one account which shall be used for all transactions involving military assistance during the current fiscal year and no expenditure shall be made from such account except as may be within the limits of the sum of the amounts mentioned in this proviso: *Provided further*, That nothing in this Act shall be construed as making any appropriation or fund available for obligation after the end of the current fiscal year except as may be necessary for reimbursements authorized herein.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1956, ESTIMATES FOR 1957, AND AMOUNTS RECOMMENDED IN BILL FOR 1957

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

17

Items	Appropriations, 1956	Budget estimates, 1957	Recommended in bill for 1957	Bill compared with—	
				Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957
MILITARY ASSISTANCE ¹					
Appropriation.....	\$1, 022, 200, 000	\$3, 000, 000, 000	\$1, 735, 000, 000	+ \$712, 800, 000	— \$1, 265, 000, 000
Unobligated and unreserved balance.....	33, 900, 000	166, 600, 000	195, 500, 000	+ 161, 600, 000	+ 28, 900, 000
Total, military assistance.....	1, 056, 100, 000	3, 166, 600, 000	1, 930, 500, 000	+ 874, 400, 000	— 1, 236, 100, 000
DEFENSE SUPPORT					
Europe.....	85, 500, 000	78, 700, 000	63, 700, 000	— 21, 800, 000	— 15, 000, 000
Near East and Africa.....	113, 700, 000	170, 000, 000	165, 000, 000	+ 51, 300, 000	— 5, 000, 000
Asia:					
Appropriation.....	800, 000, 000	882, 000, 000	865, 000, 000	+ 65, 000, 000	— 17, 000, 000
Unobligated balance.....	25, 000, 000	-----	-----	— 25, 000, 000	-----
Subtotal, Asia.....	825, 000, 000	882, 000, 000	865, 000, 000	+ 40, 000, 000	— 17, 000, 000
Latin America.....	(²)	(²)	35, 000, 000	+ 35, 000, 000	+ 35, 000, 000
Total, defense support:					
Appropriation.....	999, 200, 000	1, 130, 700, 000	1, 128, 700, 000	+ 129, 500, 000	— 2, 000, 000
Unobligated balance.....	25, 000, 000	-----	-----	— 25, 000, 000	-----
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	1, 024, 200, 000	1, 130, 700, 000	1, 128, 700, 000	+ 104, 500, 000	— 2, 000, 000

See footnotes at end of table, p. 20.

Comparative statement of appropriations for 1956, estimates for 1957, and amounts recommended in bill for 1957—Continued

Items	Appropriations, 1956	Budget estimates, 1957	Recommended in bill for 1957	Bill compared with—	
				Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE					
Near East and Africa-----	\$73, 000, 000	\$63, 000, 000	\$60, 000, 000	-\$13, 000, 000	-\$3, 000, 000
Asia-----	51, 000, 000	80, 000, 000	70, 000, 000	+19, 000, 000	-10, 000, 000
Latin America-----	38, 000, 000	27, 000, 000	(²)	-38, 000, 000	-27, 000, 000
Total, development assistance-----	162, 000, 000	170, 000, 000	130, 000, 000	-32, 000, 000	-40, 000, 000
TECHNICAL COOPERATION					
General authorization-----	127, 500, 000	140, 500, 000	135, 000, 000	+7, 500, 000	-5, 500, 000
United Nations program-----	24, 000, 000	15, 500, 000	10, 000, 000	-14, 000, 000	-5, 500, 000
Organization of American States-----	1, 500, 000	1, 500, 000	1, 500, 000	-----	-----
Total, technical cooperation-----	153, 000, 000	157, 500, 000	146, 500, 000	-6, 500, 000	-11, 000, 000
OTHER PROGRAMS					
Special Presidential fund-----	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000	-----	-----
Special assistance, joint control areas-----	21, 000, 000	12, 200, 000	12, 200, 000	-8, 800, 000	-----
Intergovernmental Committee for Euro- pean Migration-----	12, 500, 000	12, 500, 000	12, 500, 000	-----	-----
United Nations refugee fund-----	1, 200, 000	2, 300, 000	2, 000, 000	+800, 000	-300, 000
Escapee program-----	6, 000, 000	7, 000, 000	6, 000, 000	-----	-1, 000, 000

United Nations children's fund-----	14, 500, 000	10, 000, 000	10, 000, 000	-4, 500, 000	-----
United Nations Relief and Works Agency:					
Appropriation-----	58, 366, 750			-58, 366, 750	-----
Unobligated balance-----	3, 633, 250	45, 300, 000	45, 300, 000	+41, 666, 750	-----
Total appropriation and unobligated balance-----	62, 000, 000	45, 300, 000	45, 300, 000	-16, 700, 000	-----
North Atlantic Treaty Organization-----	3, 700, 000	(³)		-3, 700, 000	-----
Ocean freight, voluntary relief shipments-----	2, 000, 000	1, 400, 000	1, 400, 000	-600, 000	-----
Ocean freight, surplus agricultural commodities-----	13, 000, 000	14, 000, 000		-13, 000, 000	-----
Control act expenses-----	1, 175, 000	1, 175, 000	1, 175, 000		-----
Administrative expenses-----	33, 500, 000	35, 250, 000	34, 145, 000	+645, 000	-----
President's fund for Asian development-----	100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000		-100, 000, 000	-----
Special authorization for Middle East and Africa-----		100, 000, 000	100, 000, 000	+100, 000, 000	-----
Foreign reactor projects-----		5, 950, 000	5, 500, 000	+5, 500, 000	-----
				-450, 000	-----

See footnotes at end of table, p. 20.

Comparative statement of appropriations for 1956, estimates for 1957, and amounts recommended in bill for 1957—Continued

Items	Appropriations, 1956	Budget estimates, 1957	Recommended in bill for 1957	Bill compared with—	
				Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957
OTHER PROGRAMS—continued					
Total, other programs:					
Appropriation-----	\$366, 941, 750	\$401, 775, 000	\$284, 920, 000	—\$82, 021, 750	—\$116, 855, 000
Unobligated balance-----	3, 633, 250	45, 300, 000	45, 300, 000	+41, 666, 750	-----
Total appropriation and un- obligated balance-----	370, 575, 000	447, 075, 000	330, 220, 000	—40, 355, 000	—116, 855, 000
Total, mutual security:					
Appropriation-----	2, 703, 341, 750	4, 859, 975, 000	3, 425, 120, 000	+721, 778, 250	—1, 434, 855, 000
Unobligated balance-----	62, 533, 250	211, 900, 000	240, 800, 000	+178, 266, 750	+28, 900, 000
Total appropriation and un- obligated balance-----	2, 765, 875, 000	5, 071, 875, 000	3, 665, 920, 000	+900, 045, 000	—1, 405, 955, 000

¹ Combines funds for "Military assistance" and "Direct forces
² Activity transferred from "Development assistance" to "Defense support" by authorizing legislation.
³ Transferred to State Department appropriation bill for 1957.

○

Union Calendar No. 1061

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

[Report No. 2636]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 6, 1956

Mr. PASSMAN, from the Committee on Appropriations, reported the following bill; which was committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

A BILL

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
- 4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal
- 5 year ending June 30, 1957, namely:

MUTUAL SECURITY

For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, as follows:

Military assistance: For assistance authorized by section 103 (a) (3), including not to exceed \$23,000,000 for administrative expenses to carry out the purposes of title I, chapter 1, and section 124, \$1,735,000,000 of which \$60,000,000 shall be available for infrastructure as authorized by section 104 (a) ; and in addition not to exceed \$195,500,000 of unobligated and unreserved funds heretofore appropriated under authority of section 103 (a) (2) and section 124 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, are continued available until June 30, 1957, for the purposes of sections 103 (a) (3) and 104;

Defense support: For assistance authorized by section 131 (c), for Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey), \$63,700,000; for the Near East (including Greece and Turkey) and Africa, \$165,000,000; for Asia, \$865,000,000; and for Latin America, \$35,000,000;

Development assistance: For assistance authorized by section 201 (c), for the Near East and Africa in accordance

1 with section 201 (a) (1), \$60,000,000; and for Asia in
2 accordance with section 201 (a) (2), \$70,000,000;

3 Technical cooperation, general authorization: For assist-
4 ance authorized by section 304 (b), \$135,000,000;

5 United Nations expanded program of technical assist-
6 ance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a),
7 which shall constitute the total United States contribution
8 through December 31, 1957, \$10,000,000;

9 Technical cooperation programs of the Organization of
10 American States: For contributions authorized by section
11 306 (b), \$1,500,000;

12 Special Presidential Fund: For assistance authorized by
13 section 401 (b), \$100,000,000;

14 Special assistance in joint control areas in Europe: For
15 assistance authorized by section 403 (b), \$12,200,000;

16 Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration:
17 For contributions authorized by section 405 (a), \$12,500,-
18 000: *Provided*, That no funds appropriated in this Act shall
19 be used to assist directly in the migration to any nation in
20 the Western Hemisphere of any person not having a security
21 clearance based on reasonable standards to insure against
22 Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere;

23 United Nations Refugee Fund: For contributions author-
24 ized by section 405 (c), which shall constitute the total

1 United States contribution through June 30, 1957,
2 \$2,000,000;

3 Escapee program: For assistance authorized by section
4 405 (d), \$6,000,000;

5 United Nations Children's Fund: For contributions
6 authorized by section 406 (b), which shall constitute the
7 total United States contribution through December 31, 1957,
8 \$10,000,000;

9 United Nations Relief and Works Agency: For con-
10 tributions authorized by section 407 (b), \$45,300,000 of
11 unobligated balances of funds appropriated under this head
12 in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956, are con-
13 tinued available through June 30, 1957, for the purposes
14 authorized by section 407;

15 Ocean freight charges, United States voluntary relief
16 agencies: For payments authorized by section 409 (c),
17 \$1,400,000;

18 Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of
19 the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as
20 authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000;

21 Administrative expenses: For expenses authorized by
22 section 411 (b), \$34,145,000;

23 Special authorization for the Middle East and Africa:
24 For assistance authorized by section 420, \$100,000,000;

25 Foreign research reactor projects: For expenses neces-

1 sary to enable the President to carry out foreign research
2 reactor projects authorized by section 10 of the Mutual
3 Security Act of 1956, \$5,500,000;

4 Funds appropriated under each paragraph of this Act
5 (other than appropriations under the head of military assist-
6 ance), including specified amounts of unobligated balances,
7 and amounts certified pursuant to section 1311 of the Supple-
8 mental Appropriation Act, 1955, as having been obligated
9 against appropriations heretofore made for the same general
10 purpose as such paragraph, which amounts are hereby con-
11 tinued available during the fiscal year 1957, may be consoli-
12 dated in one account for each paragraph.

13 GENERAL PROVISIONS

14 SEC. 102. Payments made from funds appropriated
15 herein for engineering fees and services to any individual
16 engineering firm on any one project in excess of \$25,000
17 shall be reported to the Committees on Appropriations of
18 the Senate and House of Representatives at least twice
19 annually.

20 SEC. 103. Pursuant to section 1415 of the Supple-
21 mental Appropriation Act, 1953, and in addition to other
22 amounts made available pursuant to said section, not to
23 exceed the equivalent of \$2,000,000 of foreign currencies
24 or credits owed to or owned by the United States shall
25 remain available until expended, without reimbursement

1 to the Treasury, for liquidation of obligations incurred against
2 such currencies or credits prior to July 1, 1953, pursuant
3 to authority contained in the Mutual Security Act of 1951,
4 as amended, and Acts for which funds were authorized by
5 that Act and, hereafter, foreign currencies generated under
6 the provisions of this Act shall be utilized only for the
7 purposes for which the funds providing the commodities
8 which generated the currency were appropriated.

9 SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this Act
10 nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result
11 of assistance under this or any other Act shall be used to
12 make payments on account of the principal or interest on
13 any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to
14 such government by any other foreign government; nor
15 shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for
16 which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country
17 to make payment on such debts: *Provided, however, That*
18 to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign
19 government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and
20 such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required
21 to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section
22 142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended,
23 such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed
24 purpose consistent with the provisions of such Act.

25 SEC. 105. Not more than 20 per centum of any appro-

1 priation item made available by this Act shall be obligated
2 and/or reserved during the last two months of the fiscal
3 year.

4 SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Appro-
5 priation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Congress), is
6 hereby amended by substituting “during the two succeeding
7 fiscal years” for “until June 30, 1958” in the third sentence
8 thereof, and by substituting “under the authority of the
9 Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended” for “in this Act”
10 in the fifth proviso thereof.

11 SEC. 107. This Act may be cited as the “Mutual Security
12 Appropriation Act, 1957”.

84TH CONGRESS
2D Session

H. R. 12130

[Report No. 2636]

A BILL

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for
the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for
other purposes.

By Mr. PASSMAN

JULY 6, 1956

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on
the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

CONSIDERATION OF H. R. 12130

JULY 6, 1956.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

MR. MADDEN, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H. Res. 583]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 583, report the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.



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House Calendar No. 278

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 583

[Report No. 2637]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 6, 1956

Mr. MADDEN, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution;
which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it
2 shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into
3 the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the
4 Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130)
5 making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year
6 ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, and all
7 points of order against said bill are hereby waived. After
8 general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and con-
9 tinue not to exceed four hours, to be equally divided and
10 controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member
11 of the Committee on Appropriations, the bill shall be read
12 for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclu-

1 sion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the
2 Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with
3 such amendments as may have been adopted and the pre-
4 vious question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and
5 amendments thereto to final passage without intervening
6 motion except one motion to recommit.

House Calendar No. 278

84TH CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. RES. 583

[Report No. 2637]

RESOLUTION

Providing for the consideration of H. R. 12130,
a bill making appropriations for mutual
security for the fiscal year ending June 30,
1957, and for other purposes.

By Mr. MADDEN

JULY 6, 1956

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be
printed

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued July 10, 1956
For actions of July 9, 1956
84th-2nd, No. 115

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HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses agreed to conference report on mutual security authorization bill. Ready for President. Both Houses agreed to conference report on military construction bill. Ready for President. House began debate on mutual security appropriation bill. Senate committee reported bills to: Extend time for study of employee security program. Provide study of foreign assistance program. Extend law for amortization of grain storage facilities. Senate conferees were appointed on bill to increase CCC borrowing power. Senate agreed to House amendment to bill to extend Penalty Mail Act to Extension Directors and Experiment Stations. Ready for President.

HOUSE

1. FOREIGN AID. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on H. R. 11356, the mutual security authorization bill. This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 10991, 11021

Began debate on H. R. 12130, the mutual security appropriation bill. p. 11049

2. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION; SURPLUS COMMODITIES. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on H. R. 9893, to authorize certain construction at military installations. The bill authorizes the Secretary of Defense to use for family housing construction in foreign countries, foreign currencies not to exceed \$250 million acquired through provisions of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act or other commodity transactions of CCC. This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 11010, 11015, 11025

SENATE

3. FORESTRY. The Government Operations Committee reported with amendment H. R. 8817, to provide for the conveyance of certain property of the U. S. to the city of Corbin, Ky. (S. Rept. 2430). p. 10929

4. EMPLOYEE SECURITY. The Rules and Administration Committee reported with amendment S. Res. 294, to extend further the time for a study of the Government employees security program. p. 10929 (no written report)
5. FOREIGN AID. The Rules and Administration Committee reported with amendment S. Res. 285, to provide for studies to be made regarding foreign assistance by the U. S. (S. Rept. 2434). p. 10929
Sen. Smith, Me., inserted a newspaper editorial opposing further aid to Yugoslavia. p. 11012
6. WATERSHEDS. Received from the Budget Bureau a plan for works of improvement of watershed projects; to Agriculture and Forestry Committee. p. 10930
7. FCA AUDIT. Received from the Comptroller General an audit report of the Farm Credit Administration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955; to Government Operations Committee. p. 10931
8. ELECTRIFICATION. Sen. Wiley inserted resolutions of the Dairvland Power Cooperative relating to various aspects of electrification and public power. p. 10931
Sen. Neuberger criticized opposition to the construction of the Hells Canyon dam, and inserted several articles on the matter. p. 10953
Sens. Gore and Goldwater discussed contributions made to the National Hells Canyon Assoc. p. 10956
9. SOIL BANK. Sen. Humphrey inserted a Farmers Union letter urging that the soil-bank program be expanded and liberalized because of the recent drought in certain areas. p. 10932
10. TAXATION. The Finance Committee reported with amendments H. R. 9083, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to extend the law regarding amortization of grain-storage facilities (S. Rept. 2438). p. 10932
11. CCC. Senate conferees were appointed on S. 3820, to increase the borrowing power of the CCC. House conferees have not yet been appointed. p. 10956
12. PENALTY MAIL. Agreed to the House amendments to S. 1871, which extend the Penalty Mail Act provisions to Extension Directors and Experiment Stations. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 10994
13. HOUSING. Sen. Sparkman and others urged passage of housing legislation during this session of Congress. p. 11013
14. EDUCATION. Sen. Humphrey claimed the Administration had not adequately supported passage of legislation for Federal aid to education. p. 11015
15. TREATIES. The Foreign Relations Committee submitted a report on the following treaties: (Ex. Rept. 9), p. 10933 Treaty of amity, economic relations, and consular rights between the U. S. and Iran.
Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Nicaragua;
Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between the U. S. and the Netherlands.
16. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Sen. Johnson announced that the following measures will be considered Wed., July 11: International Wheat Agreement; S. Res. 285, to study foreign aid program; H. R. 8817, for transfer of land to Corbin, Ky.; and S. Res. 294, extending time for study of employee security program. p. 11006

Mr. MARTIN. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. If the Committee concludes general debate on the mutual security appropriation bill and there is no amendment pending at the desk, why could we not read the bill and dispose of it today?

Mr. McCORMACK. If that is possible, of course. I doubt that it is possible or probable, but I would welcome it. I doubt, however, that it could happen.

Mr. MARTIN. I think I can assure the gentleman that I cannot imagine an appropriation bill of that character being passed without a little fight.

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes. There will be amendments to reduce it, but I am hopeful that we can vote them down and dispose of it.

Mr. McCORMACK. If that can develop, I would welcome it. I admire my friend for his optimism.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MADDEN].

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL FOR 1957

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 583 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Appropriations, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

(Mr. MADDEN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 583 makes in order the consideration of H. R. 12130, making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. The resolution provides for an open rule, 4 hours of debate, and all points of order against the bill are waived.

Appropriations amounting to \$3,425,120,000 are included in the bill for fiscal 1957. In addition, the committee recommended that \$240,800,000 of unobligated balances be reappropriated, making a total of \$3,665,920,000.

The total unexpended balance as of June 30, 1956, is \$6,087,000,000. The committee report points out that with the new amount recommended in this bill, together with the unexpended bal-

ance, there should be sufficient appropriations to meet expenditures for well over 2 years.

Of the amount recommended in the bill \$1,735,000,000 is recommended for military assistance. Sixty million dollars of this is for infrastructure. One hundred ninety-five million five hundred thousand dollars of unobligated funds is reappropriated, making a total of \$1,900,500,000.

The new funds provided, together with the unexpended balance of \$5,059,100,000 as of June 30, 1956, will provide sufficient funds to continue the military assistance program for over 3 years at the same rate of expenditures as that for fiscal 1956.

One billion one hundred and twenty-eight million seven hundred thousand dollars is recommended for the defense support program; and \$130 million is recommended for development assistance, that is, economic aid. Of this amount \$60 million is for the Near East and Africa, and \$70 million is for Asia.

The bill includes \$135 million for technical cooperation, which is \$5,500,000 less than the budget estimate. The amount included for United Nations technical assistance is \$10 million—\$5,500,000 less than the budget estimate.

The full budget estimate of \$1,000,500,000 for the Organization of American States is recommended. This program, the committee believes, is making an important contribution to the development of Latin America.

A total of \$330,220,000 is recommended for the other programs provided for in the Mutual Security Act—the United Nations Refugee Fund, the escapee program, the U. N. Children's fund, the U. N. Relief and Works Agency, the payment of ocean freight on voluntary relief shipments, foreign research reactor projects and administrative expenses.

No funds are included in the bill for ocean freight on surplus agricultural commodities since the Commodity Credit Corporation is authorized to take over the cost of transportation of these commodities.

No additional funds are included for the President's fund for Asian development since there is approximately \$90 million of the funds previously appropriated which are available for use in 1957.

A special fund of \$100 million to be used for economic purposes only in the Middle East and Africa is included in the bill. This is a new appropriation item which has not appeared in previous legislation.

The provision prohibiting the use of mutual security appropriations, and counterpart funds for the payment of foreign government debt is continued with an additional proviso which was recommended by the executive branch.

The subcommittee under the chairmanship of Congressman PASSMAN devoted months in holding hearings and examining the details of this legislation. After 4 hours of debate I hope the Members of Congress including myself will have a basis to determine whether the amounts set out herein are fair.

The committee report complies with the Ramseyer. I urge the adoption of House Resolution 583 so the House may proceed to the consideration of H. R. 12130.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], and I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN].

(Mr. MARTIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry this bill is brought to us for consideration with such drastic and to me very serious cuts affecting our security.

It is not the leadership purpose to make a fight to replace some of these cuts at this time, although we do sincerely believe the committee has made a decision which if allowed to stand will be harmful to this country.

I can understand very well why there might be some misgivings; why we might feel a little reluctant to spend money when we realize the response we have had from some of these countries; but we must not forget we do not spend the military money that is involved in our fight here for foreign governments. It is no giveaway program. We spend this military money and could be justified in spending this money for but only one purpose, the security of our own country.

To me it is appalling that in this hour when the Soviet is having serious difficulties for us to draw back on the spending for the defense of our own country, and that is just what these deep cuts would do.

Neither do I want to get in the position where the boys of the United States do all the fighting for the holding back of the Communists. We are justified in spending this money only because we hope we will strengthen other free nations of the world that they can do their share in the preservation of freedom. Do not forget it is cheaper to maintain Armed Forces abroad than in keeping a big United States Army. These military appropriations actually save money for the taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has presented a program; he has presented a program which he says is necessary for the security not only of our own country but also of the free world. Mr. Speaker, I say that we make a tragic mistake when we overrule the President of the United States. Under the Constitution he is the one man who directs our foreign affairs; he is the one man who has been given the authority to defend this country. It is his responsibility. He is my President, he is your President and he is the President of us all. The President is joined in this request by the Chiefs of Staff; the men most vitally concerned in our national defense. It is assuming an awful responsibility to match our judgment against those who should know best.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you in all fairness: Can we afford to cut so far below the amount these military leaders say is nec-

essary for the security of America and the free world? I can not believe after serious contemplation we will do any such thing.

A couple of weeks ago we gave him a billion dollars more for the Air Force he did not ask for. That was playing the safe side. Now we deny him the money he says is necessary for our national security and for the security of the free world. I ask how foolish can we be?

I repeat: Do we want to take the responsibility upon ourselves individually as Members of this House to make that decision?

Mr. Speaker, as I said at first, we are not going to make any effort to change the amounts here because we believe when this legislation goes to the other body it will correct the errors that we make. Our failure to do so is only because that plan appears to be the best way to meet this unfortunate situation.

Let us remember also this is not a partisan matter, it is not a political issue, there are no votes in it for one side or the other. If America goes down all of us go together. The question we must answer is whether we in all good conscience believe that America should be so strong that it need fear no other nation. When you strengthen the forces of other free world nations you contribute to our own security.

Mr. Speaker, for a billion dollars, \$6 a person, we are playing havoc with the safety of our country. At least, we are doing that which the President of the United States says is harmful to America. You may want to take that responsibility. I do not want to take it.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. Is this not a fair question with regard to the deplorable cut which the committee has made in military assistance funds: Should we follow the thinking of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who must know something about the subject of military defenses in the event of trouble or should we follow the thinking of folks who have been unalterably opposed to the military assistance program ever since its inception?

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman has made a good statement. Who knows what commitments have been made by this administration for the strengthening of America? You do not know, I do not know. So I say to you these are the men to whom we have given the authority to protect our country. Let us stand by them.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WALTER. Does not the gentleman feel that with the meager knowledge we have it would be very dangerous to substitute our judgment for that of the experts whose combined studies have brought about the recommendations that were presented to the Congress?

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman is absolutely correct. As the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] well said,

these recommendations are the product of the General Staff, the men we have educated, the men we have trained, the men we place in their important and responsible positions. Are we going to run in defiance to what their recommendations are?

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLOOD. Does not the gentleman think the least the House can do is to restore the funds for the authorization already passed by the House in a conference report today?

Mr. MARTIN. That is the very least that should be done. I would like to see the full amount asked provided but that amount has not been included in the conference report. We should rightfully protect the security of our country and provide the full amount of money that the legislative committee has authorized.

Mr. ROONEY. As the gentleman from Massachusetts knows, it had been my intention to offer an amendment here on the floor of the House which would restore funds with regard to the military assistance part of the bill. After conferring on Saturday last with certain Members in whose judgment I have great confidence, including the gentleman from Massachusetts, I have arrived at the conclusion that it might be safer and better procedure for those of us who think as does the gentleman from Massachusetts that the reduction made in military money is entirely too drastic, to get this bill over to the other body as promptly as possible so that it may become a much more improved bill than it is in its present form. At the moment this would seem to be the best strategy.

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman is correct. This determination not to increase the amount now is reached in the expectation that the other branch would have better judgment as to the safety of our country.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I will say that after having read the report and a great deal of the hearings in a very short space of time—the bill was not available to the Members of the House until last Friday; neither was the report—but after having read the report and the hearings, I am under the very definite impression—and I think both will bear out the statement that I am about to make—that the Members and the committee itself have been left in a state of confusion and without adequate information.

Mr. MARTIN. If this bill goes over until Wednesday, you will be able to get all the information and data you need.

Mr. GROSS. I would like to ask one further question, if the gentleman will permit me.

Mr. MARTIN. Certainly.

Mr. GROSS. Why is this bill brought in under a waiver of points of order?

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman will have to address that question to the gentleman from Louisiana. This rule was not sought by me.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. I think the gentleman knows that the vote taken in the full Committee on Appropriations on this new cut was very close. It failed by a margin of 2 votes.

Mr. MARTIN. I understood that.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. FORD. The point made by the gentleman from New Jersey can be re-emphasized by the closeness of the vote in the subcommittee on the same issue before the bill got to the full committee. I believe also it should be pointed out that our subcommittee, of which I am a member, had rather extensive hearings; in fact, long and somewhat controversial on this issue involving dollar amounts and otherwise. The hearings should be ample for anyone, whether they agree or disagree with the conclusions which have been reached.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I speak as one who has always supported the foreign-aid program, feeling that it was American aid, and I still feel that way about it. But is it not probably true that our present difficulty results from the fact that the administration has done a poor job in selling this program to the American people, and the American people in increasing numbers, and the Congress in increasing numbers are opposing the program because it is not being well sold and well presented to the American people by the executive?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I will make no effort to contradict the gentleman on that score. I do not know if this true or not, but, I will say this: We are the great American Congress. It is our obligation not to do what passing whims may prompt us to do for political expediency. Our purpose is to protect this country. If we think this extra money is needed, we should give it to them, because that would be the action of any patriotic organization.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. I agree with the gentleman that we should give this careful thought, but I am sure the gentleman did not mean to intimate that the other body would have better judgment than the Members of this body. We have our own responsibility.

Mr. MARTIN. I can only speak from experience about this bill. I do not think on the whole that the other body on most things is superior to us. Rather, I always took pride in the work of the House. But on the foreign-aid bill I believe their judgment was best.

Mr. FULTON. May I say this, finally? Of course, there is no member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs nor of this body or the Senate who has

any accurate information of the military funds in this bill, because the pipelines are filled 2½ to 3 years in advance. Secondly, the last figure of a regional breakdown which our Committee on Foreign Affairs has been able to obtain is November 30, 1955, over 6 months old. So, nobody knows what the figures are.

Mr. MARTIN. I am going to trust the President of the United States and the general staff, because they have the reports and should best know the answers.

Mr. FULTON. Does the gentleman know that the agency itself came out with the self-same figure that the House Committee on Foreign Affairs passed, and then changed its mind and added \$1 billion later?

Mr. MARTIN. You mean the general staff?

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MORANO. I wish to compliment the minority leader on the wonderful statement he has made today. I wonder if the gentleman will reach out in his great parliamentary wisdom and comment on this. Here we have a bill that proposes an appropriation of about \$3.5 billion. The authorization is roughly about \$4 billion. If we pass the bill as it is presented to us and it goes to the other body, then the other body cannot go over \$4 billion; is that right; over the authorization figure?

Mr. MARTIN. It cannot go beyond the authorization outlined in the legislative bill.

Mr. MORANO. And then if we assume that the other body will add all the money up to the point where the total reaches the authorization figure, can we hope that this House will accept that figure?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know what we can hope from this House. I am not clairvoyant; I cannot foretell the future. All I know is that the President and the general staff say this amount is necessary for security and, in my judgment, that is the least we should give them.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Because of the question raised a little while ago, while the gentleman was on the floor, with reference to the status of funds, I might say that at my request there was furnished to the Committee on Appropriations a table indicating the status of the funds practically down to the 30th day of June. I believe that we have a pretty complete picture of just what that is and I shall be prepared to answer any questions on that when we get to general debate.

Mr. MARTIN. The House will be glad to get the information.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SPRINGER. May I say to the minority leader that I think there has been a serious question that if we did not appropriate sufficient money for this program, whether or not the Depart-

ment of Defense would not have to come back and ask for more money which amount would exceed the amount which we might cut from this bill. Is that not true?

Mr. MARTIN. That well could be the case.

Mr. SPRINGER. I think it has been indicated that a very large portion of this bill is figured almost as a part of the items for the Department of Defense itself; that is, they depend to a great extent in their defense figures upon what we allot in the form of aid to these countries; is not that true?

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman is correct. The big cuts proposed are not on the economic features of the bill. If we made some reductions there and I do not recommend it the danger would not be so great. We would not be placing the whole free world in danger. But when you cut these purely military items, under which we contribute money, for instance, to Formosa, to South Korea, to Pakistan, to Spain, Turkey, Greece, and other countries who have under treaty arrangements agreed to help the United States in the fight for a free world you are making a dangerous decision. I hope that we will not do so.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. The gentleman referred earlier to the fact that recently the House voted overwhelmingly to give the Air Force more money for bombers than it asked for. Is it not known by everybody that the Soviet Union has been gradually creeping up on the United States in capacity to design and manufacture bombers that at least approach ours in efficiency? Conceivably they can match or even surpass us in bombers. Is it not a fact that there is only one field in the whole range of our security interests where they cannot match us, and that is the one with which this bill deals our air bases in friendly countries around the borders of the Soviet bloc? We will have them only if we continue to stand steadfast by these allies. If America loses those advanced bases, then we lose the one trump card we have that they cannot match. It is those bases, not our bombers, that can and give us our surest superiority.

Is it not, therefore, all the more important that this appropriation bill, which provides the means by which we assist our allies and strengthen those bases which in turn allow us to use most effectively our planes, be kept in a form and at a level that will give us maximum security?

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman is absolutely correct. We make a treaty, say, with Pakistan. Pakistan has agreed that in the event of war, and pray God war never shall come, Pakistan will stand by the United States. We made an agreement. We are going to give them so much military aid. Who is there who would want to put this administration in a position where it could not meet its obligations? I do not think anyone would. A country to stand proudly in the world must keep its commitments.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARENDS. This morning some of us had the opportunity of listening to General Twining off the record, so to speak, give a résumé of his recent trip to Russia. Of course, I cannot say exactly what he said before the committee, but in substance I would think one point might well have been, "America, continue on your guard. Do not let it down now."

In this matter of promotion and how we are going to develop instruments of war, if that be true of his request, then certainly the House in the approach to this problem the next day or two must approach it not only from the standpoint of dollars and cents but also from the standpoint of our national interest and national security.

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is economy to have these foreign countries aid us.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does it not seem to the gentleman that it would have a very good psychological effect in this country and also in the nations abroad, in feeling that this should be done to give a sense of security here and a sense of security to the countries that would be affected abroad? It would have a bad effect on the Russians.

Mr. MARTIN. I am sure it would be a terrible blow to these allied nations, who are looking to the United States for leadership in this fight to maintain a free world, to feel that the one country that has the power to keep this a free world and to keep back these communistic hordes is slackening its effort. The Soviet is convulsed with unrest and many people cry for bread. The last time in the world to weaken your defenses is when the opposition is showing signs of weakening. For a nation to have peace we must be strong. Let us keep strong and that means a great thing for the world peace.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOSMER. I think a great many people have the belief that these foreign countries just come over and back up a truck against the Treasury and haul away a bunch of greenbacks every now and then. I myself am not too clear on just how this foreign aid operates. I think that if during the debate today some of the Members who are familiar with the subject can explain how the money is spent in terms of what is spent here in this country by way of the purchase of material, and in the other countries, how jobs are supplied for our people here and what goes elsewhere, it will greatly help not only the Congress but the public.

Mr. MARTIN. I will say to the gentleman from California that calling this appropriation foreign aid is not a true name. This bill should be labeled mutual security for the protection and security of America.

It really should be part of the national defense bill. If we included it, it would meet with very little opposition. My friends, give this proposal your careful consideration and then vote for America.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON].

(Mr. FENTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include an address by Secretary of State Dulles.)

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Speaker, during the hearings on May 24, 1956, of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for Mutual Security, of which I am a member, I asked the Secretary of State, Hon. John Foster Dulles, whether he could give us an up-to-date statement to reassure the people of this country that the mutual-security program was necessary.

Secretary Dulles replied that he was going to make a speech in Iowa the first week in June and that he was trying to think whether he could answer my question in terms of that speech.

On June 22, 1956, Secretary Dulles sent me a copy of the speech he made on June 9, 1956, in Ames, Iowa, at Iowa State College commencement exercises which he called the Cost of Peace.

I fully believe that anyone reading it will realize the great work that has been done for peace under the leadership of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles.

The following is the text of the speech of Secretary Dulles:

THE COST OF PEACE

(Address by the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, at Iowa State College commencement exercises, Ames, Iowa, Saturday, June 9, 1956)

Each one of you is going out into a world where you hope to enjoy in peace the blessings of liberty.

That is the kind of a world which United States foreign policy tries to provide.

Today we have peace; no nation is at war with the United States.

Also we have many blessings. We have good relations with most of the nations of the world. We do not fear them nor do they fear us. We trade with each other and our peoples visit back and forth, all to our mutual profit and enjoyment.

For that peace, and for those blessings that we enjoy, we can be profoundly grateful.

But all of this is not to be had for nothing. Others before you have gone out into the world with eager hopes. But these hopes ended on the field of battle. And those at home were heavy of heart. And the means for economic well-being were dissipated in the wastages of war.

That kind of a price, paid in the coin of war, will always be paid unless men are willing, in time of peace, to pay to preserve peace.

That lesson seems never to be learned. The illusion constantly persists that peace is to be had merely by wanting it. If that were true, war would have been abolished many centuries ago. The fact is that to keep peace is as hard, indeed harder, than to win a war. Wars have been won. But lasting peace has never yet been won. To win a final victory over war will take planning and action that is farsighted, well calculated, courageous and at times sacrificial. Such sacrifice will be required under conditions less dramatic and apparently less urgent than those of war. But peace will never be enduring as long as men reserve for war their finest qualities of mind and spirit. Peace, too, has its price.

I want to illustrate that in terms of one phase of the peace effort our nation is now making. It could be described as a peace insurance policy and it costs about \$40 billion a year.

OUR PEACE INSURANCE POLICY

The basic elements of this peace insurance policy are drawn from early and successful American foreign policy. We go back to the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1823 President Monroe proclaimed to the despotic alliance then headed by Czarist Russia that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety" and that we would not "behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

It was indeed farsighted and bold for our young Nation thus to identify its own self-interest with the fate of freedom thousands of miles away. Yet the pronouncement of that principle, Webster recorded, was greeted with "one general glow of exultation."

That principle has now been extended. Its broadest application is found in the United Nations Charter. But because veto power makes United Nations action unpendable, many nations have made with each other treaties which embody the principle of the Monroe Doctrine. Within the last 10 years the United States, always acting in a bipartisan manner, has made such treaties with 42 countries of America, Europe, and Asia.

These treaties abolish, as between the parties, the principle of neutrality, which pretends that a nation can best gain safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others. This has increasingly become an obsolete conception and, except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an immoral and shortsighted conception. The free world today is stronger, and peace is more secure, because so many free nations courageously recognize the now demonstrated fact that their own peace and safety would be endangered by assault on freedom elsewhere.

However, it is not enough under present conditions for the free nations merely to proclaim their purpose to stand together. There is need for forces-in-being to give authority to those words.

At the outset of World War I and World War II, the United States had little military strength in being. In the case of the Korean war, our initial strength was inadequate. But on these past occasions the conditions of warfare gave us time within which to build up our strength.

But since then man's capacity to destroy has suddenly expanded to a degree that passes comprehension. Today, a single bomb can release destructive power equal to that used in the 5 years of World War II. Potential enemies could destroy so much, so quickly, if initially unopposed, that we dare not gamble on developing military power after an attack has occurred. To deter aggression, to prevent miscalculation, we need not only to warn, but to back that warning by forces-in-being which include retaliatory striking power. That is why our peace insurance policy is so expensive.

The cost of our United States military establishment, at home and abroad, is about \$36 billion a year. That is about 90 percent of the total of a little over \$40 billion a year which our peace insurance policy costs.

The other 10 percent, roughly \$4 billion, goes to promote strength in other lands under our mutual security program. I want to discuss that program and explain why it is part of our total peace insurance policy.

I shall be speaking in terms of expected expenditures. But to keep going at this rate, we shall for the next year need an appropriation larger than expected expenditures, because the appropriation for this year is less than current expenditures by about \$1 billion.

THE FAR EAST

The largest expenditures under our mutual security program are in the Pacific and Far East. They help strengthen countries with which we have collective defense treaties. This area is today under obvious hostile pressure.

In Korea there is an armistice. But the Chinese Communists have never been willing to make a peace which would unify Korea through free elections held under the auspices of the United Nations. So, hostile armed forces face each other across an armistice line.

In Taiwan (Formosa), where the Republic of China now has its home, there is the constant menace of war. The Chinese Communist regime persistently refuses to make a meaningful renunciation of force covering this area.

Then there is Vietnam, where again there is an armistice but no formal peace.

I have already pointed out that we have, by treaties solemnly recognized that an armed attack in these areas would be dangerous to our own peace and security. And Congress, with only 4 dissenting votes, has authorized the President to use United States Forces to defend Taiwan (Formosa) if he deems it necessary. But we do not want it to be necessary to fight to save freedom in these areas. Our purpose is to deter war. So, we give military and financial aid to enable the free governments there to maintain their own armed forces to an extent which we and they judge reasonably related to the threat of aggression and our coordinated plans to prevent it.

We expect next year to spend about \$1.5 billion for military aid and defense support assistance in this area. It goes mostly to the Republics of Korea and China, and to the three nations of Indochina. There are lesser amounts for other area allies—the Philippines, Thailand and Japan.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Let me turn now to the Middle East. This area produces the oil required for the industry of Western Europe, and for the military establishment of NATO. If this were unavailable, it would involve tragedy for the producing countries, which are largely dependent upon the oil royalties. Also, it would require us to share with Europe the oil resources of this hemisphere; and there would be scarcity instead of plenty.

So we assist those four Middle East countries which hold the gateway to the south where the oil reserves are located; and just beyond is the gateway to Africa.

The estimate of expenditure for military aid and defense support for these countries in the next year is in the neighborhood of \$800 million.

NATO

I turn next to Western Europe. There the military forces of NATO stand guard over the greatest industrial and military treasure that there is within the free world except for the United States itself. So important do we consider this area that nearly six divisions of the United States Armed Forces are stationed in Western Europe for its defense. The European members of NATO themselves make a large contribution to the defense of the area. However, we help by supplying them with certain types of weapons, the cost of which is in our mutual security budget.

We help to support West Berlin as a symbol of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. We are developing bases in Spain, and this involves substantial costs. We also think it prudent to help Yugoslavia, so long as it remains determined to maintain genuine independence. It does not have the form of society that we like. But Marshal Tito defied Moscow and won out. And even though that struggle is today calmed, Yugoslavia provides a notable example of national independence in Eastern Europe.

This European aspect of the mutual security program involves an estimated cost for next year of approximately \$1 billion.

The expenditures I have described are designed to make secure, at minimum cost to us, countries whose safety is part of our own safety. The resultant widespread, interlocking system of security provides, as a valuable byproduct, diversified locations around the globe from which we and our allies could strike back at an aggressor if he struck any of us. Diversification, in this respect, is immensely valuable; for launching facilities limited to a single area could be wiped out by an initial assault. Also, the present system enables less expensive planes with shorter range to carry out missions which otherwise would require far more costly planes.

Thus, these expenditures serve our peace and our safety.

ECONOMIC AID

There remains about \$700 million to be accounted for, or about 2 percent of our total peace insurance cost. This is so-called economic aid. The primary purpose is to help newly independent nations and less developed countries to maintain their independence, as against the plotting of international communism.

As the Caracas resolution pointed out in relation to this hemisphere, if international communism obtains control of the political institutions of any nation, that endangers peace and security elsewhere. This portion of the mutual security program offsets efforts by hostile forces to expand their power by gaining new human and material resources, and new strategic locations. But it has a broader justification.

The United States has far and away the most highly developed economy of any nation in the world. Our productivity almost equals that of all the rest of the world put together.

Always the economically developed nations have helped less developed countries to develop. We were helped from Europe when we were beginning to develop this continent. That is a law of social life and we cannot violate it except at our peril.

The burden on us is lessened by the fact that a considerable part of our economic assistance goes in the form of surplus agricultural products. Also, upward of \$200 million takes the form of repayable loans, not gifts.

The importance of this economic part of our peace insurance policy is emphasized by the fact that the Soviet Union is now pushing its own interests by means of credits extended to other countries.

The new Communist tactics make it more than ever imperative that we should continue, and perhaps enlarge, the economic phase of our mutual security program. It would indeed be ironical if we should drop out of that field just at the time when the Soviet Union is moving into it.

These programs which I have described—\$36 billion, plus \$3.3 billion, plus \$700 million—make up the grand total of about \$40 billion which is the annual cost of our peace insurance policy. As to the \$36 billion spent on our own Military Establishment, there are differences of opinion as to how it shall be spent. But few deny that this much money should be spent. There is more controversy about the \$4 billion which is used, in ways I have described, under our mutual security program.

I should like now to answer some questions about that.

NO GIVEAWAY

First of all, is this a giveaway program, whereby Americans are taxed merely to aid foreigners?

Emphatically no. I hope what I have said already makes that clear. It is quite true that the mutual security money does

help others. But no program can properly be labeled "giveaway" merely because it helps others. Often by helping others we help ourselves more effectively than we could do in any other way. That is the case with our mutual security program. It makes our freedom safer by creating an environment of freedom. The decisive reason for each item of expense is our own enlightened self-interest.

Let me be specific and emphatic on this point of motivation—not a single dollar is sought for this program for any reason other than an American reason. Our Nation has recognized, since its infancy, that liberty elsewhere was vital to our own peace and safety. When that liberty has been jeopardized by war, we have gone into war to save it. That is the most costly way to protect ourselves. We hope now to protect ourselves in less costly ways. That is the reason for our mutual-security program.

NOT BUYING GRATITUDE

Is our foreign aid wasted because the recipients are not grateful enough or not subservient to our views? No, because we do not seek either gratitude or subservience. We know that gratitude can never be bought and we do not spend taxpayers' money on the folly of such an effort. Neither do we seek or want subservience. Our policies command wide respect abroad, because of their intrinsic merit. But the success of our foreign aid program is to be tested, not by gratitude, not by subservience, but by whether it makes more vigorous the freedoms elsewhere that buttress the freedom of ourselves. By that test, our program works.

AMOUNTS CLOSELY CALCULATED

Another question is whether, assuming the need for a mutual-security program, are the amounts requested reasonable? We believe they are reasonable. Of course no one can prove, in advance, that any given expenditure spells decisively the difference between increased peril and increased security, or between war and peace. If we gain security and peace it can always be alleged that we could have got them more cheaply. And no one can prove the contrary. Only if there is failure can it be seen that we did not spend enough. But then it is too late.

I can assure you that all of us who work on the program are patriotically striving to serve this country and to keep the expenditures down to the lowest level consistent with our national interest. Our judgments are based on farflung worldwide sources of information, which help us to judge the capability and intentions of hostile elements throughout the world, and the resistant quality of friendly elements. There may be mistakes in judgment, and there is room for honest differences of opinion. But the operation is carefully conducted and reviewed by many agencies of government and the final result, as submitted to the Congress, reflects the best judgment of the President and the National Security Council. When dealing with the peace and security of this Nation, it is risky to seek bargain-counter prices. Cut prices may not save money—except by increasing the risk of war.

IS ADMINISTRATION EFFICIENT?

Again it may be asked, Is this money being spent efficiently? Does our outlay for peace and safety always make the target? The answer must be that there is a certain amount of wastage. How much, I wonder, of the ammunition used in World War II hit its appointed target? Only a small percentage. But we did not on that account refuse to supply our fighting men with ammunition. A part of every program goes for naught. That is the price we pay for human frailties. We constantly strive for increased efficiency. But lack of perfect marksmanship is no reason for denying the dollar ammunition needed to win the peace.

ARE LOCAL FORCES NEEDED?

Another question sometimes asked is, Does not the deterrent striking power of the United States make local forces unnecessary, so that their cost could be saved? Certainly our strategic power reduces the need for local forces. It would indeed be impractical to have local forces all around the orbit of the Soviet world sufficient to stop a large-scale attack wherever it might be mounted. But we cannot rely wholly on centrally located strategic power. Nations that are menaced feel an impelling need to be able to fight in their own defense. Indeed, if they did not feel that way, support from us might not be merited or effective. Also, there needs to be local strength to prevent subversion backed by international communism.

The deterrent to aggression is found, not only in our strategic power, but in the knowledge that subversion cannot be easily achieved, and that an open-armed attack would be met at once by brave and competent resistance. This, when reinforced by treaty pledges of collective action, will assure consequences which no aggressor could control or limit. That knowledge is the great deterrent.

This problem of balance between the strategic power of the United States of America and local power is admittedly difficult. Equally difficult is the problem of balance between military and economic effort. These problems are constantly receiving the closest attention of the National Security Council. In each case, the balance is subject to adjustment in the light of changing conditions.

IS THERE AN END?

Finally, it will be asked, Will this cost go on forever? Can we see no end to this gigantic expenditure, totaling about \$40 billion a year, as the cost of our peace insurance policy?

The answer is that so long as the danger persists, for so long must we pay to combat that danger.

The Soviet rulers are engaged in a gigantic effort to build up their Military Establishment and to extend the area of their dominance. They maintain a Military Establishment approximately comparable to our own and spare no cost in striving to excel us. They give military aid to Communist China and to their eastern European satellite allies. This is measured in terms of billions of dollars. They now woo free nations by offers of credit for economic and military goods. Credits totaling nearly \$500 million have already been concluded and several hundred more million have been offered. They devote about \$500 million a year to foreign propaganda.

The Soviet Union is spending, for military and foreign policy purposes hostile to us, about 20 percent of the gross product of the Soviet Nation. So long as this is going on we may have to expend about 10 percent of our gross national product, as we are now doing, for peace insurance purposes.

We can do so while at the same time raising our living standards. The demonstration of that fact has had a potent influence on the international scene.

Never will a responsible administration put its faith in protestations of peace and good will that have no dependable foundation, or expose the Nation to being isolated in the world, or deny it the retaliatory facilities needed to deter surprise attack.

But there are signs that a new day may be dawning. The Soviet rulers now profess to renounce the doctrine that violence is a necessary part of their foreign policy. They are debasing Stalin, who for 25 years was treated as a demigod. Writings of his, which for 25 years formed the Communist creed, are now withdrawn from circulation. This year, for the first time since the Bolshevik revolution, the Christian Bible is being printed and sold in Russia. The Russian

people are getting more personal security, and labor is getting increased freedom of choice.

Obviously, there is a rising demand on the part of the captive nations to have more independence, and on the part of the subject people, within and without Russia, to have more freedom from fear, and to enjoy more of the fruits of their labor instead of having those fruits diverted to serve policies of aggrandizement. This popular demand must be broad in scope and intense in degree. Only that can explain the extraordinary exertions being made by the Soviet rulers to make it seem that they are offering a change. Out of all of this there may come—not this year, or next year, but some year—a government which is responsive to the just aspirations of the people and which renounces expansionist goals.

Enough is happening to make us confident that if we remain strong, if we support freedom, and make evident the blessings of liberty, that policy will prevail.

The time will never come when we can safely stop planning and working for peace, and making sacrifices for peace. But we can see that, if we remain steadfast, the time may come when the danger will be much less and when the cost can be correspondingly reduced. Until that time is here, the clear course of patriotic duty is to hold fast that which has proved good.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to discuss this bill generally, during consideration of the rule. My position is shown by my approval of the conference report. Mr. Speaker, I asked for this time to propound a question to the gentleman from Louisiana, the chairman of the subcommittee, on a matter that involves this rule. The rule necessarily waives points of order because, although the authorization conference report passed the House earlier today, it has not yet become law.

The committee report points out the necessity for proceeding on this bill before final action on the authorization bill is completed. Then it says "the accompanying appropriation bill is based largely on the authorization bill, as adopted by the House. Final adjustments will be worked out with the Senate when the appropriation bill is considered in conference."

I note that on pages 2 and 3 of the bill, as to development assistance, that the appropriation bill does not follow the form in which it was in the House authorization bill or as it is in the conference report. It is not a matter of amounts, but as to the structure of the bill. In order to avoid attempting to make technical amendments and adjustments in this bill on the floor of the House, I wonder if the gentleman can tell us whether it is the intention of his committee to adjust this bill in matters like that, and in matters of the structure of the bill to conform to the authorization bill when it becomes law.

Mr. PASSMAN. That will depend entirely upon what the other body does and on what the conferees agree to do. That is why we have the language in the bill. I might state to the distinguished gentlemen that we have a precedent for handling this particular type of legislation this way. In 1954, we passed this same bill when the other body had not

even passed on authorizing bill. I am sure the gentleman is familiar with that.

Mr. VORYS. I wonder whether there is any desire of the gentleman's committee to preserve the development assistance in 2 or 3 or 4 different sections rather than to put it into 1 section as provided in the authorization.

Mr. PASSMAN. I would much prefer to have the gentleman read the report. Then, he will know why we asked for a rule. I think it is entirely self-explanatory. I shall make my position better known when we go into Committee of the Whole for the consideration of the bill.

Mr. TABER. I think the gentleman would find that what the committee did with reference to some of these items was to separate things that the authorization committee had authorized in one item into 2 or 3 different items so that they might be seen by the House and anyone who looked at it could know just exactly what the money was to be used for. That was the objective.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, this measure, whether or not the appropriation is for the smallest amount under consideration or the largest, involves billions—sums greater than the annual cost of running the entire Federal Government not so very many years ago.

Whether we call it by old or new names, Marshall plan, foreign aid, mutual security or what, some of those opposed continue to call it derisively the giveaway program. If there is any merit whatever to this title, those of us who have supported it, including the leaders of the present as well as the last administration, and the congressional leadership in both bodies and on both sides of the aisle should have heads examined, individually and collectively.

Of course, any program involving free people or nations, to be successful, must be of mutual advantage but why must we constantly defensively point out that as supporters of this program our motive is enlightened self-interest. That our primary, secondary, and every controlling reason for these huge foreign expenditures is the defense of our way of life, our own homes and loved ones.

Is it a giveaway to use every means open to us to avoid another world war? Is it not good insurance to strengthen the hands of free people, whether or not they are particularly friendly? It is only realistic to acknowledge with approximately 6 percent of the world's population that no matter how strong we are as a Nation we are vastly outnumbered. Regardless of atomic weapons, planes, ships, and troops, our future would be precarious indeed if freedom is lost to the world.

The military assistance items, and they include the greater part of the so-called giveaway, go to arming and maintaining very important and powerful friendly forces without which we would be obliged to greatly expand our own at vastly greater cost.

Certainly, funds that make it possible for the numerous excellent native divi-

sions in South Korea, Formosa, and other Far Eastern danger spots to hold the line are in no sense given away so far as our national interest is concerned. Modern arms for NATO forces are likewise strictly in our own interest. It is far cheaper to supply arms and equipment to friends than to supply them for ourselves plus all the personnel needed as well.

The perennial cry of "giveaway" so far as military-assistance appropriations are concerned is certainly without a vestige of justification. This distortion of an important factor in our national defense is a disservice and against the public interest. I do not refer to the honest differences in opinion as to the amounts that should be so devoted. Nor do I have reference to the criticisms and allegations of waste, inefficiency and mismanagement. Certainly there is no one more eager than I to economize wherever possible, without endangering our safety, and to eliminate waste and mismanagement. But it is dangerous indeed to confuse the thinking of our people. The constant repetition of the charge that we are making unwarranted donations to foreigners is a serious, injurious, and unjustified indictment not only of a large majority of the Members of Congress, who have had the fortitude to disregard the outcry and follow the dictates of their conscience, but also of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Defense Department, and both President Eisenhower and former President Truman who have urged the necessity of the program.

As a result many earnest citizens have been needlessly confused.

Pressure groups have been armed with a potent weapon. The proponents of nearly every project calling for substantial appropriations monotonously hurl the challenge at our committees, "Why deny us, when you are giving away billions to people of other countries?"

And were this merely a handout, how could we call on all to tighten their belts so that we may balance the budget.

One cannot blame the pensioner, the civil servant, the veteran, the advocates of schools, roads, hospitals, river and harbor projects, flood control, price supports and other worthy causes, for impassioned outbursts, if in fact, they believe this is a giveaway.

Personally, I am confident to the contrary. It is a most important element in our national defense and the all vital campaign to avoid world war III. Like most of us I have supported the mutual defense concept as essential to the future well-being of the United States. I will continue to do so. But, Mr. Speaker, let us save ourselves the added burden of constant explanations. Let us make it crystal clear to all, that the fundamental goal of these expenditures, be they larger or less large, is the defense of America.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. I hope the minority leader will be able to remain on the floor during debate so that he will know why we made the adjustments in the bill. I

see he is leaving the floor before we get into general debate.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I should like to have some justification from some member of the Committee on Rules as to why they were convinced that a rule should be granted on this bill waiving all points of order.

The SPEAKER. The Chair can answer that probably better than anyone else. That had to be done because the authorization for this appropriation is not yet law.

Mr. GROSS. And probably because there is legislation in this appropriation bill, I would say to the distinguished Speaker. It seems to me that is becoming a habit—to go to the Committee on Rules and to bring out rules waiving points of order against appropriation bills.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. There is no legislation in this bill. This deals with appropriations.

The SPEAKER. The entire bill is legislation when there is no authorizing act.

Mr. PASSMAN. Well, it is legislation, but pending the authorizing legislation.

Mr. GROSS. On page 6 in this bill, if that is not legislation on an appropriation bill, then I never saw legislation on an appropriation bill. I am opposed to this rule, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rooney].

(Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks made in colloquy with Mr. MARTIN.)

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have permission to revise and extend their remarks on this bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee for a unanimous-consent request.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix and include a letter addressed to the Speaker from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in connection with a bill I introduced today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MADDEN. I yield.

Mr. FULTON. As much as a year ago we appropriated for the Mutual Security \$2.73 billion and this year it is increased and substantially increased over last year, all this talk about cutting it in relation to past history is not true.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman is substantially correct. The bill will be before the committee shortly and will request approximately \$900 million more than the Congress appropriated last year.

Mr. FULTON. So that if we by our foreign policy are in better position than last year, what is the reason for this extra billion-dollar request?

Mr. PASSMAN. It is just a question that it has been requested and we are moving along on faith and fear.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. McDonough].

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LOANS NOT HANDOUTS—FOREIGN AID THAT MAKES FRIENDS AND A PROFIT

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, in discussing the problem of foreign aid there has been great emphasis on grants and handouts by the United States to foreign nations and enormous sums have been appropriated sending American tax dollars to these nations. At the same time very little attention has been given to another method of foreign aid based on sound principles of self-help to those nations in need of assistance through the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank.

These banks are similar in operation and offer financial assistance to distressed areas and to nations seeking to develop their natural resources or build their industry through regular bank loan procedure. The money these nations receive is not a gift, but a business loan based on sound collateral.

This method of extending foreign aid has been found most effective and acceptable to most of the foreign nations to which loans have been granted as it permits these nations to maintain their self-respect and independence, and it eliminates the resentment which people of some foreign countries feel because of their sense of obligation to the United States for money received as an outright gift.

The World Bank is organized on an international basis with 58 nations including the United States participating at present. The Export-Import Bank is operated by the United States and gives special attention to loans to foreign nations which will expand and increase the export-import business of our Nation, while the World Bank loans to develop and expand the natural resources, agriculture, industry, and public facilities of countries in need of this aid.

The World Bank and the Export-Import Bank are doing a tremendous job in foreign aid and have maintained an excellent record of successful loans. The loans have been repaid and very few loans have shown any loss. In fact these loans on a banking basis are being repaid at a profit to the banks.

Most important to the American taxpayer, the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank are extending important foreign aid without using tax dollars, nor do these loans impose any obligation on our public debt.

The following article by Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, is an excellent review of the program to extend foreign aid by loan instead of

handout, and of the present accomplishments of the World Bank and its future potential not only in the economic development of other nations, but in building a world economy which will provide new markets for America's constantly increasing capacity to produce:

(By Eugene R. Black, president of the World Bank)

I think America's attitude toward the problems of the underdeveloped world is going to be an increasingly important factor in the fight of free men to withstand and throw back the incursions of Soviet communism.

The fears and hopes of the refugees living in squalor on the outskirts of Karachi and New Delhi, the yearnings of farmers scratching out a poor existence in Guatemala and Nicaragua, the dreams of the slum dwellers in Baghdad and Beirut—the aspirations of all these people are no longer of just local or regional importance. They have a relation—a very direct relation—to the realization of our own American dream.

As we look at the free world today we must be struck by the fact that underdeveloped countries constitute at least two-thirds of it. Only Western Europe and North America can be described as developed areas where adequate use is being made of natural resources and human talents.

In these respects, our Atlantic community is an island, less than half a billion people surrounded by more than a billion whose life has scarcely been touched by the material benefits of 20th century civilization. On this side of the Iron Curtain, a thousand million people are living with half the diet, a tenth of the doctors, a tenth of the schools, a tenth of the income that are standard in the United States. For hundreds of millions of them, life expectancy is less than 35 years—or about the same as it was in our Thirteen American Colonies two centuries ago.

This is certainly not the fault of the United States, and this country certainly has no obligation to do anything about it. For my own part, I am not one of those people who believe that we owe the world a living. But I do think it is very much to our own interest to do what we can, on an intelligent basis, to promote economic development in the rest of the world. Let me state why I think this is so.

Development abroad will enable foreign nations to produce the goods and services that can make them active trading partners, rather than supplicants for goods and services which the United States, in one way or another, has been giving away free. Development abroad will create and strengthen markets for goods produced in the United States and the rest of the Atlantic community. It will develop resources of primary materials which are vital to our industrial economies. Finally, I think economic development is one of the keys to stability and peace in the world.

Let me return to 1 or 2 of these points. In recent decades, export markets, by and large, have not been important to the American economy. They absorb only a small amount of our national product and account for only a fraction of our national income. But this picture is changing.

Since 1940, there has been an enormous growth of the physical plant in the United States. The physical volume of industrial production has nearly doubled, and the basic trend is still running upward.

America's capacity to save, to invest, and to produce is so great that in many industries we have already reached the point where capacity is more than enough to meet the demands of our own market. That capacity, if it is to be used, will have to be used for customers abroad. * * *

Developed countries * * * are better markets than backward ones. Let's take an undeveloped country like Ethiopia. Here is a

country rich in natural resources. It has just about the same population as New England and about five times the territory. But, on a per capita basis, its purchases of American goods amount only to about 50 cents a year.

Contrast this with Belgium and Luxembourg. These two countries also have about the same population as New England, crowded into one-sixth as much land. But they are highly developed countries and they import American products at a rate of nearly \$30 per capita per year.

In terms of export prospects it surely is obvious that the United States would be better off in a world in which there were more \$30 countries than there are today.

There is a second aspect of our relations with the underdeveloped countries that is of increasing importance to us. Over half the things we import come from those countries. They include such indispensable items as tin, copper, lead, manganese, bauxite, cobalt, and zinc. Although we are the world's greatest industrial producer, we mine within our own borders only about one-third of the number of basic materials we need. And as our industrial production mounts, our factories will grow more and more hungry for some of the things they must have from abroad to keep going.

So, whether we like it or not, we must take an increasing interest in the development of raw-materials production abroad. * * *

HOW UNITED STATES CAN EXPAND TRADE

But, if Americans are seriously interested in increasing trade and in making the most use of productive capacity, they must actively help to increase production abroad. * * *

An important avenue—and potentially a wide one—to increasing world commerce is to put more investment into productive facilities overseas. This kind of investment, of course, is the World Bank's principal business. The Bank has now been in operation for nearly 10 years, and has invested about \$2.5 billion in public and private projects in 49 different countries. Our first loans were made in advance of the Marshall plan to help maintain a flow of imports from the United States that were essential to reconstruction in Western Europe.

Although we have continued to lend in Europe, most of our operations since 1947 have been carried out in underdeveloped countries. These countries are not poor because they lack natural resources; they are poor because they have not yet done enough to develop the resources they have. To give you two extreme examples: Despite a hydroelectric-power potential of some millions of kilowatts, West Pakistan today has less than 50,000 kilowatts of electric generating capacity based on waterpower. Honduras, a farm country which is one of the largest in Central America, has only 20 miles of paved road.

The fundamental task which the loans of the Bank are helping to carry out is to construct or enlarge the basic facilities essential to modern economics. Since reconstruction we have lent \$660 million for the expansion of electric-power services. We have lent another \$600 million for transportation facilities—to buy equipment for the construction or operation of motor roads, railroads, ports, and inland waterways.

We have lent a quarter of a billion dollars for industry, and a little less than that for the improvement or expansion of agriculture through land reclamation, irrigation, and farm mechanization. Finally, we have lent about \$140 million for programs of development embracing projects in several or all of these basic fields.

Our products, I may say, have been sent all over the world to play their part in projects financed by the Bank. Our borrowers have needed them, for instance, for electric-

power installations in Chile, Finland, India, and Mexico; for farm development in Paraguay and Pakistan; for railway improvements in Brazil and Colombia; and for air transport in Australia.

I referred here to the bank's "business," and I used that term advisedly. We do not pay our bills from your taxes; we support our activities out of our own earnings. Our loans are being repaid on schedule—indeed, we have received more than \$110 million of repayments ahead of time. Our net income is running at a rate of nearly 30 million a year, and our reserves out of earnings and commissions amount to more than 200 million.

So, far from competing with private capital, the bank has worked actively—and successfully—to encourage the participation of private capital in international investment. While we began our lending operations nine years ago out of payments which our member governments made for shares of our stock, our most important source of new capital has been private funds.

We have tapped that source most often by the sale of our bonds, of which 850 million dollars' worth are now outstanding. We have also sold some 225 millions' worth of our loans to other investors, who either buy them out of our portfolio or participate in the loans when they are made.

Up to now I have spoken in terms of dollars, but only as a convenient way of describing sums that include other money as well. The bank is an international organization and its sources of finance are by no means confined to the United States. We have lent 18 different currencies in all; and, in recent years, half of our new loan funds—from foreign-government subscriptions to our capital, from our sales of bonds to foreign investors, and from earnings—have come from outside the United States.

The fact that the bank is an international organization is of advantage to the governments of developed countries, including the United States, because it enables them to share out development costs with private investors and with each other.

The bank's international character also gives rise to another advantage of greatest importance—and that is the opportunity to work effectively and closely with borrowers and borrowing countries in ways, that, for the most part, are not equally open to individual governments in their dealings with other nations. Precisely because we are international, we cannot in truth be charged by our borrowers with operating from selfish motives of profit or economic exploitation, nor can we be charged with discriminating between different countries for reasons of politics, strategy or diplomacy.

BANK APPLIES BUSINESSLIKE STANDARDS

We can, and do, apply businesslike standards to our lending. The bank lends, in the normal course, for specific projects. We do not finance the whole cost of those projects; the borrower himself must make a substantial investment and is usually required to find all those funds needed for local expenditures on labor and materials. We estimate that our 2.5 billion dollars of lending is being matched by well over 3 billion of other investment.

We pick and test our projects with a great deal of care. I am not going to describe the process in any detail; I would rather tell you what the loan is helping to do.

In Iraq a few weeks ago young King Faisal dedicated the Wadi Tharthar project for turning floods of the Tigris River away from the city of Baghdad and the surrounding farm area. In 1950 we had lent the Iraq Government \$12.8 million for the equipment and engineering services that were needed to construct the scheme. The project will save Iraq some \$4 million a year that the government and individuals have spent, on the

average, for levee construction and disaster relief; and it will prevent damage which as recently as 1954 amounted to an estimated \$80 million from a single flood. And the bank has its money back already; after the project had been well advanced, government oil revenues had increased so much that half the loan was canceled and the other half was repaid in advance.

Or take the case of Gwelo. This is a town sitting on a mile-high prairie in the center of Southern Rhodesia and it is a symbol of what the bank is helping to accomplish in a young and growing country. The town is at the center of the Southern Rhodesia railway system, to which new equipment is being added with the help of bank financing; and it is near the start of an entirely new rail line, built under a bank loan, that connects to a new seaport on the Indian Ocean. More than that, Gwelo is close to a new powerplant of some 120,000 kilowatts generating capacity—one of several plants that have been built with bank help.

The town is a bustling place of some 30,000 people. It is the headquarters of engineering and construction companies; its factories make chemicals, shoes, leather goods, razor blades, steel castings, concrete, and many other products. All this is happening where only a few years ago there was a settlement of only a few hundred people—and Gwelo may be said, almost literally, to be the creation of electric power and transportation.

When the bank lends for electric-power development it usually lends for sizable projects. But, in Mexico, we have lent for over 50 power installations, many of them quite small, and some of the most vivid examples of what electricity can do for progress are to be found among these small projects.

One of these installations was a generating plant of some 2,700 kilowatts capacity in the town of Ciudad del Carmen, a shrimp-fishing port on the Gulf of Mexico. This was Carmen's first dependable, 24-hour-a-day electric supply, and presented the first opportunity to make enough ice to fully protect the shrimp catch from spoiling.

SAVING A TOWN IN MEXICO

Nine deep-freezing and ice-manufacturing plants have now gone up in Carmen. A large shrimp canning factory has been built and is operating at a profit. Seven small yards have come into operation to build more fishing boats. Two years ago, only an occasional tramp steamer called at Carmen to pick up shrimp—today, modern refrigerator ships provide regular service from Carmen to Texas ports. Furniture plants and other small industries have begun to spring up. This town, which 3 years ago was almost literally in danger of drying up and blowing away, is now a busy and growing community. That is what a little electric power and a lot of private initiative have been able to do in Carmen.

An even smaller project, in this Mexican group, was the installation of some 600 kilowatts of generating capacity in the town of Tecuala on Mexico's west coast. The plant began operating in 1951. At the same time a paved road arrived to give Tecuala a better connection with the surrounding farm country. The sequel to these two events was little short of explosive.

In the next 3 years the population of the town grew from 5,000 to 13,000. The number of children in school increased sevenfold; and, for the first time, the adults of Tecuala, many of them illiterate, were able to have a night school. There is power now for the hospital and its first fluoroscope. The new electricity is powering two movie theaters, the town's first radio station, and the presses of its first newspaper. The number of small factories and processing plants has grown from 3 to more than 30. Among other things, Tecuala now makes ice, corn meal, shoes, and furniture.

The community is making more, earning more, and is much better able to satisfy its hunger for products from the outside world. To cite only one instance, there are today more than a dozen stores selling electrical appliances, as compared to none 5 years ago; and Tecuala is now a market for electric fans, electric irons, radios, and refrigerators. The mayor of the town sums up the whole story well when he says, "We have come out of the dark ages into the light."

Now let me switch from these small projects to a very big one—the biggest ever to be considered in the bank and the biggest of its kind, in fact, ever to be planned anywhere. I am referring to the high dam which the Egyptians intend to build at Aswan, near the first cataract of the Nile. The dam would be nearly 400 feet high, 1 mile thick at the base and 3 miles long, and would be 17 times greater in volume than the Great Pyramid of Cheops. The dam would store enough water to inundate the entire State of Rhode Island in a snake-like reservoir long enough to stretch from Hartford, Conn., to Richmond, Va.

The project actually consists of three elements. One is the construction of the high dam itself. Another is the use of water stored by the dam to extend perennial irrigation to some 2 million acres of land, or about a third more than are perennially irrigated at present, and including 1.3 million acres not now irrigated at all. The third element is the installation of a large hydroelectric powerplant, along with the necessary distribution facilities, which will more than double the present supply of electricity and help the continuing growth of industry in Egypt.

The bank was informed late in 1952 that the Egyptians intended, if possible, to carry out this project. I myself discussed it with the Egyptian authorities on a visit I made to Cairo as part of a general trip to the Middle East early in 1953. The bank has been in close touch with the planning and preparation of the project since that time and our own experts spent 5 months in Egypt in 1954 and 1955 making a detailed study.

We believe—as do private experts of international repute—that the project is entirely feasible. Further, we estimate that when the project is in full operation—which will not be for another 15 years or more—the value of new agricultural and industrial production and of other benefits will within a short span of years be more than equal to the investment required for the project.

But, in the meantime, the problem of financing is a large one. We began close discussions of this with the Egyptian Finance Minister in the bank during November; and, at the invitation of Colonel Nasser, the Prime Minister of Egypt, I went to Cairo earlier this year to discuss it further.

COST OF DAM \$1.35 BILLIONS

The estimated cost of the project and ancillary works is \$1,350,000,000 of which some \$400 million represents private investment. Our discussions centered on the balance—\$950 million—which will take the form of Government expenditures. In line with the bank's usual practice, the Egyptian Government will take the responsibility for \$550 million needed in Egyptian currency for local labor, services and materials. That leaves \$400 million needed in other currencies for equipment and services that will have to come from abroad.

I felt that, of this amount, the bank could lend half, or \$200 million, but that it would be necessary for the Egyptian Government to find elsewhere the remainder of the foreign exchange needed. Before I went to Cairo, the American and British Governments had offered grant funds of \$70 million—enough, it is estimated, to cover the foreign-exchange costs of diverting the Nile

from its bed and completing the foundation of the dam.

The two governments also indicated that they would be prepared at a later date, in the light of the then existing circumstances, to give sympathetic consideration to financing the later stages of the project as a supplement to bank lending.

The position of the two governments, however, was contingent on lending by the bank. At the invitation of Colonel Nasser, I therefore went to Egypt to discuss with the Prime Minister himself the circumstances under which the bank would be willing to participate in the financing of the project. Most important, it was necessary to know whether the Egyptian Government was determined not only to give the necessary financial support to the project but also to budget other public investment prudently and with foresight so as to avoid bringing the project—and, indeed, the economy of Egypt itself—into jeopardy. During my visit to Cairo the Prime Minister and I reached an understanding which was satisfactory to me.

The World Bank is not interested in projects only. It is even more interested in whether the underdeveloped countries are themselves making the most of their own opportunities. The effects of even the best project may be lost in an economy that is going adrift; and the whole process of development requires intelligent use of a country's resources as a whole. It calls for the wise budgeting and direction of public investment toward realistic goals, and it requires public economic and fiscal policies that will support private initiative and private investment.

The bank hammers very hard at this matter of encouraging private enterprise and private investment within the underdeveloped countries themselves. We have worked for proper government policies and we have declined to support government ventures in fields of industry which should be competitive and for which, under the right circumstances, private capital could be found.

WHEN BORROWERS ARE TURNED DOWN

We discuss these considerations with prospective borrowers before we lend; we offer advice on these matters when we feel that it is useful to do so; and, not infrequently, our decision to lend or not to lend depends upon the outcome of these discussions. In more than one case we have decided that our most effective contribution to development can be made by shelving loans until the prospective borrower has begun to straighten out his own affairs and to do what it lies within his power to do with resources already at his disposal.

In other words, the bank has not tried to be popular. We have tried to be effective and to win respect. And, it is generally recognized, I think, that in these things we have succeeded.

The bank, as I said, is an international institution. But I believe that it is serving your interests and the interests of the United States. It is helping to create production and earnings in the underdeveloped world and it is helping to create paying customers abroad for communities like yours.

In Washington, Congress is now considering the administration's proposals for the continuation of economic aid to countries abroad. Without commenting specifically on those proposals, I want, from the vantage point of our experience in the bank, to offer some remarks about reasons that are put forward both for and against economic aid. Some of them, I think, confuse rather than clarify the issue.

We hear it said, for example, that such massive amounts of aid are needed that to satisfy them would work serious damage on the American economy. I just do not believe that. It assumes that everything can be, and must be, done at once. But the fact

is that the rate at which the underdeveloped countries can absorb new capital is limited, and that the number of useful projects on which public funds can be properly and effectively spent is far from infinite. The danger, in my opinion, is not that we shall try to do too much, but, rather, that we will find it possible to do too little.

On the other side, the most popular argument in favor of foreign aid is that it can win friends for the United States and the democracies of the West. This, too, seems doubtful to me. This kind of thinking in the past has already kept aid from being as effective as it might have been because it has emphasized the act of giving—or, in some cases, of lending—at the expense of careful attention to the study and selection of projects for economic merit.

On the recipient side, too, the friendship theory has not infrequently had unfortunate results which were quite the opposite of those intended. It has encouraged a supplicant attitude on the part of some underdeveloped countries and has made it quite logical for them to feel resentment when one of them does not receive as much aid as some other. And, in a few cases, the notion that American aid was intended to buy their favor has caused underdeveloped countries to decline that aid altogether.

To believe that economic aid can win friends is to take altogether too simple a view of international relations; and I think we must always remember the warnings of experienced diplomats that friendships cannot exist between nations in the same sense as it exists between one person and another. Indeed, if aid could win us friends in the sense that some people believe, the United States, after the expenditure of scores of billions of dollars since the war, already would be far and away the most befriended nation on earth.

What can exist between nations is mutual interest, based on geography, history, and many other factors—a complex in which aid can only be one part. I think that the United States, both acting on its own part and making the fullest possible use of international organizations like the Bank, can wisely and realistically support aid for economic development, and I think so because the United States itself will benefit from the growth in world production, markets, and trade that economic development can help bring about.

The right kind of program can mitigate the problem of scarcity overseas and it can, at the same time, build markets for industrial nations like the United States. * * * I think one important conclusion that follows from this is that the United States should give support to economic aid continuously, and not according to the rising or falling barometer of pressures in world politics.

There is, to my mind, just one other compelling reason to support economic development. It is that the course of development will become a more and more important factor in determining the kind of world we ourselves live in. The political and economic revolution that we ourselves helped begin in the 18th century is now beginning to march through many parts of the underdeveloped world. Wherever the revolution marches we see political, economic, and social institutions in the process of change.

MEANING TO AMERICANS

The form in which these institutions begin to crystallize is of the utmost importance to us. In a better economic environment there is a better chance for men to appreciate those values of freedom and democracy which mean so much in the West and so little in Moscow. If aid to economic development can help men prize and assert their independence, then it is something

greatly worth doing. And if along with our aid we can demonstrate the validity of our own principles of freedom of individuals and of enterprise, then I think we are making some progress toward shaping the kind of world which we ourselves want. I think this is worth doing, not reluctantly and hesitantly, but on a scale and with a constancy of purpose equal to the importance of the task.

(Foregoing are excerpts from an address by Mr. Black before the Connecticut Chamber of Commerce in Hartford, Conn., May 8, 1956.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 12130, with Mr. MILLS in the chair.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] will be recognized for 2 hours, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] will be recognized for 2 hours.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN].

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Listening to the distinguished minority leader reminds me of a story that was brought to my attention earlier today. During George Washington's Presidency, an old Virginia slave, about a hundred years old, heard about President Washington being called the father of his country. He obtained permission from his master to see a street parade in which President Washington was going to participate. When the appointed day arrived, the old slave stood on the street from 4 o'clock in the morning until the parade passed, at about 10 o'clock, President Washington was pointed out to him, and the aged slave watched as he passed by. Then he turned to his friend and commented, "Why, he is just a man." So it is, too, that President Eisenhower is just a man; and he does not have all the answers, either.

Mr. MARTIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes, I yield.

Mr. MARTIN. He is a mighty good man.

Mr. PASSMAN. I did not say anything about him not being a good man. Most of us are worried about his health; but I will say he is a good man. However, if you could take 10 of the younger men in America who had reached legal age to be President, and worked them 18 hours a day, they could not possibly do all the things accredited to President Eisenhower, as to what he is doing and recommending.

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman is of legal age. Does he think 10 people in his district could do what he is doing?

Mr. PASSMAN. We hear it daily: "President Eisenhower wants this and wants that," as though President Eisenhower had all the answers to all the problems.

I just want to make it clear that while all these things are given out in the name of the President of the United States, maybe the President did not actually have anything to do with giving them out.

I think this telegram, which came to me this morning, is somewhat true:

Congressman PASSMAN. Do you realize that the United States stands a better than 50-50 chance to go down in history as the first nation to lose its resources and independence by giving itself away?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARTIN. Does the gentleman think that the arming of South Korea, the Philippines, Formosa, Spain, Pakistan, Turkey, has been a matter of giving away? Is not our own security at stake?

Mr. PASSMAN. I might reply to my distinguished friend that it is quite obvious to me that the old steam roller was started several weeks ago to bypass this subcommittee, and it is still working. Now, if the gentleman will remain on the floor and listen to and accept facts as they are, when I and other members of the committee have concluded, he will know as well as I that we are providing more money in this bill than is needed, or can be spent.

Some Member stated that we reported this bill out of the subcommittee with one vote to spare. That is true. I would not have mentioned it but for the fact that another Member said that we reported the bill out of the full committee with but two votes to spare. That is also true, but I would never have mentioned it. However, I do want to say, inasmuch as it is a fact that we only brought the bill out by two votes, that this is also true. All day Thursday and into Thursday night, and early Friday morning, the White House was calling Members on the gentleman's side of the aisle, and maybe this side of the aisle, pleading with them: "While you have never voted for the bill before, give us your vote for the bill this time." I want to say to the Republican Members that I have tried to be fair with my own leaders in this House, and go along with them on any request that is fair; but when my own leadership and the ranking minority Member come along and say what they expect us to do, as for myself, I am not taking the position that I do not trust the majority of 435 of the finest Americans that you have in this great country of yours and mine.

Let me call to your attention a statement which appeared since we reported this bill out of committee on last Friday: One of the nations, Cambodia, a country which was included in the mutual-aid bill last year—and I will not give the amount, for that is classified, but it went into the tens of millions several times; and I cannot tell you the recommendations in this bill this year. but it

is tens of millions several times—but let me report to you what happened: "Prince Norodom Sihanouk concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union for economic and industrial aid.

"He declared that the hope of his people rested in the Soviet Union 'for the realization of our desires for peace and prosperity.'"

Further quoting the report: "When Sihanouk resigned his premiership he charged the United States made it impossible for him to conduct a neutralist foreign policy."

And now I refer you to pages 84 and 85 of the hearings as to how our administrator felt about this matter:

Mr. Chairman, before proceeding into the discussion of the bill, I want to pay tribute to some of the finest men who ever served in the Congress. They include:

The gentleman from Missouri, Mr. CANNON.
The gentleman from Virginia, Mr. GARY.
The gentleman from New York, Mr. ROONEY.

The gentleman from New Mexico, Mr. FERNANDEZ.

The gentleman from Georgia, Mr. LANHAM.
The gentleman from Kentucky, Mr. NATCHER.

The gentleman from Indiana, Mr. DENTON.
My compliments are equally as strong for the distinguished Members on the minority side:

The gentleman from New York, Mr. TABER.
The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. WIGGLESWORTH.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. FENTON.

The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. FORD.
The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. HAND.
Although the members of the committee do not always agree, we can disagree without being disagreeable.

I wish to pay special tribute to the able and distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY], former chairman of this subcommittee. This conscientious, able man, who handled the appropriation for this program from its inception 10 years ago, through 1954, will defend the bill here this afternoon with all of his conviction. He realizes, as I do, that this program is getting out of control and should be regulated; and you cannot do it by yielding to emotionalism.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want also to pay tribute to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS], chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. A finer, more sincere and able person has never served in this House. I only wish that he would be back next year so that we would again have the benefit of his wise counsel and extraordinary leadership. My confidence in this very able American, and my confidence in the distinguished American from Virginia, has prompted me to change my position in many ways with respect to this entire program.

Mr. Chairman, the bill now under consideration calls for the appropriation of additional funds for the mutual security program for fiscal 1957.

At the outset, may I say that I have voted against the foreign-aid authorization bill every year during my 10-year tenure in the Congress. This does not mean that I do not endorse the program in principle; but from the beginning I have believed that this type of program would gain momentum and grow and

grow, and that there would be no stopping place. If I recall correctly, in 1947, 10 years ago, it was stated in the well of the House, where I now stand, that the purpose of the foreign-aid program was to feed the starving people of other nations, and that it would require 5 years to complete the program at a cost of approximately \$15 billion.

Now, 10 years later, the program has grown to where the expenditures are approaching \$60 billion, and there are now 68 of the 84 nations of the world participating in one or more phases of the program.

In many instances, Members of Congress are asked to support the program and appropriate additional billions of dollars on faith; and when it appears that faith will fail, then the old stock word of fear is brought into sway.

I am supporting the bill before you, and I will work just as hard for its passage as if I, myself, had originated the program 10 years ago. I am representing the views of a majority of the Committee on Appropriations in asking you to appropriate an additional \$3,665,920,000 for fiscal year 1957. This is an increase of \$900,045,000 over the amount that the Congress appropriated for fiscal 1956. Even this staggering sum, and the large increase, is not sufficient according to many, as demonstrated here this afternoon. But, in my opinion, if the membership of the House will act on facts, and I think they will, then I do not believe that you will vote for an increase over the amount recommended by a majority of the subcommittee and full Committee on Appropriations.

If the Committee approves the amount of funds requested in the bill under consideration, then the mutual-security program will have available for expenditure in future years the total sum of \$10,302,820,000. The information in the report accompanying the bill will explain in more detail how this amount was arrived at; but may I furnish you with this information at this time:

[In thousands of dollars]

	Balance June 30, 1956	New appropriations 1957	Total available 1957
Military assistance.....	5,059,100	1,735,000	6,794,100
Nonmilitary:			
Defense support.....	1,232,207	1,128,700	2,360,907
Development assistance.....	222,043	130,000	352,043
Technical cooperation.....	145,884	146,500	292,384
Other program.....	218,466	284,920	503,386
Total nonmilitary.....	1,818,600	1,690,120	3,508,720
Total.....	6,877,700	3,425,120	10,302,820
Budget estimates.....	4,859,975,000		
House appropriation.....	3,425,120,000		
Decrease below budget.....	-1,434,855,000		
Authorization bill conference.....	4,027,575,000		
Infrastructure.....	75,000,000		
ICEM.....	12,500,000		
Total.....	4,115,075,000		
House appropriation committee below conference figure.....	689,955,000		

If the bill is approved as presented by the committee, the mutual security program for future years will have available under military a total of \$6,794,100,000; and under nonmilitary programs, \$3,508,720,000, making the total as above outlined.

Mr. Chairman, I now wish to go into some actual, documented, well established facts of the program, and show for the benefit of the committee certain discrepancies that are of very recent origin.

Last year, the witnesses appearing before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee stated that they would spend during fiscal 1956 in military, \$2,500,000,000 and under nonmilitary, \$1,765,000,000, or a total of \$4,265,000,000. At a later date, and based upon last year's appropriations and carryover funds, the International Cooperation Administration officials revised that estimate, stating that they would spend out of new and old funds for military and for nonmilitary a total of \$5 billion.

But, what are the facts? Under military, taking them at their word, they actually spent \$2,200,000,000, and under nonmilitary, they spent \$1,570,000,000, or a total of \$3,770,000,000. Now, by simple subtraction, the most skeptical person can understand that they overestimated their expenditures for the fiscal year that has just closed by a sum of \$1,230,000,000. Can we expect this year's estimates to be any more accurate than those of last year?

Mr. Chairman, I shall not now, or in the future, attempt to sway support for any program that I present with any argument not substantiated by facts. Last year was the first year that I attempted to handle this bill before the committee, the House and the Conference; and I was gratified that my subcommittee, the full Committee on Appropriations, the Committee of the Whole and the House and the conferees supported a reduction below the amount the President requested. It was said in many quarters at that time, and in some instances with very strong language, that the program had been crippled, that the administration could not carry out its commitments under the revised program, but what are the facts? Let us face them realistically.

On June 30, the fiscal year just closed, with the ICA having the right, under law passed by the Congress, to place in reservation funds which they could not obligate—this is not in reality a completed obligation, but a form of obligation used only in the mutual defense setup—what did we find? The Department came up with \$342,400,000 unobligated. Of this amount \$90 million was in the President's special fund for the Far East, \$211,900,000 in the military, with \$40,500,000 in nonmilitary. Now, I ask you in all candor, Mr. Chairman, did the committee and the Congress cripple this program by its reduction last year? The answer is absolutely "No." If it were not for the consideration of the committee, \$252,400,000 would have gone by the board and back into the United States Treasury on June 30 this year.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I am happy to yield.

Mr. GROSS. This word "reservation" seems to be a new word in the vocabulary of the ICA.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman is correct. They come up occasionally with new words in this program, like infrastructure. I suggest the gentleman go to Webster's and find the meaning.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I am glad to note that in the hearings the gentleman questioned the witnesses with respect to whether there had been any change in the name of the ICA and suggested, as I remember his question, whether or not we could anticipate in the near future there would be another perfumed name to decorate this program.

Mr. PASSMAN. If I may deal in levity momentarily, yes, I am anticipating a new name in the not too distant future. This name is now a year old and it will not hold out much longer.

Mr. GROSS. Some odor is being attached to it. If the gentleman would yield for a moment further, speaking of the obligation of funds, I should like to read from the hearings at page 51:

Mr. PASSMAN. Would you agree that, on account of the large unexpended balances that continue to increase year after year, somewhere down the line too much money had been appropriated, money you could not obligate wisely?

Mr. HOLLISTER. I would.

Mr. PASSMAN. Practically every witness agreed that they had received too much money in the past.

Mr. Chairman, many find it easier to condemn than to commend; but as it applies to me, I have always preferred to commend, rather than to condemn or criticize. There comes a time in one's work, however, when it is necessary to point out certain things that could be interpreted as criticism.

The principal difficulty with the mutual security program, in my opinion, has been and continues to be related to poor administration. It has been practically impossible to elicit the information necessary for a proper determination of amounts required to keep the program moving at the proposed rate. Either the witnesses would not divulge certain pertinent information, or the program itself is, both present and planned, so ambiguous and in a continuous state of suspense that the witnesses, in all honesty, could not give the information requested and needed for intelligently acting upon this request.

Members of this House will recall the fiscal mixup uncovered during the consideration of the 1956 appropriation bill for the ICA. Even though military assistance funds should be reserved in an amount of money equal to the total cost of materials being ordered by the Department of Defense, the sum of \$614 million was so reserved during the last hour of the last day of the fiscal year 1956. By that, I mean after 5 o'clock in the afternoon of June 30. This was in addition to a prior June reservation of \$337 million, for a total of \$951 million for the last month of the fiscal year. I

need not point out, really, that orders in this amount were not, and could not have been, placed by the Department of Defense during June. Further, it was physically impossible to have placed orders in the amount of \$614 million in the last hour of the last day of the fiscal year.

Let us continue on a factual discussion of this matter. Last year, after the Subcommittee and full Committee on Appropriations and this House had supported the committee's recommendations, and after we had gone into conference with the bill, one of the most unusual discrepancies came to light. While sitting at the conference table, it was brought to the attention of the members of the subcommittee that the Air Force had discovered that the FOA had overpaid them a sum amounting \$302 million. In other words, the heads of the Mutual Security Agency had overpaid the Air Force \$302 million, and they came into possession of a check for the same amount, whereas, in a matter of hours before that time, when they were before our committee, they did not know they had the check coming. It was obvious that this occurred as a result of transferring to the Air Force this amount of money for a purpose not specifically determined.

How do I know and how do you know but that at some future date it may be brought to light that this agency has overpaid the Air Force, the Army, or the Navy maybe a billion dollars? This is not an accusation, but in view of the looseness with which this program is operated, it is certainly a possibility.

So certainly it is natural to believe that such a transfer could not meet the test of an obligation under section 1311 of the Supplemental appropriation Act of 1955. The amount would have lapsed because the agreed-upon version in the conference report provided for a carry-over of only \$33,900,000 for military assistance. The managers on the part of the House, in order to reach an agreement, relented and agreed with the Senate to invalidate this transaction by statute as a part of section 108 which made an additional \$203 million available during fiscal year 1956. We did not discuss this at the time we considered the original matter on the floor of the House.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. I notice that nowhere in the report of the committee does that \$302 million appear, but in my opinion that should be added to the \$1,056,100,000 which appears in the third line on page 17. Is that not correct?

Mr. PASSMAN. That is my understanding, but I may say to the distinguished gentleman from New York that I am merely pointing out the many discrepancies which have occurred in this program in the past, and not trying to complicate the consideration of this particular bill.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. GARY. The information is shown in the tables appearing on page 4 in the report of the committee.

Mr. PASSMAN. I thank the gentleman. What I am trying to establish with facts is that we are not harming the program by trying to operate it on a business basis. I am trying to point out some of the things that we had to deal with last year.

Now, may I refer you to page 152 in the hearings for this year? I quote:

UNOBLIGATED AND UNRESERVED FUNDS ON
JUNE 30, 1956

Mr. PASSMAN. How much do you expect to have unobligated and unreserved at the end of fiscal year 1956?

Mr. SHAW. \$195,500,000.

Mr. PASSMAN. This \$195,500,000 will be cash on hand unobligated and unreserved?

Mr. SHAW. That is correct, sir.

Mr. PASSMAN. This will indicate, if I may go back to a statement I made earlier in the hearings, that you actually had more money available last year than you could expend?

Mr. SHAW. May I comment on that, Mr. Passman?

Mr. PASSMAN. I certainly want to be fair.

Mr. SHAW. The answer is "Yes."

Further quoting from the record:

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Shaw, how much did you obligate and/or reserve on June 30, 1956?

Mr. SHAW. \$614,140,511.

Mr. PASSMAN. What percentage does that represent of the total available funds for that fiscal year?

Mr. SHAW. Twenty-two percent, sir.

Can you imagine an agency obligating 22 percent of the total annual appropriation on 5:15 of the afternoon of the last day of any fiscal year?

Mr. Chairman, as to the current situation, the enactment of section 110 of the Mutual Security Appropriation Act of 1955 provided that the Department of Defense funds would be obligated by MDAP equipment pending reimbursement or actual delivery of military material to recipient nations. This provision was repeated in section 108 of the 1956 Appropriation Act. In other words, necessary lead time was financed with defense funds; therefore, it is being financed with defense funds now.

In spite of the existing financial arrangement, it was repeatedly testified that the full amount of the request was needed to finance long lead-time items of military equipment. This lead-time according to testimony was averaged out at 24 months, of which, incredible as it may be, 6 or 8 months was so-called administrative lead time. Inquiry reveals, however, that aside from special weapons now programmed for military assistance and exceptional items of electronics, all of the material, including completed aircraft, is being delivered from existing inventories of the military departments. The most extreme example of the long lead-time items is aircraft. The Air Force advised me, through the committee staff, that all aircraft deliveries up to date and programmed for fiscal year 1957 are to be delivered out of inventory.

In this connection, I quote from the testimony of Mr. Gordon Gray, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs:

Most of the equipment which is undelivered is now being produced or is in the

hands of the United States Military Establishment. If the equipment is held by the United States armed services, either in use or in the mobilization reserve, it cannot be released for delivery to our allies until new equipment has been produced and delivered to replace it.

Nevertheless, if you will note, most of the equipment is being supplied from inventory. However, the last phrase, which states that equipment cannot be released for delivery to our allies until new equipment has been produced and delivered to replace it, is not in accord with established facts.

The average length of time to process an order is 48 hours. Inspection and repair when necessary prior to shipment is anywhere from 1 to 5 months. Accordingly, the maximum lead time, exclusive of administrative lead time, is about 5 months for aircraft, aircraft engines, and spare parts. The lead time on items supplied by the Army, such as tanks, artillery, and ammunition is even less.

The contention that funds should be appropriated in fiscal year 1957 for items to be delivered late in 1958 and 1959 just does not hold water.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield.

Mr. FORD. I would not want to say anything in reference to the Air Force or the Navy, but in the case of the Army, the facts, as related by the gentleman in reference to tanks and ammunition, are not accurate unless you want to assume that we should take them out of our own stocks or away from our own troops. If you predicate your statement on that fact, then O. K. but otherwise you are in error.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana is going to stick by what he said. I think I have properly documented what I have said.

Mr. FORD. I have not seen any documentation with reference to the Army.

Mr. PASSMAN. I am making a statement of facts, and certainly I am going to stick by my documented statement. I will say to the gentleman that I am also backing this up with a pertinent letter, if and when it becomes necessary.

Mr. FORD. I would be very glad to see it in the RECORD.

Mr. PASSMAN. I do not know whether it is going in the RECORD or not. According to what has happened this afternoon, it is evident that I should retain some ammunition so that when I go to conference they will not "roll" me and this committee, as it seems they are going to attempt to do.

The contention that funds must be appropriated in the fiscal year 1957 for items to be delivered late in 1958 and 1959—I repeat—just does not "hold water."

The present pipeline for the military alone is something over \$5 billion. So, even if not \$1 were appropriated for equipment in 1957, the program at the estimated rate of expenditure should continue for 2 years; that is, fiscal 1957 and 1958. To be liberal however, and to insure that the program remains uninterrupted, appropriations could logically be made in fiscal year 1958, not this year,

to cover deliveries in 1958 and succeeding years.

I think the gentleman knows, as I know, that we are appropriating money, not for fiscal 1957 or 1958, but for fiscal 1959. Why this administration insists on having a pipeline of \$11 or \$12 billion is beyond my comprehension and my reasoning.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. Is not what the gentleman says about ICA funds also true of the \$35 billion that we recently appropriated for the Armed Forces that handle our own defense budget?

Mr. PASSMAN. I am not on that committee, and therefore I shall not attempt to discuss anything that transpired on that committee. I will do very well to be able to discuss intelligently what happened on my own committee.

Mr. JUDD. But my point is that the gentleman will agree that it is hardly fair to suggest that this long-lead-time problem is something that applies only to the mutual security program when it applies equally to our own defense programs.

Mr. PASSMAN. I would hate to think that all agencies are as "careful," so-called, as this agency; but if the gentleman wants to make that statement and wants it in the RECORD, that is his responsibility.

Mr. JUDD. I am trying to get some information. The gentleman said he knew all about it.

Mr. PASSMAN. I did not say I knew all about it. Everything I have said this afternoon can be substantiated by the facts.

Mr. JUDD. May I ask the gentleman's opinion on this. Would he favor what our committee tentatively suggested: that hereafter the military aid which the administration asks and your committee recommends for the mutual security program be handled through the regular Defense Department budget?

Mr. PASSMAN. Provided you want to lose the appropriation altogether. Hide it, and stick it in between a lot of other billions, and have it run up, say, two and a half times what you are spending now. That would not have my endorsement.

Mr. JUDD. Is the gentleman saying it is harder to identify it in the Defense budget?

Mr. PASSMAN. I think the gentleman answered that. You know it would be hard to identify it.

Mr. JUDD. But at least we would not have two pipelines, one for the Pentagon and one for mutual security.

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes; that is true.

Mr. JUDD. We would then get along by each year providing so much money for the military items for our allies and let this agency go to the Pentagon and buy them.

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes.

Mr. JUDD. And we would not have a second pipe line.

Mr. PASSMAN. You would hide it, and the American taxpayers would not know what you are appropriating in these programs. You are not advocating that, are you?

Mr. JUDD. No; I am trying to avoid the long lead time. My committee would authorize so much money. Your committee would appropriate it, and ICA would go over to the Pentagon and buy the equipment for that year.

Mr. PASSMAN. I am not in the habit of attempting to discuss in detail on the floor of the House matters which do not come before my committee.

Mr. JUDD. But the gentleman has implied there is even greater confusion in the Pentagon and its pipe line than in the mutual security agency with its pipeline.

Mr. PASSMAN. I do not think I said anything of such nature.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield.

Mr. MASON. If the approximately \$1 billion we have handed out to Yugoslavia for military aid had been in our general military appropriation, it would have been lost sight of, and the American people then would not know that that amount had gone down the drain, because they would, of course, suppose, if it was a part of our own defense fund, that it was for our defense and accomplished what it was spent for.

Mr. PASSMAN. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. GROSS. Speaking of division in the Pentagon, I wonder if the gentleman can tell me—I note in the hearings, although I have not been able to read all of them, that at least you come up to the point of pointing out what happened to the \$400 million which the Comptroller General said was held illegally by the Pentagon since 1954; did you ever get an answer to what has been done with that \$400 million?

Mr. PASSMAN. I do not think there has been any intentional dishonesty so far as taking the dollars out of Uncle Sam's pocket is concerned.

Mr. GROSS. I said "held illegally"; I did not say it was dishonest.

Mr. PASSMAN. It is certainly a very intricate and involved matter.

Mr. Chairman, according to the actual and not alleged lead time, a portion of the 1958 deliveries could be made from 1958 appropriations. Certainly all 1959 deliveries could be financed from 1958 appropriations. Therefore, I insist that with the exception of funds required for a part of the special weapons, for training, for infrastructure, and so forth, no additional funds are actually required this year for military equipment.

There is another matter I would like to bring to the attention of the Committee: Last year when we were considering the Budget's request there was an item of \$200 million known as the President's special fund for the Far East. The committee reduced this item to \$100 million and there were many strong complaints; but here are the facts:

During the 12-month period the total expenditures and obligations against the \$100 million amounted to an estimated \$10 million, leaving clean, clear, and unencumbered \$90 million of the \$100 million that we appropriated. Would this indicate anything other than the fact that they just do not know what they

need and what their requirements are?

May I quote now from the report of the survey and investigators of the House Appropriations Committee, beginning with line 2 on page 15:

Military aid program on a worldwide basis with the appropriation of further moneys is already overfunded, particularly when considering the extent to which the countries have furnished or will furnish the manpower. Completion of the program based on released force goals with presently available funds would involve some reprogramming by the countries and redeployment of materials included in the \$5.5 billion funded undelivered portion of the program and unreleased 1956 programs.

Mr. Chairman, I am of the opinion that the people back home, the taxpayers, the constituents who sent us here, are now for the first time being heard very plainly on this program. Why do I say this? Because it is obvious to Members of Congress of both branches and to the four committees dealing with this subject, that it has gotten out from under control, and something is going to have to be done to bring it under control.

First. Is it not true that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, under the very able leadership of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS] has recommended and will secure permission to conduct an investigation of the foreign-aid program?

Second. Is it not true that the Foreign Relations Committee of the other body will undoubtedly undertake to conduct an investigation of the foreign aid program?

Third. Is it not true that the Rules Committee of the other body approved last Friday a sum of \$300,000 to pay the cost of an investigation?

Fourth. Is it not true that the report before you now recommends an investigation of the foreign aid spending program?

Fifth. And is it not expected that the Appropriations Committee of the other body will do likewise.

Sixth. And I am told on good authority that the present administration itself is advocating the same type of investigation.

If this program were so perfect and working out as planned, and if our objectives were being met properly, why do you have every legislative and every appropriation committee dealing with this matter presenting recommendations that an investigation be made? Of course, you know as well as I do that it should be investigated, even before this bill passes. That being impossible, all we can do is to proceed with our business.

I contend that the administration would have been wiser to have initiated a reexamination of the entire aid program before coming to Congress of additional funds, but they did not do so. Rather, they requested additional funds, and your committee is recommending a most abundant amount.

I state for the record, that the agency spend during fiscal 1956 a total of \$3,770,000,000, and with the carryover funds and new appropriation making a total of \$10,302,820,000 will carry the program on this basis for 33 months.

Mr. Chairman, it is now time for us to stop, to look, to listen, to investigate, and to give more thought to the facts and to the wisdom and recommendations of those good men and women back home who sent us here.

May I remind you that from time immemorial our forefathers have taught us the plain fact that the best way to destroy friends, and the same applies to nations, is to start supporting them with gifts and favors and advice. The more you give a person, the more he wants; and the effect of continued gifts, grants and favors, will completely destroy the independence, self-reliance, initiative and incentive in the individual, and also the nation.

Emotionalism is out of place in considering this appropriation. And so is partisanship. Certainly, the members will not permit emotionalism or partisanship, or other unfounded factors of the situation to outweigh the facts.

I plead with each and every member of the committee to take copies of the hearings home with you, to take copies of the report home with you, to read the hearings and report from cover to cover. If you will do that, even my friends on the other side of the aisle would hesitate to come up with an amendment to provide additional funds in this bill.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I am delighted to yield to my distinguished friend and colleague, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. RICHARDS. I want to say that I deeply appreciate what the gentleman has said about the work of our committee and the chairman of that committee. May I say here for the record that at all times I kept in touch with the gentleman who is chairman of the subcommittee on appropriations and I have found him most cooperative. We worked closely together. As a matter of fact, I have supported this program since 1948 and the gentleman felt otherwise and so far as the authorizations are concerned he has not supported it. But one of the things I have noted about him is this: The Congress having expressed its will in regard to this legislation through authorization he went along when it came to appropriations, whenever he could conscientiously do so, and when he could not do so he fought it just as he always fights any measure he does not think is best for the people. I have never known a man more devoted to his responsibilities here. I want to say that the people of Louisiana, and particularly his congressional district, will go a long time before they will find a man who has met his responsibility here in the able way the gentleman from Louisiana has. He is an able legislator, a fearless fighter and withal a gentleman. It has been a pleasure to advise and confer with him. Now, there is another question I want to ask the gentleman and a little criticism at this point, if he will permit me.

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes.

Mr. RICHARDS. Not any criticism of the gentleman but of the procedure here. As I understand, the gentleman has cut

from the House authorization just a little over \$300 million. Is that about right?

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes, substantially that amount.

Mr. RICHARDS. The conferees have placed back in this bill about \$360 million over and above the House authorization. We gained a little on that, taking into consideration the Senate figure. But, does not the gentleman think it would have been a little better, in the interest of orderly procedure, for the gentleman not to write his report until the conferees had acted?

Mr. PASSMAN. I will answer the distinguished chairman by saying that, in this particular instance, inasmuch as we are working hard for an adjournment by July 31—and if I may speak politically for a moment, the Democratic convention convening in Chicago August 13—had we acted as you have suggested, then we would not have made an appropriation this year. May I say to the distinguished chairman that, for some reason unknown to me, the Department was slow bringing up the request for an authorization. And, of course, if we should wait until an authorization bill has cleared both branches of the Congress and then start our hearing, it would be almost impossible to conclude here in time to adjourn the Congress.

Mr. RICHARDS. I do not object to that. I understand why you should hold your hearings and get up your figures, but I am talking about the conference report. Your deductions are based on the House bill and not the conference report.

Mr. PASSMAN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Your cut amounts to about how much?

Mr. PASSMAN. Six hundred and eighty-nine thousand dollars below the conference report.

Mr. RICHARDS. Now, the difference between the gentleman and myself on that—and I know he is perfectly honest, knowing how dedicated he is to his duty—is that he thinks that is a proper cut and I think it is too much. But, I certainly would not impugn the motives or the integrity or the good intentions of the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. I do not know about the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but on most money bills—let us be perfectly honest—we do not have our way every time, and many times when we go to conference it is rather difficult to support the House position with our colleagues on the other side of the Capitol. I am sure the gentleman understands what “trading” means in conference.

Mr. RICHARDS. I found out, when we went to conference, as strong as we were in the House, we would be sitting there until Christmas if we did not make some sort of a compromise. I can readily understand the position the House will find itself in when this time it goes over there to conference.

Mr. PASSMAN. The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs would not be displeased if eventually we should get the original figure recommended by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. RICHARDS. I think that would be just about right.

Mr. PASSMAN. I hope we get less, but the gentleman may be happy when it is all over.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I hope we stay here until Christmas before you give up an inch.

Mr. PASSMAN. I would be willing to stay for such purpose, if it should be necessary, until the 3d of January, but that would not be permissible.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Irrespective of what the authorization bill is—and I listened to our Speaker when he was supporting the increase in the authorization bill—that is an entirely different matter. That is an authorization bill, which by its very nature should be cautiously liberal. This is an appropriation bill, in which we must carefully appraise the actual present needs. The gentleman spoke awhile ago about these investigations. I think the whole country believes there should be a reappraisal of the entire foreign aid program. And I am sure it is going to be made. Members on both sides of the aisle as well as the administration appreciate the fact that is essential.

I think we ought not to increase the amount which the Appropriations Committee considered the absolute minimum of present needs. Then, after these investigations, when the new Congress comes back in January, there will be ample time to provide additional appropriations under the authorization which has been passed, to supplement the amount we shall give them now, if these investigations indicate that that should be done. I do not know what is going to happen this year, but the gentleman knows that the largest portions of the appropriations are obligated usually at the end of the fiscal year, so that certainly there is enough money here to run the program well beyond the 1st of January; and if at that time additional appropriations are indicated, the Congress will honor their request for those appropriations under the proper facts to substantiate and justify them, up to the limit liberally set by the authorization bill.

Mr. PASSMAN. I thank the distinguished gentleman from New Mexico, a very able member of the subcommittee handling this bill.

In reply to my very dear friend from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS], the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I should like to say this: He made a fine and sincere statement. I think he understands, as I do, that in all probability when we go to conference on this bill we may have to make an adjustment here and there. I think we are sufficiently fortified with the facts not to have to yield. I think if the distinguished gentleman will do this year as he did last year, take the hearings before the Subcommittee on Appropriations and study them, he will find that there are certain discrepancies this year,

as there were discrepancies last year, in the information given our committees. The gentleman does recall that, does he not?

Mr. RICHARDS. I do recall that, and when the gentleman brought his appropriation bill here on the basis of the new evidence I supported him, because all of the information had not been presented to our committee.

Mr. PASSMAN. I trust the gentleman will support the committee's position this year. I said to my friend a few days ago that it is to be regretted that the two of us have served here together for this period of years but did not really become closely acquainted until last year. I regret the gentleman is leaving the House. He has just reached his highest point of value to the country, and I wish there were some way he could be persuaded to remain here and continue to give us the benefit of his wisdom and leadership in the interest of our country, as he has done during the time that I have been here. I am going to be thinking of the gentleman after he leaves here; and if my constituents return me, I shall certainly be in touch with him during next year.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RICHARDS. In view of the gentleman's very kind statement about me, I here and now invite him to go coon hunting with me in South Carolina next year.

Mr. PASSMAN. If it were not against the rules of the House to address him thus, I would say to the gentleman, "RICHARD, I am certainly going to go coon hunting with you."

Mr. Chairman, I am going to conclude my remarks on this bill by saying that I have tried to present a factual picture. Perhaps my manner would indicate that occasionally I become excited. That is actually not a fact. I think I know what is in the bill. I am in sympathy with my friends to the left of the aisle. They are going to do a good job in trying to refute to some extent the factual information that I have presented this afternoon. I am going to applaud them when they have concluded, because they are trying to carry out one of the most difficult tasks ever assigned here to the majority or to the minority. I shall not call names, but I am thinking of what I witnessed in the full committee on last Friday. I will not be surprised at anything that might happen on the floor of the House.

As I have said, I have tried to present the factual picture. If Members of the House will read the hearings and read the report, I shall be very happy for my distinguished friend from Michigan to see the light and vote to pass this bill on the facts, and not on fear, not on faith, and not on emotionalism; and if he does that, he is going to support the position of this committee.

So, Mr. Chairman, I again quickly summarize:

Appropriations totaling \$3,425,120,000 of new money are included in the bill, which is an increase of \$721,778,250

over the appropriation for fiscal year 1956. In addition, the committee is recommending the reappropriation of \$240,800,000 of unobligated balances of prior year appropriations. This makes a total of \$3,665,920,000 available in the bill for obligation. This sum plus the \$90 million already available in the President's Asian fund makes a total obligation authority for fiscal year 1957 in the amount of \$3,755,920,000.

While it was estimated last year that expenditures during fiscal 1956 would exceed \$5 billion, the latest estimate was that only \$3.77 billion would be expended. The total unexpended balance of the mutual-security program as of June 30, was estimated at \$6,877,700,000, which at the 1956 rate of expenditures would carry the program for practically 2 years. This balance is made of \$5,059,100,000 for the military and \$1,818,600,000 for non-military.

The expenditure estimate for fiscal year 1957 as contained in the budget submission was \$4,265,000,000. Military witnesses contended that they expected to expend an additional \$400 million over their earlier estimate, making total expenditures of \$4,665,000,000 for both military and nonmilitary. Based on estimated versus actual expenditures during fiscal year 1956, it is not unlikely that this has been overstated as much as 20 to 25 percent.

The sum of the unexpended balance as of June 30 to \$6.87 billion and the new funds recommended by the committee will total \$10.3 billion. At the 1956 rate of expenditure, this amount would be enough for nearly 3 years of operation.

Mr. Chairman, I repeat that I earnestly hope the Members will support your committee's recommendations.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise, and on that motion I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. PASSMAN and Mr. TABER.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion.

The Committee divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 4, noes 53.

So the motion was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Iowa insist on his point of order?

Mr. GROSS. I renew my point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MILLS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3820) entitled "An act to increase the borrowing power of Commodity Credit Corporation", requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. AIKEN, and Mr. YOUNG to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11356) entitled "An act to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 11619) entitled "An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and the Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act to provide for a more effective control of narcotic drugs and marihuana, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H. R. 5566) entitled "An act to terminate the existence of the Indian Claim Commission, and for other purposes," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. O'MAHONEY, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. NEUBERGER, Mr. WATKINS, and Mr. GOLDWATER to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate disagrees to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3386) entitled "An act to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to establish a commission for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Theodore Roosevelt," approved July 28, 1955, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. O'MAHONEY, Mr. DANIEL, and Mr. WATKINS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

HOURLY OF MEETING ON WEDNESDAY

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns tomorrow, it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock a. m. on Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD of Thursday, July 5, be corrected in about four specific instances in regard to some remarks I made at the time, and in one in particular where I refer to a Mr.

Bates who is not the gentleman from Massachusetts but a person who is not a Member of the Congress.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. LOVRE (at the request of Mr. MARTIN) for July 17, 1956, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to Mr. BAILEY, for 15 minutes, tomorrow.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. REED of New York and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. WALTER, to extend his remarks immediately prior to the adoption of the conference report on the mutual security bill.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS and to include a newspaper advertisement.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HOLMES (at the request of Mr. WIGGLESWORTH) in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. CANFIELD and to include an editorial.

Mr. CRAMER in three instances and to include extraneous material.

Mr. BENTLEY to revise and extend his remarks and to insert them immediately preceding the vote on the conference report on H. R. 11356, the mutual security legislation.

Mr. JUDD in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. FLOOD (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter notwithstanding the cost of printing is estimated by the Public Printer to be \$269.50.

Mr. HOLLAND (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MULTER (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SIEMINSKI in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin in two instances and include extraneous matter.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 1761. An act to relieve certain veterans who relied on an erroneous interpretation of the law from liability to repay a

portion of the subsistence allowances which they received under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944;

H. R. 1876. An act for the relief of Martin M. Sorensen;

H. R. 6190. An act for the relief of Ensign Charles A. Binswanger;

H. R. 9371. An act for the relief of John R. Henry;

H. R. 11714. An act to amend sections 5217 (c) and 852 (b) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954; and

H. J. Res. 606. Joint resolution to waive certain subsections of section 212 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 1761. An act to relieve certain veterans who relied on an erroneous interpretation of the law from liability to repay a portion of the subsistence allowances which they received under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944;

H. R. 1876. An act for the relief of Martin M. Sorensen;

H. R. 3350. An act to provide for the sale by the Secretary of the Interior of certain public lands of the United States which have not been used for the purpose for which acquired;

H. R. 3351. An act to provide for the sale by the Secretary of the Interior of certain public lands of the United States which have not been used for the purpose for which acquired;

H. R. 3897. An act to relieve the Secretary of the Interior of certain reporting requirements in connection with proposed National Park Service awards of concession leases and contracts, including renewals thereof;

H. R. 6025. An act to amend the shipping laws, to prohibit the operation in the coastwise trade of vessels rebuilt outside the United States, and for other purposes;

H. R. 6190. An act for the relief of Ensign Charles A. Binswanger;

H. R. 6218. An act to authorize payment by the Federal Government of the cost of making certain studies necessary to assist the Menominee Tribe of Indians to prepare for the termination of Federal supervision;

H. R. 7663. An act to provide for settlement in part of certain claims of the Uintah and White River Bands of the Ute Indians in Court of Claims case No. 47568, through restoration of subsurface rights in certain lands formerly a part of the Uintah Indian Reservation;

H. R. 9280. An act relating to the plan for control of the property of the Menominee Indian Tribe, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9371. An act for the relief of John R. Henry;

H. R. 9660. An act to direct the Secretary of the Army or his designee to convey an 11¼-acre tract of land situated in the vicinity of Williamsburg, Va., to the State of Virginia;

H. R. 9974. An act to amend section 1 of the act entitled "An act to authorize the cutting of timber, the manufacture and sale of lumber, and the preservation of the forests on the Menominee Indian Reservation in the State of Wisconsin," approved March 28, 1908, as amended;

H. R. 11714. An act to amend section 5217 (c) and 852 (b) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954;

H. R. 11926. An act to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, to permit the negotiation of commercial leases at atomic energy communities, and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 501. Joint resolution to authorize participation by the United States in parliamentary conferences of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and

H. J. Res. 606. Joint resolution to waive certain subsections of section 212 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, July 10, 1956, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. FRAZIER: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 6681. A bill to amend sections 323, 334, 335, 336, 337, and 376 of the Bankruptcy Act, approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto; with amendment (Rept. No. 2644). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. LONG: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. House Report No. 2645. Report on the disposition of certain papers of sundry executive departments. Ordered to be printed.

Mr. LONG: Joint Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers. House Report No. 2646. Report on the disposition of certain papers of sundry executive departments. Ordered to be printed.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 8937. A bill to amend the law so as to provide that the term of office of district judges in Alaska shall be 8 years; with amendment (Rept. No. 2647). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ABERNETHY:

H. R. 12143. A bill to amend title 28 of the United States Code to establish certain qualifications for persons appointed to the Supreme Court and to provide that persons who have held certain Federal and State offices shall be ineligible for appointment to any Federal judgeship within 5 years after leaving such offices; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BENNETT of Michigan:

H. R. 12144. A bill to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 12145. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase the minimum hourly wage provided for therein to \$1.25; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BERRY:

H. R. 12146. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the tax on admissions shall apply only with respect to that portion of the amount paid for any admission which is in excess of \$1; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Digest of CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(For Department Staff Only)

Issued July 12, 1956
For actions of July 11, 1956
84th-2nd, No. 117

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HIGHLIGHTS: Senate ratified International Wheat Agreement. Senate committees reported the following bills: Farm loan bill. Broaden authority for use and occupancy of land within national forests. Broaden law on practices in marketing perishable commodities. Forest products price reporting. Permit processors to buy cotton futures contracts. Eliminate delay in starting watershed projects. Dispose of Akron synthetic rubber laboratory. Senate received from President supplemental appropriation request for commission on Increased Use of Agricultural Products.
(Continued on page 7)

HOUSE

1. FOREIGN AID. Passed with amendments H. R. 12130, the mutual security appropriation bill, by a vote of 120 to 284. The amendments adopted would provide that not less than \$15,000,000 of the \$35,000,000 for Latin American defense support be used to aid Guatamala, and that no funds contained in the mutual security appropriation bill be used for international educational exchange activities.
p. 11180
2. FOREIGN TRADE. Both Houses received from the President the 4th semi-annual report on activities carried on under Public Law 480, 83rd Congress (H. Doc. 447); to the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee and the House Agriculture Committee. pp. 11085, 11224
The Ways and Means Committee reported with amendment H. R. 9396, to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to place guar seed on the free list (H. Rept. 2681).
p. 11235
3. WATER SUPPLY. The Public Works Committee reported without amendment S. 2374, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to enter into contracts to furnish water for municipal water supplies from flood control and river and harbor projects (H. Rept. 2683). p. 11236

4. BUDGETING; ACCOUNTING. The Government Operations Committee ordered reported H. R. 11526, to improve governmental budgeting and accounting methods and procedures. p. D778
5. PERSONNEL. The Government Operations Committee ordered reported H. R. 11515, to provide for the payment of travel and transportation cost for persons selected for appointment to certain positions in the U. S. and Alaska. p. D778
6. RECLAMATION. Received the new conference report, subsequent to an order to recommit, on S. 1622, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make payment for certain improvements located on public lands in the Rapid Valley unit, S. Dak., of the Missouri River Basin project (H. Rept. 2677). p. 11179
7. ATOMIC ENERGY. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy ordered reported the following bills: p. D778
H. R. 9743 and S. 2643, to encourage maximum development of atomic energy reactors for the generation of low-cost electric power and the production, utilization, and treatment of special nuclear and other materials.
S. 4203, to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 "(so-called AEC omnibus bill)".

SENATE

8. WHEAT. By a vote of 85 to 2, agreed to a resolution of ratification on the International Wheat Agreement of 1956, extending the Agreement for 3 years. The Agreement covers 303 million bushels of wheat, as compared to 395 million covered in the 1953 Agreement; sets the price range of wheat at \$1.50 to \$2.00 a bushel, as compared with \$1.55 and \$2.05 in the 1953 agreement; and adds two new exporting countries - Argentina and Sweden. p. 11102
9. AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE reported the following bills: pp. 11090, 11091
H. R. 7723, with amendment, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Phelps Co., Mo., to the Chamber of Commerce of Rolla, Mo. (S. Rept. 2513);
S. 4059, without amendment, to provide for price reporting and research with respect to forest products (S. Rept. 2510);
H. R. 5337, without amendment, to broaden the provisions of law relating to practices in the marketing of perishable agricultural commodities (S. Rept. 2507);
H. R. 9333, without amendment, to give to certain consuming processors of cotton the privilege of buying cotton futures contracts in certain cases (S. Rept. 2506);
H. R. 9339, without amendment, authorizing the exchange of certain U. S. lands in Union County, Ga., for lands in the Chattahoochee National Forest (S. Rept. 2508);
H. R. 11873, without amendment, to decrease the Congressional review period of projects under the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act from 45 days to 15 days (S. Rept. 2509);
S. 3429, with amendment, to improve and simplify the credit facilities available to farmers and to amend the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (S. Rept. 2526);
S. 2216, with amendment, to amend the act of March 4, 1915, to permit the use and occupancy of national forest lands for industrial and commercial purposes, and by States or political subdivisions for constructing facilities for education or other public uses (S. Rept. 2511);

service rendered by Maj. Walter Reed and those associated with him in the discovery of the cause and means of transmission of yellow fever," approved February 28, 1929, by including therein the name of Gustaf E. Lambert;

H. R. 5790. An act relating to the application in the Territory of Hawaii of the Federal Aid in Wildlife Restoration Act and the Federal Aid in Fish Restoration Act;

H. R. 8493. An act to exempt from taxation certain property of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc., in the District of Columbia;

H. R. 9582. An act to provide for the delayed reporting of births within the District of Columbia;

H. R. 9671. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain property of the United States to the village of Carey, Ohio;

H. R. 10374. An act to amend the act to incorporate the Oak Hill Cemetery, in the District of Columbia;

H. R. 10768. An act to amend section 5 of the act of August 7, 1946, entitled "An act for the retirement of public school teachers in the District of Columbia," as amended;

H. R. 10986. An act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes;

H. R. 11319. An act making appropriations for the Tennessee Valley Authority, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, and civil functions administered by the Department of the Army, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 533. A joint resolution to facilitate the admission into the United States of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. 534. A joint resolution to waive certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. 535. A joint resolution for the relief of certain aliens;

H. J. Res. 553. A joint resolution waiving certain subsections of section 212 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens, and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 566. A joint resolution to waive certain provisions of section 212 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act in behalf of certain aliens;

On July 3, 1956:

H. R. 6782. An act to amend section 7 of an act making appropriations to provide for the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes, approved July 1, 1902, as amended;

H. R. 7227. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize the disposal of surplus property for civil defense purposes, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7641. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to cooperate with Federal and non-Federal agencies in the prevention of waterfowl depredations, and for other purposes;

H. R. 8634. An act to authorize the conveyance of a certain tract of land in North Carolina to the city of Charlotte, N. C.;

H. R. 10766. An act to authorize the payment of compensation for certain losses and damages caused by United States Armed Forces during World War II;

H. J. Res. 671. Joint resolution making temporary appropriations for the fiscal year 1957, and for other purposes.

On July 9, 1956:

H. R. 877. An act for the relief of Mrs. Rose Ameresano and her children;

H. R. 906. An act for the relief of William Martin, of Tok Junction, Alaska;

H. R. 909. An act for the relief of Charles O. Ferry and other employees of the Alaska Road Commission;

H. R. 1968. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Clarence M. Augustine;

H. R. 2267. An act for the relief of Morton J. Krakow;

H. R. 3960. An act for the relief of Maria del Carmen Gago Santana;

H. R. 4652. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to transfer certain property to the Panama Canal Co., and for other purposes;

H. R. 4851. An act for the relief of the Kelmoo Fox and Fur Farm, Inc.;

H. R. 5147. An act to change the distribution of Coast and Geodetic Survey charts;

H. R. 5522. An act for the relief of the Florida State Hospital;

H. R. 5526. An act for the relief of Mrs. Kathryn M. Baker;

H. R. 5635. An act for the relief of Dr. Wolodyayr Fedyniak and others;

H. R. 5690. An act for the relief of Camp Kooch-i-ching;

H. R. 6245. An act to authorize the Panama Canal Company to convey to the Department of State an improved site in Colon, Republic of Panama;

H. R. 7732. An act to amend section 402 (c) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, with respect to the coloring of oranges;

H. R. 7763. An act to amend the Japanese-American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to expedite the final determination of the claims, and for other purposes;

H. R. 7811. An act to amend the Canal Zone Code by the addition of provisions relative to the registration of architects and professional engineers, and the regulation of their practice;

H. R. 9952. An act to provide a lump-sum readjustment payment for members of the Reserve components who are involuntarily released from active duty;

H. R. 10230. An act to amend sections 3526 and 3528 of the Revised Statutes relating to the coinage of subsidiary silver coins and minor coins of the United States;

H. R. 11499. An act to amend the Texas City Disaster Claims Act;

H. R. 11740. An act to provide for a temporary increase in the public-debt limit;

H. R. 11802. An act to continue the effectiveness of the act of December 2, 1942, as amended, and the act of July 28, 1945, as amended, relating to war-risk hazard and detention benefits until July 1, 1957; and

H. J. Res. 611. Joint resolution for the relief of certain relatives of United States citizens.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 97]

Barden

Bass, Tenn.

Bell

Berry

Brooks, La.

Brooks, Tex.

Burleson

Carnahan

Celler

Chatham

Curtis, Mass.

Davis, Tenn.

Davis, Wls.

Diggs

Dixon

Eberharter

Gamble

Gray

Gregory

Hale

Healey

Jackson

Jarman

Kearns

Keating

Kelley, Pa.

Lane

Lovre

McConnell

Macdonald

Magnuson

Miller, Md.

Morgan

Murray, Tenn.

Nelson

O'Hara, Minn.

Patman

Phillips

Powell

Preston

Priest

Prouty

Scudder

Shelley

Sieminski

Thompson, La.

Thornberry

Tumulty

Wickersham

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 96 I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent RECORD and the Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries have permission to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

PAYMENT FOR IMPROVEMENTS ON PUBLIC LANDS IN RAPID VALLEY UNIT, SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. FORRESTER submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (S. 1622) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make payment for certain improvements located on public lands in the Rapid Valley unit, South Dakota, of the Missouri River Basin project, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. No. 2677)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1622) entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make payment for certain improvements located on public lands in the Rapid Valley unit, South Dakota, of the Missouri River Basin project, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the language proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert "\$18,383 as reimbursement"; and the House agree to the same.

E. L. FORRESTER,

HAROLD D. DONOHUE,

WILLIAM E. MILLER,

Managers on the Part of the House.

JAMES E. MURRAY,

CLINTON P. ANDERSON,

ARTHUR V. WATKINS,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 1622) entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make payment for certain improvements located on public lands in the Rapid Valley unit, South Dakota, of the Missouri River Basin project, and for other purposes," submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 377 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

When this proposed measure passed the House, the following amendments were made in accordance with recommendations contained in the letter from the Department of the Interior which was printed in the Senate report (No. 1856):

(1) Page 1, lines 4 and 5, strike out "of the Rapid Valley unit, South Dakota,".

(2) Page 2, line 5, strike out "\$18,383 as reimbursable" and insert "\$16,382 as reimbursement".

(3) Page 2, line 7, after "thereof" insert "on other lands".

(4) Page 2, line 10, strike out "13" and insert "30".

The Senate agreed to amendments Nos. 1, 3, and 4, and receded from its disagreement to amendment No. 2, and agreed to the same with the following amendment: In lieu of the language proposed to be inserted by the House amendment, insert "\$18,383 as reimbursement". The purpose of this language is to correct an error which appeared in the printed reports.

E. L. FORRESTER,
HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
WILLIAM E. MILLER,

Managers on the Part of the House.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have permission to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what was the request?

Mr. HARRIS. That the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may have permission to sit during general debate on the pending bill.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I object, not because I have any particular objection to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce meeting today, but because I do not believe Members can give proper attention to the very important legislation which is coming before the Committee of the Whole this forenoon and this afternoon.

My objection is aimed not at this committee, but at the present practice.

Recently, the Committee on Government Operations, through its subcommittees, has been holding from 1 to 3 committee hearings almost every day. The result is that, if we attend those committee hearings—and that seems to be necessary if we are to be advised of what is happening—we cannot give adequate consideration to the bills which come to the floor.

Very recently the Speaker, if I understood his remarks correctly, disapproved of the practice of committees sitting while the House is in session.

It is my purpose to try to remedy the present situation, because I have not yet seen any Member who was able to be in two places at once.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has already objected. Objection is heard.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL FOR 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Louisiana.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 12130, with Mr. MILLS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on Monday, July 9, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] had 1 hour and 3 minutes remaining; the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] had 2 hours remaining.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 25 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I have many times voted against appropriations for so-called mutual security and foreign aid. I have almost invariably supported efforts to reduce these items. This time I am taking a different although not inconsistent position. The times I have voted against it have been times when bills were brought on the floor that were too big and provided funds that were not needed. Here I feel that I must support whatever efforts can be made to increase the bill at least to the authorization level on the item for military assistance. That particular item in the bill is \$550 million below the figure carried in the appropriation bill.

This situation has arisen largely because, in my opinion, there is a misunderstanding of the situation that we in the United States are in. It is true that we were told that the complete so-called Marshall plan would cost not over \$15 billion. That was spent, and it very largely restored Europe to a situation where their production of manufactures and farm products in almost every instance where their program was working showed better figures than the prewar figures, and they do today.

Under the circumstances, we would naturally expect the program to fade away, but what has happened? Since 1943 the Soviets have become very strong. They became so strong in 1950 that they started the Korean war. Our people were obliged to engage in that and to have enormous numbers of troops, our young men, and enormous quantities of materials in Korea for the purpose of maintaining our position in that country and keeping it from being a stepping-stone into our backyard.

I want to ask the House what it wants to do. Do we want to maintain a situation where the Koreans, those in Thailand, in Vietnam, in the Philippines, and

in Formosa can protect the United States and our west coast from the Communists overrunning that whole picture, or do we want to get into a situation where they are going to walk right over us and get right into our territory. What are we going to do?

If we do not have those troops that are native to Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, and those other places in that area, if we do not have them where they are prepared to head off Communist infiltration into those spots in southern Asia and along the territory to the north, in Korea and Japan, we are going to have to send our own boys over there. And how are we going to like that? How are the people of the United States going to like that?

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. MORANO. Is it not true that it costs the United States about \$7,000 to put an American soldier on the front line where the Joint Chiefs would like to have him without a weapon whereas it only costs up about \$800 to put a foreign soldier on the same line with a weapon.

Mr. TABER. I think the gentleman has stated it correctly only, I believe, our figure is \$8,000 instead of \$7,000.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman suggest that we should hire mercenaries to fight for us? I wonder what the British paid the Hessians? Are we supposed now to buy and pay for troops all over the world?

Mr. TABER. If we were hiring mercenaries to fight for us, we would be sending them to other places than where they live. When a man is defending his homeland that is a different story, and he is not a mercenary.

Down to July 1, 1955, all of these Korean troops and a good many of the others were receiving help without a charge to this appropriation in any way, the equipment that was necessary for the Korean soldiers to hold their own. They were given not only arms and ammunition and all that sort of thing, but the biggest part of the pipeline of military supplies continued through the fiscal year 1956 down to the 1st of July, and it still has some way to go. We did not have to draw on these funds so heavily to take care of them because it was in our military appropriations, direct.

Now it is the burden of this particular appropriation. That group of countries was originally set up in the Far East to take care of the local situation. We have no troops in Vietnam, to speak of; simply instructors. In Korea we have only a small fraction of what he had. In Thailand and Formosa we have a very few. All that we have there are instructors and some of our airplanes that we must keep there. But the major part of the situation is taken care of, and Formosa is a major guard to the United States against what might happen over in that part of the world. We have to

take care of the needs of those soldiers—their equipment, their guns, and their ammunition. They have been troubled with sniping from Communist China every little while on their islands. But they have held their ground, and they have done it well. Do we want to run out on that? Is that the kind of a picture that we want to quit on?

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. MORANO. Is it not true that this Congress passed the so-called Formosa resolution in order to protect that area, and therefore it becomes the responsibility of this Congress to furnish the implements of defense to do just that thing, or to help do that thing?

Mr. TABER. That is the way it appeals to me. I hope there are not any who voted for that resolution who feel differently. I voted for it and I know the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MORANO] did.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. Would the gentleman run out on Yugoslavia? Since they are a part of this picture, they are going to participate in these funds if the gentleman has his way.

Mr. TABER. They might participate to a certain extent, but Yugoslavia is in this situation, as I understand it, and I think that is the correct way to look at it. Yugoslavia, so long as they stay as well as they have outside of Moscow control, has been the bellwether to call the Iron Curtain countries to a struggle for independence. Frankly, I believe that the demands for decent treatment on the part of the Polish and the Czechs came because of the fact that Yugoslavia was independent, and they thought that they could get that way and have some chance in the world to live, not be starved to death and made slaves of by the Moscow pirates.

Mr. MORANO. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. MORANO. Is it not true that in the authorization bill there is a provision to shut off aid to Yugoslavia the moment the President thinks it is incompatible with our own defense and the defense of the free world?

Mr. TABER. That is correct, and that is the way that every dollar that is provided here would be handled.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. The law recently passed by Congress is a little stronger than the gentleman just mentioned. It cuts off aid to Yugoslavia unless the President shall find within 90 days and reports to Congress that Yugoslavia is not participating in the Soviet plan for Communist conquest of the world, that Yugoslavia is independent of control of the Soviets, and that furnishing assistance to Yugoslavia is in the interest of our national security.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. I wonder if the gentleman knows what Secretary Dulles had to say when he appeared before the Appropriations Subcommittee with respect to conditions this year as compared with the preceding year, whether conditions in the world are better or worse, thereby necessitating an increase for appropriations over there.

Mr. TABER. I think as near as I can tell the gentleman, and I am recalling my own conversations with him as well as the testimony, so I cannot tell exactly which one I am counting on, but as near as I can tell the gentleman he said just exactly what I said in answer to the gentleman's question. That is the way the thought occurred to me; it was not an original thought with me. But I can see the importance of it, and I can see the real justice of it. That is the reason I adopted the language of the Secretary.

Mr. GROSS. Does he say that the tensions are greater or less than they were a year ago?

Mr. TABER. He said that the tensions against Moscow were greater than they were a year ago, and I think that is correct.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. In going through the hearings, I do not believe that Admiral Radford appeared before the Appropriations Committee on this bill. Is not that correct?

Mr. TABER. I think that is so, but I have had in front of me in connection with the preparation of this so-called speech Admiral Radford's statement, and if I get a chance I want to give a picture of what would result if we leave that thing the way it is without any attention.

Mr. VORYS. I certainly hope the gentleman will quote Admiral Radford. I have a statement he made on June 12 on the billion-dollar House cut in the authorization bill. He said:

If this \$1 billion cut is maintained the European program would sustain more than half—say \$600 million. However, the effect on non-European country programs would also be very great. For example, we estimate that the Korean program would have to be cut in the neighborhood of 23 percent, Taiwan 14 percent, Pakistan 27 percent, Turkey 24 percent, and Greece 22 percent. The \$1 billion reduction would also result in the elimination of approximately half of the increment for advanced weapons for NATO.

The cut that is now proposed would, of course, involve an even deeper adjustment of the cuts for these countries that the gentleman has just pointed out are so vital to our own security.

I hope the gentleman will give us Admiral Radford's analysis of what this cut means to our security.

Mr. TABER. This is the way I am going to give it and I take part of the figures from Admiral Radford's statement.

There is exclusive of infrastructure in the first items in this bill the item for military aid \$1,675,000,000. If you first subtract from it \$225 million, and I am quoting Admiral Radford as my authority for this, for the amount that is re-

quired for operation of this program—if you subtract that \$255 million you get a remainder of \$1,420,000,000.

Now, 5 critical countries were provided for in this bill as it was presented by the President—Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Turkey, and Pakistan. These are countries in Asia and there was provided \$1,200,000,000. In addition to that, other countries, including Japan, Cambodia, Laos, Greece, Thailand, and the Philippines, called for \$240 million more. You can add to that \$1,420,000,000 that would be left in this bill after taking out two hundred and fifty-five of the \$195 billion military aid funds that are reappropriated, which would give you \$1,615,000,000.

You subtract the \$1,200,000,000 from it and you get a balance of \$415 million. You subtract the \$240 million from the \$415 million, which is necessary to take care of the Philippines, Thailand, Greece, Iran, Iraq and the other places in the Near East, and you get about \$195 million to take care of Latin America and the NATO countries.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. You have approximately \$700 million more this year to cover these areas. How did they get along this year? Is it not also true that Cambodia has now gone over to the Reds and in all probability you will not need that money?

Mr. TABER. I am advised by the State Department that Cambodia has not gone over to the Reds.

Mr. PASSMAN. Also Japan indicated it did not want to rearm. You may have more money for Japan than you need.

Mr. TABER. Japan has rearmed with our assistance. First it came out of surplus stocks from the armed services and things that were left there. Then we began sending stuff in there. There is a very considerable item set up in this bill for that particular purpose. Japan at this time is taking care of the policing and protection of all of the islands of Japan with the exception of the main island. That is the only one that we have any troops in. I would like to get to the day where we could bring back out of Japan the still substantial number of troops that we have there and we may have it where they can take care of themselves and protect themselves.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman is familiar with the elections just concluded in Japan. If he will refer to yesterday's paper he can see what happened in Japan in the last few days.

I certainly hope Cambodia has not gone over to the Reds, as indicated by this article. It states very definitely that the man in charge has concluded an agreement with Soviet Russia for economic and industrial aid to Cambodia. He declared that the hope of his people rests in the Soviet Union for the realization of their desires for peace and prosperity. That is a matter of record.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 additional minutes.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARTIN. I want to assure the gentleman from Louisiana that I do not believe Cambodia has left us yet. We should not drive them further into Russia's hands. If we gave them all the money that is allotted for Cambodia it would be just \$8 million.

Mr. PASSMAN. I am not suggesting that we withhold any funds from Cambodia. I am suggesting that it may be that you will not need the funds if they do go over. I certainly hope they do not.

Mr. TABER. They will not get it if they have gone over.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLOOD. I would like to say that I think the gentleman is making a very fine and a very strong and certainly a very courageous statement, and I want to say that I agree with his argument so far entirely. May I point this out in connection with what the gentleman from Ohio mentioned regarding the statement made by Admiral Radford. Much is being said about what has been spent to arm the NATO troops and the SEATO troops, but it must be remembered that the request the President made, a request supported by Admiral Radford and the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the full amount of these military funds, has to do with bringing to our allies an entirely new set of weapons system. The existing weapons are obsolete or obsolescent, and you cannot expect our allied troops to fight a new and modern war alongside of us unless they have the advantage of all the weapons systems that modern warfare demands, and this budget request that the President has made, that the gentleman from New York is now completely supporting, is predicated upon instituting and supplying all of these allied troops with new, modern weapons systems. That is why these additional funds are necessary and should be restored.

Mr. TABER. The whole picture is just about this way. The original allocation called for \$760 million for Europe and \$35 million for Latin America. If we take out the things that are necessary to maintain those countries that have to get funds to keep themselves going, we have got to practically wipe out every dollar to take care of the Europeans and the Latin Americans. I do not know. Maybe we want to run out on them completely.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I rise to remind the House and also the gentleman that during World War II I suggested that the Chiefs of Staff, the heads of the Military Establishments, and the State Department have a meeting and ask all of the Members of Congress to attend. This was done. It was held over in the Congressional Library auditorium, and they told us

frankly what was going on. I think it would be enormously helpful and I think it would help the gentleman from New York and his Committee on Appropriations and also the other members of the Committee on Appropriations if this group could be heard at the same time and see what they had to suggest.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MAHON. I wonder if the gentleman would agree with me that whatsoever the Congress sows it will also reap, and that during the years on both sides of the aisle, to some extent, the foreign-aid program has been sold to the American people as a money-down-the-rathole project, and those constant and repeated attacks, at time inaccurate, have conceived large sections of the American people that the program is unsound; that it is a step in the wrong direction, and that only those who are fiscally irresponsible are for it. That kind of thing has made it difficult for the people who believe in foreign aid, such as the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Texas, to support the program as in times past.

I think the gentleman is to be commended for standing on his two feet and defending this as an American aid program, a program for peace and security of our own people. I am not going all the way with the gentleman. I am going to stand by the committee. But I do think we ought to face up to this in a more realistic way and appreciate what it means in the overall to the American people. I think the gentleman is making an important contribution in that direction.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. In connection with the point about the handling of the money in this bill, does the gentleman recall that back in 1953 or 1954, when he was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the committee issued a report blistering the former giveaway artist Stassen for obligating money to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars at the end of the fiscal year?

Mr. TABER. Yes. We tried to correct that by inserting a provision that not more than a certain percentage of the funds could be obligated in the last 2 months. But I do not want to spend time discussing those matters that have been corrected.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] that I, too, am going to support the bill before the House. I shall not vote for any amendments to reduce the amount of money that your committee has recommended. Likewise I shall vote against any amendment to cut out Yugoslavia. I think we should leave it up to the President to decide whether or not funds should be continued for Tito. I think that is true also for Cambodia.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be responsible for creating a situation—and I say this advisedly—that will require us to send our own people in large numbers to the Far East, to countries that are regarded as critical countries at this time. I think that instead of a figure below the \$2.3 billion, or approximately that, that is carried in the authorization bill, we should increase the appropriation to around the amount in the authorization bill, so that we do not create a situation where we have no allies left to help us fight to maintain the free world and keep the Communists behind the Iron Curtain. We should think now of the feelings of the people whose sons have to move in with the Army into this situation in the place of those native troops whose cost to us is about one-third of what our troops would cost.

Mr. Chairman, I think that this bill has been cut too deep. I pray that before we are through with it enough of it will be restored so that a good job can be done in the situation.

There is one thing of a personal nature that I want to say. This year I asked for a block of figures. I think this is very important for the membership to realize. We have never been able in the past to get any decent figures on this situation. But Mr. E. Perkins McGuire, who has gone in as an Assistant Secretary, and lately in charge of this program came up the next morning with his figures. They were right down to the dot. They were intelligent estimates of what they would spend the rest of the year which was only a few days away. The other person in charge of the defense support and the economic items was a week getting his material up. That was the kind of situation we used to have. And even then the picture was not a satisfactory one. I do want to say this, that we have found one spot where they are doing a clear-cut job.

I have given the House my analysis of this situation. I hope it will be of some benefit and that we can meet our responsibilities before we get through the day.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, this bill comes to the floor in its present form as the result of a 7 to 5 vote in the subcommittee and a 24 to 22 vote in the full committee.

Personally, I am very unhappy in the recommendation which is before us at this time. I agree with the previous speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], that the item for military assistance has been cut altogether too deeply.

I stand today as I have always stood for essential economy but I cannot, Mr. Chairman, stand for economy at the expense of national security.

I think we will all agree, Mr. Chairman, that it is impossible to overemphasize the importance of the conflict in the world today between communism and freedom. It overshadows every other problem in the world.

I think it is also impossible to over-emphasize the dangers confronting us in this era in which we live.

One-third of the world is under Communist domination. One-third of the world is on the fence, following a policy of nonalignment or neutralism. The United States has just about 6 percent of the world's population.

Nobody wants a third world war and nobody, I am sure, wants to fight that war alone.

A powerful America with powerful allies offers the best possible assurance against both possibilities. A powerful America with powerful allies is vital to the defense of this Nation and to the defense of the free world.

Mr. Chairman, I think I appreciate as much as anyone here this morning the shortcomings of the mutual-security program in years gone by.

I have lived with them. I have done what I could to cure them and to bring about economy and efficiency. I have voted to reduce appropriations. But I have always supported the objectives of the program.

This morning I want to limit myself primarily to our military programs as of today.

I want to point out, Mr. Chairman, that in my opinion the free world has made tremendous progress under these programs. They have been highly successful.

We have seen, for instance, the organization of the NATO pact with its 15 members—stronger today according to General Gruenther than it was a year ago, and far stronger in his opinion than either he or then General Eisenhower thought it could possibly be at this time 5 years ago. For every dollar that we are putting into NATO our NATO allies are contributing, as I understand it, about \$6.

We have also seen the organization of the Balkan pact with its 3 members; of the Bagdad pact with its 5 members; of the SEATO pact with its 8 members; and the pacts with friendly nations here in the Western Hemisphere. We have seen the pact of Paris and the admission of West Germany to NATO. We have seen the development of enormous offensive and defensive military power here at home, adequate according to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to cope with the initial stages of any war, global or otherwise, and to permit rapid buildup if and when necessary.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. FLOOD. The gentleman mentioned that this Nation has 6 percent of the world's population. The gentleman knows as well that that is true, but also this Nation has over 52 percent of the world's wealth. It is this kind of program in the past years that has permitted us to establish and maintain that position and the continuation of this kind of program will continue our position and that of our friends in the world.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that by a policy of collective security, based on

military power, the free world has compelled the Kremlin to abandon the policy of military aggression, at least for the time being.

I further submit that this is no time to slacken our efforts to build and to maintain a powerful free world when results are beginning to show. Any such action could have disastrous consequences.

Mr. Chairman, the military assistance program is, of course, going to continue. That is already decided. We are not debating that question this morning. The question before us is the amount to

be provided to implement the program in the fiscal year 1957.

I support the objectives of the program, as I have supported them in the past. I have been prepared to support justified reductions this year, as I have supported them in the past.

But in the field of military assistance, Mr. Chairman, if I am going to err, I am going to err on the side of national security.

Under leave to revise my remarks, I insert at this point in the RECORD the table appearing on page 3 in the committee report:

	Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	Recommended, 1957	Bill compared with—	
				Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957
Military assistance:					
Appropriation.....	\$1,022,200,000	\$3,000,000,000	\$1,735,000,000	+\$712,800,000	-\$1,265,000,000
Unobligated and unreserved.....	33,900,000	166,600,000	195,500,000	+161,600,000	+28,900,000
Total.....	1,056,100,000	3,166,600,000	1,930,500,000	+874,400,000	-1,236,100,000
Defense support:					
Appropriation.....	999,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	+129,500,000	-2,000,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000	-----	-----	-25,000,000	-----
Total.....	1,024,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	+104,500,000	-2,000,000
Development assistance.....	162,000,000	170,000,000	130,000,000	-32,000,000	-40,000,000
Technical cooperation.....	153,000,000	157,500,000	146,500,000	-6,500,000	-11,000,000
Other programs:					
Appropriation.....	366,941,750	401,775,000	284,920,000	-82,021,750	-116,855,000
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	+41,666,750	-----
Total.....	370,575,000	447,075,000	330,220,000	-40,355,000	-116,855,000
Total, Mutual Security:					
Appropriation.....	2,703,341,750	4,859,975,000	3,425,120,000	+721,778,250	-1,434,855,000
Unobligated balance.....	62,533,250	211,900,000	240,800,000	+178,266,750	+28,900,000
Total.....	2,765,875,000	5,071,875,000	3,665,920,000	+900,045,000	-1,405,955,000

I call your attention to the fact that the recommendation made by the committee in the amount of of \$3,666,900,000 is \$1,406,000,000 below the amount requested by the President of the United States.

I call your attention also to the fact that of that reduction of \$1,406,000,000 \$1,236,000,000 is recommended to be made in the item "Military assistance."

What is the purpose of military assistance, Mr. Chairman?

It is to provide military equipment, training and direct-forces support for our allies.

It is to help, for example, in Turkey, to maintain more fighting divisions than we have in the United States today. It is to help in Korea to maintain more divisions than we have in the United States today. It is to help in Pakistan and Formosa and in other critical points to maintain over 200 divisions, 2,000 naval ships, and 300 air squadrons, and it does it at a cost per man of somewhere between one-sixth and one-tenth of what it would cost if we attempted to provide the personnel ourselves.

The full request of \$3 billion is less than 10 percent of the funds carried in our domestic military budget.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. HOSMER. We hear so much about that help, but I do not think many of us or the public understand how

it goes. Does it go in equipment? Does it go in greenbacks? What is the mechanics of it?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. For the most part it goes in end items produced in this country and delivered to our allies.

Mr. HOSMER. In other words, the money is spent in this country and the products are delivered abroad to some 36 nations. Is that true?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. That is generally true. There is some offshore procurement, but not a substantial amount.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. Just so the membership will not be under the wrong impression, let us state that in the bill that we reported out, in new funds and carry-over there will be \$10,302,000,000 available for future deliveries.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. The gentleman is talking about the bill as a whole. I am confining my remarks for the moment to military assistance, and I am coming to the figures presently.

Now, Mr. Chairman, where was the new money requested for military assistance to go?

According to Admiral Radford's testimony, of the \$3 billion originally requested by the President, \$1,200,000,000 was to go to 5 critical countries—Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Pakistan, and Turkey. All of us know the vital importance of those five countries. All of

us know that we have got to help each and every one of them.

Four hundred and twenty-six million dollars was to go to the new advanced-weapons program, considered vital by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Two hundred and fifty-five million dollars was to go to fixed charges.

That left just about a billion dollars out of the original request of \$3 billion, mainly for spare parts and maintenance, for all other countries included in the program, including NATO and the Near East.

Seven hundred million dollars has already been knocked out of the picture by the authorization bill.

It is now proposed to reduce that figure by another \$500 million, bringing about a total reduction of \$1,200,000,000, or 40 percent, in the original request of \$3 billion submitted by the President of the United States.

The effects of this cut have already been referred to.

For emphasis I refer again to the testimony of Admiral Radford, which you will find at page 10226 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 28. Please bear in mind that he is talking about a billion-dollar cut and not about the \$1,200 million cut which we have before us at this time.

If a billion dollar cut is maintained, he indicates that the European program will suffer to the extent of \$600 million or about 80 percent; the Korean program to the extent of 23 percent; the Taiwan program to the extent of 14 percent, the Pakistan program to the extent of 27 percent; the Turkish program to the extent of 24 percent; and the Greek program to the extent of 22 percent.

Also he indicates that there will be a cut of 50 percent in the sum requested for the advanced weapons program.

As I consider that picture, Mr. Chairman, I cannot help recalling a conversation which several of us had last autumn with the commanding general in one of these fighting allied countries of ours.

Standing before us, he said in substance, "Gentlemen, does not America realize that we have agreed to fight with you, that we have agreed to die with you if necessary? Don't your people realize that we consider America the salvation of the world against communism? We know how to fight. We have proved it time and time again, but we cannot fight without fighting equipment. You have promised us that equipment. In God's name where is it?"

Mr. Chairman, as of July 1, 1956, we are behindhand in deliveries, largely due to a slowdown for reappraisal in fiscal 1956 to the extent of \$2.3 billion.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. FLOOD. I would just like to say further in reply to a very good question asked by the gentleman from California, [Mr. HOSMER] that a great many people have the idea as far as this military program is concerned that the foreign generals back up a fleet of trucks to the Treasury door down here and load up with a lot of greenbacks and gold and travel overseas with it. But the fact remains that nearly 100 percent of the billions of dollars spent in this program

and that will be spent, are spent in the United States of America. That hardware is manufactured here and sent overseas with the exception of a fraction in northern Italy for some machine pistols and a little bit of ammunition, and a few million dollars for air components in England.

The answer is that this is not a give-away program. The dollars are spent in America and they are used to employ American labor in American factories on American material, and is a primary contribution to the high standard of American production. It has helped maintain it through these years and will in the next year.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. Reverting back to the percentages the gentleman mentioned would be cut from certain countries, those percentages simply mean in the total of appropriations but do not mean 1 percent in the reduction for the next 2 years. The \$10 billion will cover all that possibly can be spent; so those percentages do not mean a thing so far as the next 2 years are concerned.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. If the obligatory authority for essential ships, airplanes, or any other long-lead items is denied, you create a time lag in terms of equipment for our allies which you can never regain.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman spoke of the money being spent in this country. Can the gentleman give us any idea how much has been spent since this foreign handout program has been in effect in offshore procurement? How much of the \$60 billion has gone for offshore procurement, and how much is in this bill for offshore procurement?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I have not that figure in mind, I am sorry; but the record indicates that about 60 cents of every dollar in the offshore procurement field comes to our own industries.

Mr. GROSS. Where does the money come from to provide for offshore procurement?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. It comes from the same source as for other items in this bill.

Mr. GROSS. From the taxpayers of all the country, plus those in the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. It comes from the same source that every other dollar in this program comes from.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. I may say from my experience in following the thing through that not to exceed \$150 million over the whole period would be in offshore procurement except for certain payments and certain things to feed these people.

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. GUBSER. Would the gentleman agree with this statement? To cut military aid to our allies below the recommendation of our leaders and in the same Congress to increase appropriations for the Air Force above the recommendation of our leaders is either inconsistent or it is the adoption of a new policy by this country to the effect that we are renouncing our allies, going away from them, and attempting to defend the world by ourselves.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman, I am not interested in the inaccuracies of the past. They are water over the dam.

We have a new chief of the ICA this year, a distinguished Republican, a former Member of this House, a former partner of Senator Taft, the Honorable John B. Hollister.

We have a new head of military assistance, a distinguished Democrat, a former Secretary of the Army, a former president of the University of North Carolina, the Honorable Gordon Gray.

Of course, the appropriations requested are in excess of those made available for the current fiscal year; but when you look at expenditure as distinguished from obligatory authority and take into consideration the new advanced weapons program which is considered vital at this time, you will find that the increase is very moderate as compared with the apparent increase in terms of appropriations. It amounts in terms of military assistance to about \$300 million, the slowdown for reappraisal having ended.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. The gentleman throughout his speech, and also some of the other gentlemen who spoke before, have been stressing the fact that we have cut this bill by \$1,200,000,000. Is not the gentleman aware of the fact that when the authorization bill was before the House and later before the Senate, the administration announced that they could go along with \$600 million of that \$1,200,000,000 cut; is that correct? The gentleman is aware of that fact.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I have seen no announcement to that effect. I think it was indicated that they could live with a cut of \$400 million.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Oh, yes; they have said time and time again that all they want is \$600 million of this.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Whether or not that be true, you are recommending today that we cut the original request for military assistance by \$1,200,000,000.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. If they were in error by five or six hundred million dollars before, what assurance have we they are not in error about the other \$600 million.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I cannot yield further.

Mr. Chairman, on the matter of pipeline, the record indicates that there were unexpended funds as of June 30 last amounting to \$5,059,000,000. That is the lowest figure of its kind in a number of years. It is \$3.4 billion less than the figure of 4 years ago.

Every dollar of these unexpended funds, with the exception of about \$200 million, was definitely obligated or reserved against specific items of equipment ordered from the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force.

Had we provided the full \$3 billion in new appropriations requested by the administration, that would have made available for expenditure in fiscal year 1957, and subsequently, something over \$8 billion.

The estimated expenditure, the target figure, for fiscal year 1957, in this military-assistance field, is \$2.9 billion, about \$300 million more than actual deliveries in the current fiscal year.

If you take that figure away from the \$8 billion, you come up at the end of fiscal 1957 with a pipeline of about \$5.1 billion or considerably less than a 2-year pipeline based on fiscal 1957 expenditures.

The administration tells us that an average lead time of 24 months—18 months for production lead time and 6 months for administration lead time—is essential if the program is to go forward without peaks and valleys.

Yet, it is now proposed to reduce the pipeline by \$1.2 billion.

I simply say, Mr. Chairman, that, in my judgment, that cannot be done with safety.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield briefly to the distinguished lady from New York.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. I thank the gentleman. I would like to ask if during the testimony before the Committee on Appropriations there was any discussion on section 535, which is the section that permits the President to give to organizations other than NATO. In other words, this is a new section, and under this section the President may give to OEEC.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I do not recall that that was specifically taken up in the subcommittee.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. The reason I bring this out is because there has been so much discussion about NATO, and the weakening of NATO. But, OEEC is an economic organization in Europe. Therefore, if there is a desire and a determination for the administration to give directly to OEEC, which is a rival organization of NATO, is this not a weakening of NATO under this legislation?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I will say to the lady that my understanding is that OEEC operates in the economic field and that to date NATO is operating in the military field.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. I did not hear the last few words.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. And that to date NATO has been operating in the military field.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. That is correct. And, I believe that NATO should be strengthened. But, I do not want any of these funds given to OEEC because I believe that only will weaken NATO. Is there anything in the committee hearings on that?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I do not recall any specific consideration of the new section the gentleman refers to. I have been trying to confine myself primarily to the military aspect of this question because that is the important aspect to me.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Well, it is very important to me, too, and I would like to strengthen NATO. I believe NATO has been weakened. This program is a mutual security program. The United States has and will live up to its commitments and I want the other nations receiving United States assistance to live up to their agreed goals.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. I wonder what OEEC is. I do not know.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. OEEC stands for the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I do not say that no reduction should have been made in the \$3 billion request submitted to the Congress. On the contrary, I have been prepared, pretty much from the outset, to go along with a substantial reduction.

I do say, however, Mr. Chairman, that I do not believe we can safely reduce that figure by \$1 billion or by \$1.2 billion.

I think, also, that it is utterly inconsistent to appropriate one day \$800 million to the Air Force which is not desired at this time and on the next day to turn around and slash \$1.2 billion out of this military-assistance program which is desired for military purposes by our allies who are in the front lines at critical points in the world.

I think, Mr. Chairman, we are playing with fire in terms of military defense.

I think we are playing with fire in terms of psychology because of the danger of discouraging our allies and because of the danger of encouraging the Kremlin to take commitments, as did Adolph Hitler, commitments from which there is no retreat and which well might make inevitable the war which all of us want to avoid.

I think, Mr. Chairman, we are also playing with fire in the political sense because when the people of this country realize that the question before us today is not a question of a giveaway program, but a question of national defense, I do not think they are going to look with favor on those who are willing to gamble with our security in opposition to the considered and emphatic opinions of Admiral Stump, of General Gruenther, of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and of our great President with his vast and successful military experience.

As far as I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, I do not propose to assume the responsibility of helping to leave our allies unequipped, and of possibly making necessary the substitution of our American boys for those in other countries who are willing, if necessary, to fight and die with and for us.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that before this bill is enacted into law, the amount provided for military aid will be increased to

the limit of the authorization bill, some \$500 million in excess of the figure now recommended to you by your committee.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, may I say that I am glad that a survey is to be made of all programs in the mutual security field.

The success of our military programs has compelled the Kremlin to shift its tactics to the tactics of cold war—infiltration, promises, propaganda, subversion.

Last autumn I had the privilege of making an official trip with several other Members of the House to 26 countries in the Near East and Asia with the opportunity to see all of our programs in operation and to note the change in emphasis referred to.

I returned with some pretty definite ideas, some of which are embodied in the statement which I made for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 17 last.

I believe we can improve our approach. I believe we can improve our methods.

If we are to meet the present tactics of the Kremlin we must meet the cold war with the same firmness and effectiveness as we have developed in reference to military aggression.

We cannot buy confidence. We cannot buy friendship.

What we do and the spirit in which we do it is far more important than how much we spend.

We must work with our allies for our common defense.

We must be willing to lend a hand to those who sincerely desire to remain free.

We were successful over the years with the people of the Philippine Islands—to-day our staunch friends and allies.

There is no reason why we should not be successful with the peoples of other nations.

General Romulo, with his record of great distinction as a member of this House, as Ambassador from the Philippine Islands, and as President of the United Nations Assembly, had something to say in this connection some time ago.

In substance, he said, "If free Asia as a whole could be convinced that the free world as a whole would treat free Asia as well as America has treated the Philippine Islands, all of free Asia would be on our side."

I believe that a thorough-going survey should make it possible to take steps conducive to this end.

(Mr. WOLVERTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Chairman, the bill now under consideration—H. R. 12130—in my opinion, should be enacted because it has a direct relationship to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

The purpose of this bill, known as the mutual security appropriation bill, 1957, provides both economic as well as military financial aid to some 60 countries throughout the world. In most part, the money appropriated by this bill will go to nations that may be considered underprivileged, or, at least, unable to carry the heavy burden cast upon them in the preservation of peace and security that comes within their orbit.

It is distressing to realize that the situation with respect to world peace rests upon a not too secure basis. If it had not been for the wise leadership that has formulated and supported our mutual security program, I am fearful the world situation would not be as peaceful as it is today.

Through recent years we have seen the Soviet Union and its satellites banded together in a program that did not give assurance at all times of the desire for peace. We have seen the Communist-dominated countries as they gained military strength from Russia take on a bold front against the peaceful efforts of the Western democracies as they sought to make more secure the peace of the world. It was the Communists of North Korea, with the military help that came from Russia, and the manpower that came from Red China, that broke through to take over South Korea as part of the Communists' plan to take over the whole Pacific area, particularly Japan and the Philippines. It was the military strength that came to Red China from Communist Russia that drove the loyal Chinese, who had been our allies, into Formosa. And so there might be given illustration after illustration of how communism has sought to break down and take over the nations of the Far East area, the Middle East, southeastern Asia, strategic islands in the Pacific as they have already taken over central Europe, and East Germany, and countries around the Baltic Sea.

It is alarming to see the extent to which Communist aggression has taken over. It is gratifying to realize that this onward march has to a great extent been stopped. To accomplish this desirable result, it was necessary for America to take the leadership and utilize its wealth. Had we not done so it is very likely that our boys would have been called upon not only to continue to fight and die in Korea, but, in China and many other places throughout the world.

I am willing to admit that there are many ways in which the money we have appropriated to strengthen weaker nations who support our program of peace could have been spent in our own country to relieve distress and further worthwhile projects, but, in doing so, and thereby abandoning our weaker allies, we could have been involved in another world war. I ask in all sincerity and with strong conviction, has it not been better to spend the billions that have been spent for foreign aid and thereby maintain peace and keep our boys at home in peaceful pursuits? We should never forget when we may be tempted to criticize the spending of our money for foreign aid, that we are thereby building not only economic strength in our allies but, what is even more important, our building up their military strength means that thereby we are enabling them to build up their own armies and military power by training and using their own boys in the defense of their own country, if and when war may come, instead of our own American boys being sent all over the world to fight for these weaker nations as we did in Korea.

As a result of our program of financial aid to the nations where it was needed,

we have helped stop the onward march of communism. The economic and military aid that we have given has been most helpful in building these weaker and smaller nations into bulwarks that can help to maintain world peace and security. All that we have expended in this respect has been far less than what we would have spent in war, and, what is far more important we have saved the lives of our precious boys that otherwise might have been sacrificed.

Furthermore, if and when we are tempted to criticize the sending of financial aid abroad, never forget that our President, the most outstanding military authority in the world, and, the most informed person on the foreign situation, has recommended an outlay of funds for this purpose to an even greater extent than Congress has done. The opinion of President Eisenhower that foreign aid is necessary should be sufficient to convince any less informed person. I am satisfied to follow his recommendations any time that peace and security are at stake. I am of the opinion that he knows better than any other living man what is best for us to do under the precarious world conditions that confront us.

I will vote for the bill. I hope it will have the approval of the Congress.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON].

(Mr. FENTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FENTON. Mr. Chairman, it is important to keep in mind that we are now considering appropriations for the security of the United States. The mutual-security program in its entirety is, as President Eisenhower has said, "indispensable to the security of every American citizen."

In the modern world of atomic weapons, supersonic missiles and aircraft, and Soviet penetration through economic, cultural and ideological means, absolute security is obviously unattainable. We must, however, strive for the highest possible degree of security for our citizens. In so doing, of course, we must think of the long term. It would be pointless to seek a degree of security today which is so costly that we lose our freedom tomorrow from economic chaos or collapse.

The mutual-security program has for some years been one of the most important instruments of our foreign policy. To meet the diversity of the threat to our freedom this program is necessarily far-ranging in its aspects. Through this program we may provide a public sanitation expert in Vietnam, surplus wheat to Pakistan or guided missiles to our NATO partners. Each of these, in its own way, very directly advances the security of all Americans.

The principal objection to appropriating sufficient funds to carry out the mutual-security program with vigor seems, this year as always, to be that "we cannot afford these billions for foreign aid."

Mr. Chairman, the only price tag that I reject where the security of the United States is involved is one that is so high that, if it is paid, it is self-defeating by

imposing such a burden on our taxpayers that we lose our prosperity—and ultimately our freedom—through the back door.

Let us look for a moment at the price tag on the mutual-security program. For the whole program—military, economic and technical assistance—the President requested a little less than \$5 billion. This is a large sum of money, but it is less than 15 percent of our annual defense expenditures. The military assistance share of this request, toward which most of the cuts proposed by Members of Congress have been aimed, was \$3 billion. This is less than one-tenth the cost of our annual domestic defense expenditures.

Through the military-assistance program we have helped our allies bring into being more than 200 divisions, naval strength of more than 2,000 ships and air strength of about 300 squadrons. Secretary of Defense Wilson and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford, have both publicly stated that without the support of these allies and partners the United States would need to increase the size of its own Armed Forces at a cost very much greater than the cost of our military-assistance program.

Even were we willing to abandon our quest for security through collective measures and adopt a fortress America concept at prohibitive cost in manpower and money, it is doubtful that we could be as secure as we are today—at far less cost.

Our mutual-security program is tailored to assist our allies in developing forces which will implement the only strategic concept which can protect us and the free world—a concept for nuclear war. The sole objective of our mutual-security program is, as President Eisenhower said in his message to Congress this year, "Peace and justice." But we pursue peace through strength, not through dependence on the mercy—and whim—of the Soviets.

Strategic bases and key military facilities are provided by our allies. Our aid programs are tailored to promote the security and continued availability of these facilities.

The premises of the mutual-security program I have outlined are not mine or not alone those of the Eisenhower administration. They have been accepted by all of our military commanders and political leaders of both parties since the existence and nature of the Soviet threat created the conditions which make such a program mandatory.

As one who accepts these premises, I am deeply concerned by the prospect of completely inadequate appropriations, particularly for the military assistance part of the mutual-security program.

President Eisenhower requested \$3 billion for military assistance. Developments in the program since the budget request have, we are told—enabled the saving of \$100 million. Admiral Radford has given us to understand that, although our struggle for military security will be hampered, they can live with something less. But the "something less is not in the neighborhood of a billion dollars less, as originally voted by the

House in acting on the authorization bill. Even less does this phrase encompass the \$1.265 billion cut voted by the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. Chairman, the Joint Chiefs of Staff specifically considered a \$2 billion program of appropriations for fiscal year 1957 and rejected it as unacceptable.

In this case, I for one do not set my judgment of military matters above that of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. But plain commonsense would lead me to the same conclusion. These are the facts. Five critical countries: Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Turkey, and Pakistan require a total of \$1.2 billion in military assistance for fiscal year 1957. The first three of these countries face highly armed Communist troops in, at best, a situation of uneasy truce. Who would deny them the assistance necessary for them to defend their homeland and thereby help protect the rest of us in the Free World? Who wishes to cut assistance to our staunch ally Turkey, whose soldiers fought so valiantly in Korea and who know so well the ancient Russian and present Soviet threat, or to Pakistan the link between the Baghdad pact to the west and SEATO to the east?

When you add to this \$1.2 billion about \$255 million of fixed charges required to deliver equipment provided for in prior years and to administer the program, the Appropriations Committee action would allow less than \$300 million to carry out a program in 33 countries.

These 33 countries which must be provided for from \$300 million include:

First. All of NATO except Turkey, but including Greece;

Second. All of our Latin American partners; and

Third. Such Asian friends and members of SEATO as the Philippines and Thailand.

Mr. Chairman, the amount allowed by the Appropriations Committee is obviously inadequate. Such a severe reduction would, as President Eisenhower wrote our able minority leader, Mr. MARSHALL, at the time we were considering the authorizing bill, seriously impair "our Nation's security and our partnership with like-minded nations in the world."

The President's estimate for bilateral technical cooperation was \$140,500,000. This was distributed as follows: \$34,100,000 for the Near East and Africa; \$63,250,000 for Asia; \$32,350,000 for Latin America; and \$10,800,000 to cover inter-regional expenses that cannot be specifically assigned to any geographic area. The technical-cooperation program—commonly known as point 4—involves the sharing of skills, knowledge, techniques, and experience with people of the newly developing areas of the world. It is designed to help friendly peoples to help themselves by providing the technical competence which they require in order to carry forward economic development and improve their standards of living.

This program consists largely of advice—teaching, training, and exchanging information. The supply component is limited to that equipment which is required for effective teaching and demonstration purposes. In the program submitted by the executive branch this

component is only 11.2 percent of the total; the lowest proportion in recent years.

The major emphasis of the technical-cooperation program is in the fields of agriculture, health, and education, which 3 fields of activity would account for more than 50 percent of the amount requested. However, the program also includes, in response to developing needs, assistance in the solution of problems of transportation, housing, industrial management, labor conditions, public administration, and community development.

Technical cooperation is extended in a number of different ways—by sending technicians to participating countries to advise and teach, and by bringing selected foreign technicians to the United States or other countries for advance training in, or observation of, educational institutions, Government agencies, and private organizations. The amount requested by the executive branch would provide for a total of some 4,389 technicians to be sent abroad by the United States, and approximately 5,731 foreign trainees to come to the United States or to go elsewhere for training.

The costs to the United States of the technical-cooperation program are small in relation to the total amount involved in this bill. However, I believe all observers will agree that no comparable expenditure of United States funds is likely to have a more profound effect on the course of human events as the expenditures which are being made under this program. Through this program the people of the United States and the people of other countries join together in a far-reaching undertaking directed toward the elimination of disease, hunger, poverty, and illiteracy from the face of the earth, and thereby create some of the most important conditions for a durable peace.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. DENTON].

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Chairman, I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the chairman of our subcommittee on the way he conducted these hearings. In some ways it was a difficult problem for him, and he conducted them, I think, very fairly with the witnesses and with all the members.

It was also a pleasure to serve on this committee with so many Members of long service in Congress and great experience in dealing with this appropriation problem, and we had great help from our staff.

I think there is no question here but that there is going to be a foreign-aid program. We voted for it. I am in favor of it. The Congress is in favor of it. The question is, How much money are we going to appropriate for that purpose?

I think every Member in this House has the security of the United States at heart. We have had that attitude with every appropriation bill that has come up here. But there is one thing about this bill. To some people it has been something of a "sacred cow." Always when it is cut they predict dire consequences for the United States. A year

ago we cut this appropriation \$700 million. Yet, the foreign-aid officials were unable to spend, obligate, or reserve \$240 million of that 1956 appropriation, despite all the hue and cry we had that that money could be spent.

Now, just a few facts: Almost all the talk seems to deal with military aid. We appropriated last year a billion dollars for military aid. They were not able to spend \$195 million of that sum. Notwithstanding that fact, we have given them \$700 million more, in recommending a total of \$1.7 billion for that purpose.

Here is the difficulty about this whole problem. Of this \$1,700,000,000 we recommended as a new appropriation, only about \$400 million could be spent in fiscal year 1957. The balance will be spent some 2 years from now. We do not know what our foreign policy is going to be 2 years from now, for a number of reasons.

We now have a "pipeline" of foreign-aid funds already appropriated and committed. With the money we recommend be appropriated and what is in the "pipeline" the Agency will have \$10,300,000,000 to last over a 2-year period.

I think we can afford to be very conservative in the appropriation of money this year for two reasons:

First, since Stalin's death there is something significant going on behind the Iron Curtain. There is an attempt to de-deify and discredit Stalin. The unrest in Poland and the other satellite countries shows all is not well behind the Iron Curtain. There has been, I think, hope over the years something would happen there, and of course nothing has happened until recently. But the Communists in Russia have changed their foreign policy or, at least, their tactics. Possibly 2 years from now—before the foreign-aid funds on hand are expended—we will have to change our foreign policy.

The second thing is that the results of the military aid program are very, very discouraging, according to the facts given to our committee. There is a great deal of effort to compare this current program with the Marshall plan. After World War II the countries of Western Europe were prostrate, their industry was destroyed, they had no money for reconstruction. Europe was a fertile ground for communism. Our Marshall plan gave them money to rebuild. It has been a great success.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and fifteen Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. DENTON. The Marshall plan was a great success, so much so that the Western European countries are today better off economically than they were before the war. But here it is an entirely different situation we are dealing with now. Most of the foreign-aid money goes to the Middle East and the Far East.

There the problem has been one, not of war devastation, but of poverty, overpopulation, poor health, and to that has

been added a drive in those countries against "colonialism." As I say, the program of military aid has been very, very discouraging in Europe. Germany has been slow to rearm. France has been moving her armies to Africa. While the figures are secret, our other allies are disappointing in the number of troops they have committed to the European defense.

In the Middle East there is unrest, of course, in Cyprus and Algeria, and there is tension between Israel and the Arab states. We seem to have no policy in the Middle East.

The Far East is the most discouraging of all. Here is what we were told. The Communists are carrying the ball. We are only holding the line. Every time they have broken through the line it has cost us another half billion dollars a year, per new country where the Communists have attacked, in foreign aid, besides the number of troops we had to commit to that area. This whole program has been like Topsy itself. It has "just growed." It started out with 15 nations as aid recipients, and now there are 68 nations in the program. There is a drive in all these countries to try to get more aid money from the United States. The State Department wants to be friends with them and, naturally, goes along. It is up to the Congress, of course, to resist that pressure.

We have spent about \$50 billion for this foreign-aid program, with these unsatisfactory results. Under these conditions, everyone seems to think the program should be reinvestigated and we should redetermine what we are going to do. The other body has a committee to investigate the foreign aid program. Our Committee on Foreign Affairs has a committee investigating the foreign aid program. We have recommended a special investigation by our Appropriations Committee. I understand an administrative agency has considered such an investigation. I think we can go slow until these investigations are completed, and we find out what they recommend should be done in this program. We have, as I said, \$10,300,000,000 in pipeline funds and new money to carry us over a 2-year period, and in that time 2 more appropriation bills for this program will come before the House. If we find we have been penurious in this case, we can make that up. We have plenty of time in that respect. It takes the agency 6 months to commit this money after it is appropriated. If any kind of an emergency arises, a supplemental appropriation bill can be brought in.

I feel satisfied that the security of the United States will not be injured if this recommendation of the Committee on Appropriations is approved.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DENTON. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman refers to the pipeline being 24 months long.

May I state that, at the rate of expenditures for the fiscal year 1956, the pipeline will be 33 months and not 24 months.

Mr. DENTON. I am pleased to have that correction.

Mr. PASSMAN. While I am on my feet, I might state for the benefit of my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood], with reference to the amount of offshore procurement, that if he will refer to page 873 of the hearings, he will find that offshore procurement for 1952 through 1955 totaled \$2.8 billion. To me that is a large sum of money.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HAND].

(Mr. HAND asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAND. Mr. Chairman, it is with considerable reluctance that I speak at all on the appropriations for so-called mutual assistance which are now before us. I am reluctant to take a position which opposes the official position of my administration. Moreover, if we accept the philosophy of the program, I feel that our Committee on Appropriations has handled the matter as well as could be expected. The House Legislative Committee, as you know, has reduced the program by \$1,100,000,000, although a larger amount was accepted in conference, and the House Committee on Appropriations has made a further reduction of some \$300 million, most of which is in the military part of the program. But, Mr. Chairman, after 10 years of intense study, and after a careful and detailed examination of the bill as a member of the subcommittee, I still cannot bring myself to accept the wisdom of a plan which has involved the expenditure of more than \$50 million since it started, with such doubtful results.

Of course, there is not much relationship of the present program to the original Marshall plan. At the time the Congress was sold the idea that this was a temporary plan to put war devastated Europe on its feet. Like most Federal programs, it has neither been temporary nor has it been kept within reasonable bounds. After 10 years the administration is asking us for far more money than they did, for example, last year, and can give us no assurance whatever when the program will end, if ever.

It would not serve a useful purpose for me extensively to repeat the views that I have so often expressed before. I would rather confine myself to a few of the particulars of the program, on which current history has thrown a good deal of light.

EUROPE

In Europe the former economic aid program has been largely discontinued, and rightly so because most of Europe for years has been on a sound economic basis. What we have done is to substitute a military aid program for the other type of aid. Great Britain is probably our firmest friend and strongest ally. It has been hard for me to realize, however, for some time in the past, the need for aid of any kind to this strong country, which still maintains a worldwide though diminished empire.

In France now, and for some time in the past, our aid to them to support NATO and the defense of Europe has been more than spent in a bloody, expensive, and futile attempt to maintain the French colonial empire in Indochina, and now in North Africa.

Germany, in two recent wars against us, has clearly demonstrated its potentialities as a great military force. The present prosperity of the Federal German Republic is an international byword, yet we insist on continuing all kinds of support to this Republic, even to the extent of money for the training of German troops. Recent history would indicate that Germany does not require assistance from us or anybody else to train first-class fighting men; but the further fact remains that there are no German troops. Just within the last few days, after a long and bitter fight, Germany passed a conscription law which is highly unpopular in that country, and which is designed in the far-off future to raise some 12 divisions of German soldiers.

Mr. Chairman, if there is another major war it obviously is not going to be fought with infantry. The buildup of German forces does not envision any significant air force, and if we fight again, we are certainly going to fight in the air.

Then, of course, with respect to some splendid but lesser countries, for example, Luxembourg, it takes a more vivid imagination than mine to see how the forces of such a tiny country can be related to security of the United States.

YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. Chairman, I can understand the theory of the Secretary of State that support for Yugoslavia should be continued because it serves as a demonstration of the possibility of a Communist country breaking away from Soviet domination. However, it is fundamentally questionable that if this program is designed to restrain communism, it can't make much sense to support communism. We must be given some pause at the recent developments occasioned by the visits of Khrushchev to Yugoslavia and Tito to Moscow. There is every evidence of a friendly rapprochement, and indeed if Tito is correctly quoted in the press, he has indicated that the Soviet and Yugoslavia will never be torn apart again.

GREECE AND TURKEY

Greece and Turkey, one of the early beneficiaries under the so-called Truman doctrine, have long been considered effective allies, composed of persons who are willing to fight for their freedom, and no doubt this is true. However, the present embroilment of these two nations over the Cyprus problem, and the embroilment of both of them with our ally, Great Britain, would seem to make them somewhat less effective. The situation in Turkey has become increasingly disheartening. In spite of our enormous aid, they are getting themselves into very bad shape economically and are faced with a ruinous inflation. What is even more important are recent internal developments. The catch phrase behind this whole program, Mr. Chairman, is the fight for the free world, but how free is Turkey getting to be? Last month the Turkish Government passed a law al-

most complete curbing free speech, and just last week a dictatorial decree, quite worthy of any totalitarian country, effectively prohibits freedom of assembly.

ASIA

A very large proportion of this program is designed for the limitless populations of Asia. The House passed a defense support appropriation of \$882 million, which does not take into consideration other huge funds for development assistance, technical cooperation, and special funds. A colossal sum is devoted to the maintenance of ground troops in South Korea, which could never be of the slightest use to the United States unless we repeat our bloody and costly experiment in Korea, now happily ended. We continue all kinds of appropriations for India, and so far as I can recollect for a period of the last 2 or 3 years, India has seldom said a kind word about the United States, and never an unkind word about the Soviet Union. As we give aid to India we anger Pakistan. As we give aid to Pakistan, we anger India. Thus, we fortify friends and allies. India has a perfect right to be neutral, but in view of everything we have learned for years past, is anyone sufficiently naive to suppose that Indian troops would be fighting in support of American troops in the event of future war?

We insist on supporting a military effort in Japan, notwithstanding the fact that both the Japanese Constitution and most of the Japanese people are wholly opposed to creating a military establishment. The results of current elections in Japan are not entirely clear, but it seems evident that the Japanese Government has not gotten a sufficient majority to change that constitution, which incidentally we ourselves imposed upon them during the Japanese occupation.

Mr. Chairman, how the economic welfare and military potential of Laos, for example, is intertwined with the integrity and national security of the United States, I, in common with many millions of Americans, am not able to see.

NEAR EAST

In the Near East, friendly and democratic Israel is in this program for a very modest amount, but the support given under the bill to the Arab countries who are enemies of Israel, is many times more. The exact figures are classified and I cannot reveal them, but if I did it would be shocking. In spite of extremely substantial support for Egypt, and continued serious talk about helping them build Aswan Dam, at a total cost of about \$1,300,000,000, Egypt opposes our foreign policy at every opportunity, and all the evidence I have indicates that they are presently bitterly unfriendly to the United States.

The Department takes a far more optimistic view of this situation than I do. Observe in this connection my colloquy with Government witnesses appearing on page 353 of the hearings:

Mr. HAND. Considering the political situation in Egypt, what evidence do you have that either the Egyptian people or the Egyptian Government is more friendly to the United States, or less likely to fall within the Russian orbit, compared to a time before this program was going?

Mr. ROUNTREE. Well, sir, it is our objective to achieve more friendly relations, and a more friendly attitude.

Mr. HAND. How much evidence do you have that that has been achieved?

Mr. ROUNTREE. I think that following a number of actions on the part of the Egyptian Government that created some criticism in this country, such as recognition of Red China, the general tenor of Egyptian broadcasts and propaganda has been more friendly. Moreover, we were encouraged by the attitude on the part of the Egyptian and other Arab States, as well as Israel, in the efforts of Secretary General Hammarskjöld, and we are not discouraged over the prospects of an improving situation.

IMPORTANCE OF EGYPT TO NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HAND. One last question: What, in your opinion, is the difference to the national security of the United States whatever Egypt's attitude is?

Mr. ROUNTREE. I think it has very great significance to the national security of the United States, sir, for a number of reasons. One which I think should be pointed out is that Egypt does occupy a unique position in the Arab world today. Egypt is influential in a number of other Arab States with which it is aligned and associated—I think that the Egyptian attitude and Egyptian position will have an important bearing on the attitudes and positions of other states in the area. We would like to convince all of these countries of our earnest desire to maintain objective, friendly policies toward them.

Mr. HAND. What military or other potential does the entire Arab bloc have which concerns the national security of the United States?

Mr. ROUNTREE. The Arab States adjacent to Israel have a population of about 40 million. Their armies are relatively modest in size. They are not in any way associated with us in any collective security arrangements or with any free-world security arrangements.

Mr. HAND. That is all.

ECONOMIC AID

Because this program many years ago started as a program of economic aid, many if not most people still have the conception that it still is such a program, and they are especially pleased with the idea of our technical cooperation with the more backward countries—the so-called point 4 program—whereby we lend our experts and our know-how in agriculture, industry and other fields, so that the backward countries can learn to achieve for themselves a higher standard of living. Such a program would appeal to any humanitarian. Do not assume, however, that because they achieve a higher standard of living they will be much less apt to be Communists. It is a false assumption that people turn to communism because they are starving to death. Russia did not do that originally, neither did Yugoslavia, neither did the satellite countries in eastern Europe. Many of them were the grain baskets of Europe. The point is that the program has become a worldwide effort to maintain military establishments in every part of the globe, and especially in Asia, who would be very doubtful friends in the event of trouble, and would be completely ineffective in modern warfare.

RESTRAINT OF COMMUNISM

It has also been constantly urged that this is a program which is to contain communism. I regret to say that there

are far more persons under Communist control than there were when the program started. Indeed, hundreds of millions more. As one pertinent example, there are as many Communists in France and as many Communists in the French Chamber of Deputies as there were at the beginning of the program.

MONEY ON HAND

You will note that I have been concerned mostly with the general philosophy of this measure, and not particularly with financial details about which much has been and will be said. However, I should point out once more that the agency has substantially more than \$5 billion unspent and substantially more than \$1 billion unobligated, the total amount of money on hand being just about \$7 billion. The proponents of the program will answer that that, of course, results from the necessary long lead time or the so-called pipeline. My reply is that the pipeline is too long, too wide, and too slow. The matter of fact is that there was between seven and eight hundred million dollars more in the pipeline at the end of fiscal 1956 than was estimated by the Department. The Department actually spent about \$800 million less than they told us they were going to spend. I should also emphasize that in their anxiety to make a better picture on obligated funds the committee is informed that on June 30, 1955, the last day of that fiscal year, at 5:15 in the afternoon, the Department finally managed to obligate or reserve 22 percent of the total program. To obligate and reserve almost a quarter of the total program on the last day and in almost the last hour of the fiscal year, is to say the least, just a little suspicious. It seems to me that they could not properly spend nor obligate the money, and made a last minute desperate attempt to do so to make their figures look better for the next year's appropriation bill.

CAMBODIA

Mr. Chairman, I asserted at the outset that I was not so much interested in discussing the entire philosophy of this bill as I was to try to point out that current day-by-day history seems to me to be throwing some light on the failure of that philosophy. In this connection I want to refer to the case of Cambodia. In that country, which could be of no real assistance to us in the event of a major war, we have spent multimillions of dollars. I am not sure that I am permitted to tell you just how much because some of the information is classified. You can accept my word for it that it is a very large sum indeed, and that there is a very large sum in the present program for Cambodia.

Now let me call to your attention page 84 of the hearings and the following colloquy between me and Mr. Hollister:

EFFECT OF AID TO CAMBODIA

Mr. HAND. Now, Mr. Hollister, I would like to pick out one of those countries as an illustration. Let us just pick out of the air Cambodia. I would like to have your comment on how you think there is a direct relationship between our efforts in strengthening the economy of Cambodia and/or its military forces, and the security of the United States.

Mr. HOLLISTER. Well, I would rather have one of the political people answer it, but I will answer it as best I can. Look at the map and you see Cambodia surrounded by Laos and Vietnam on one side and Thailand on the other.

If that country in the middle of that group should turn to communism, it seems very difficult to see how Vietnam or Laos could hold up. It would probably touch off a chain reaction in Thailand and perhaps even in Burma to say nothing of what the effect might be in Indonesia; in the Malayan Federation.

We try to look at this program as a whole and we are hoping that we can maintain this periphery of countries in Asia in a stage where they will remain free and Cambodia—

Mr. HAND. By free you mean non-Communist and not under Russian domination?

Mr. HOLLISTER. That is correct.

Mr. HAND. If they did not remain free what effect do you think that would have on the security of the United States?

Mr. HOLLISTER. I have a feeling that there would be a chain reaction and we would begin to lose free bastion after free bastion and would have to pull out completely from that part of the world. I am sure that would be a much greater menace to us than the situation today.

Mr. HAND. I do not follow your reasoning there. Why would it be a much greater menace?

Mr. HOLLISTER. It would mean many many more people would be under the control of the Communists, it would strengthen their resources, it would frighten other people who do not live in that particular area.

Mr. HAND. And add to their problems, would it not, as the satellite countries have, add to the Russian problems as the satellite countries have?

Mr. HOLLISTER. Undoubtedly.

Mr. HAND. Might weaken their position as a net result?

Mr. HOLLISTER. Conceivably, but I do not think either you or I would want to abandon them just because of that possibility.

Now my recollection is that this questioning took place on May 24, 1956. I could hardly have known definitely what would later transpire, but I could have had a reasonable guess.

What did actually happen?

On last Sunday, July 8, a special article to the New York Times dated Moscow, July 7, tells the story that Mr. Bulganin, Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Schepilov accepted an invitation to visit Cambodia. The announcement of their acceptance was contained in a joint statement signed on July 7 by Prince Norodom of Cambodia and Premier Bulganin during ceremonies in the Kremlin. Now that's all right. I have no objection to Cambodia visiting with Russia or Russia visiting with Cambodia. I am not even sure I object, either, to Prince Norodom awarding the Royal Order of Cambodia to Marshall Voroshilov as a symbol of friendship and brotherhood between Cambodia and the Soviet Union, but I do object to the following story which I am quoting in large part, because of its evident importance, from the story appearing in the New York Times. In its news columns the New York Times can usually be relied upon to be accurate, although in its editorial columns they will no doubt still insist upon further aid to Cambodia notwithstanding the news which they carry. A portion of the story follows:

"The hopes of all Cambodians rest in the U. S. S. R. for the realization of our ideal of peace and welfare of the people." Norodom declared.

At a press conference afterward the Prince, who had relinquished the Cambodian throne in favor of his father but still carries great weight in the affairs of his country, spoke even more glowingly.

"One must pay tribute to the dynamism, understanding, realism, charming simplicity and remarkable comprehension of the peoples and aspirations of Asiatic peoples displayed by the members of the Soviet Government," the Prince declared.

"SELFLESS FRIENDSHIP"

The joint statement disclosed that the Soviet leaders had been completely successful in convincing the Cambodian Prince and members of his delegation of their desire to carry out with the Indochinese kingdom a program of "selfless friendship and mutual assistance."

Formally announcing a plan for an exchange of ambassadors, the communique said Soviet experts would go to Cambodia shortly to meet experts there to elaborate economic and cultural ties. A particular mission will be the consideration of questions relating to Soviet assistance in the building of industrial and other enterprises and the training of technical personnel, it was announced.

In what appeared to be an aspersion on western aid, the communique states: "The Soviet Government expressed readiness to render assistance without any selfish conditions, respecting fully the sovereignty and independence and national dignity of Cambodia."

The representatives of Cambodia expressed their "delight with the peaceful and friendly policy which is carried on by the Soviet Union with respect to all nations as well as the support which it continues to give underdeveloped countries."

Mr. Chairman, I should think we could read the handwriting on the wall, and read the day-by-day events, which are indicating the failure of this fantastic program on which we embarked 10 years ago. Russia is getting more for free than we get for \$50 billion.

India goes into a frenzy to welcome Bulganin and Khrushchev and almost completely ignores our Secretary of State on his visit. We have given them some half billion dollars. We rushed to their aid a couple of years ago with 2 million tons of wheat. We have given them phenomenal private aid. If Russia has given them anything, I am not aware of it.

Mr. Chairman, on June 12, 1956, there appeared in many metropolitan newspapers an article entitled "Why does the world hate America?" apparently written by Mr. Raymond Cartier, executive director of the magazine Paris-Match, republished by Mr. Basil Brewer, the publisher of the New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times. I commend the entire article to your attention, but I conclude by quoting its final paragraph:

There would be less anti-Americanism in the world if America abandoned its philanthropic aspirations, its vocation of Santa Claus, its transcendental morality, all its missionary trappings, all its boy-scout gear, and if, at last, it followed openly and intelligently the policy of its own interest.

Mr. Chairman, I can now hear cries that I am an isolationist. On the contrary, I have consistently supported all

of our efforts through the United Nations, and other international bodies. My objection is to us, and us alone, picking up the tab every day for 10 years while we watch our guests dance with the other fellow.

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAND. I yield to the gentlewoman from Georgia.

Mrs. BLITCH. I certainly would like to compliment the gentleman on the speech he has just made and to express my regret that every Member of this House was not present to hear the speech.

The thing that has troubled this Member of the House has been the statement she has often heard: "I could not possibly vote against this bill. I have to be in support of these things because I know so much; I am on the inside;" or "I am on this committee, that committee, or the other committee, and these things I know, and because of that I cannot vote to do anything to cut this program in any way."

Now, the gentleman who is a member of this great committee that has laid this bill before us here today tells us facts we should know in helping us to make up our minds on this matter.

Perhaps also the reason I praise the gentleman's speech so highly is because I so fully agree with what he has had to say.

Mr. HAND. I appreciate very much what the gentlewoman from Georgia has just said: I am reluctant to say that my position is sound when I see so many of my friends disagreeing with me, but if it is not sound it is not from lack of study or lack of knowledge.

Mrs. BLITCH. I appreciate very much what the gentleman has had to say at this time.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAND. I yield.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The statement is made that this program is an effort to stop the aggression of Red China. I ask the gentleman if it is not true that anything that helps Red China works against the security of America? Is that not correct?

Mr. HAND. I think so. I may say to the gentleman that I have been informed, and I say now to the House, although I do not know this to be true, that Great Britain has today indicated that they will advocate the admission of Red China into the United Nations.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Is it not also true that the greatest champion for the admission of Red China into the United Nations, and thereby strengthen Red China immeasurably, is Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia?

Mr. HAND. I have heard it so stated.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Does it not therefore sound ridiculous to appropriate money to stop Red China on the one hand while on the other hand we appropriate money to China's greatest advocate?

Mr. HAND. It seems to me to be fundamentally wrong.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood].

Mr. FLOOD. I thank the gentleman. I appreciate these few minutes because I know how short is the time at the disposal of the chairman of the committee, and he knows I do not support the subcommittee on this matter.

The statement made by my friend from New Jersey and the statements made heretofore on the floor indicate very clearly that the monopoly that has existed on the part of this country for military and economic aid to the nations of the world no longer exists; that the Soviets have now entered into the market place for the goodwill and the aid and the support of these nations of the world.

Make no mistake about this: This is not a giveaway program; this is not Operation Rathole, this is not Operation "Uncle Sap"—by no means. This, as has been said by me in the defense debates as well as the payment of a very expensive, extremely expensive premium on an absolutely necessary and essential insurance policy. Every dollar, every dime we appropriate here is well used; it is not being thrown away, it is not being squandered. I cannot imagine anything which would please Khrushchev and Bulganin more than to have the United States of America driven into isolationism from the nations of the world or by action we take here to drive a wedge between this nation and what we have been doing for our generation and will have to do for another generation.

I have no crystal ball, I have no idea what the ultimate outcome or end will be of these dollars we have spent and the dollars we will have to spend in this and other bills. I do not know what the good will be or what the ultimate result will be for the welfare of our Nation and the Western World, but I do know what the result will be for this Nation and the world if this program is not continued at the level required by those who are chiefly responsible and who best know under the circumstances its need by dollars, the President of the United States, the man that we have time and time again on both sides of the aisle addressed as our President. I have opposed him here and the Joint Chiefs of Staff on defense bills. I said then I would support them and him here on this bill. I am not trying to carry water on both shoulders. If there is anyone in this House has a right to stand up here and support this bill I am that one because I have been pleading this cause to those on both sides of the aisle in support of the program.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski].

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time simply to state that I do not like the idea of being told over and over again if you are against this program you are against the security of America. I have been here now for 14 years and I have never yet cast a vote that ever resulted in the insecurity of America. I can say in all candor and in all frank-

ness that I have never voted to give a potential enemy any amount of money so that at some time they may strike at us.

Mr. Chairman, I am against this program because it is the foreign-aid program in this country that got us into the mess we are in now. If we had not given Joe Stalin \$13 billion of lend lease, \$5 billion more than he asked for, if we had not continued to send him lend lease, foreign aid, if you please, 3 years after the war ended, including the time that the war broke out in Korea, he never would have had enough guns and ammunition to send to Red China to take over China. If the Reds had not taken over China we would not have had the Korean war.

It is the whole foreign-aid program of aid to Stalin that resulted in their being able to go ahead. It is that foreign aid program that resulted in the slaughter of 35,000 Americans in Korea, many of them still there rotting behind bars in jail. If it had not been for the foreign-aid program of America that gave Ho Chi Minh of China \$500 million of UNRRA goods, he never would have had the guns and ammunition to start a war in Indochina. If it had not been for the billions of dollars we have given to France, France would not have had the guns and tanks to fight in Africa and you would be having no war in Africa today.

It is the American foreign-aid program that has resulted in the insecurity rather than the security of America, and I stand on that statement. You are doing the same thing over again.

They are not going to make a dunce out of me. They may try to brainwash me. When these people come here and tell you if we are going to cut down on this program we will send less material to Chiang Kai-shek and to Formosa, they are not fooling me. I know the attitude of the State Department toward Formosa. You can add \$10 billion to this bill and they are not going to send another dime to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa because they are afraid he may start a war and invade the mainland.

For the life of me, I cannot understand why they tell us we have to do this to defend Asia against the onslaught of Red China at the very time you are appropriating money to Red China's greatest leader in world councils, Marshal Tito. We have given Marshal Tito planes and the first people to see the planes we sent Tito were the Red Chinese. Tito is shipping oil and war materiel to Red China. How giving Tito billions of dollars to help American security is beyond my comprehension. This program is a failure, its the best aid we can give the Communists, and no amount of soul searching can defend it. This program is the brain child of the very inept leaders who got us into this mess. Their counsel cannot be accepted by reasonable people who really have concern for American security.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(Mr. O'KONSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross].

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, it was very interesting to hear one gentleman awhile ago speak of the great wealth of the United States. There is wealth in this country, but the figures for last year, a year of great so-called prosperity, show that our public and private debt increased \$61 billion to a total \$768 billion. Yes, we have some wealth, but we also have plenty of debt and taxes in this country, and this bill will add plenty to both of the latter.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Very briefly.

Mr. GARY. It has been stated that we have 6 percent of the population and 52 percent of the wealth. Is it not also true that we have approximately 52 percent of the debt of the world?

Mr. GROSS. We have more debt than all the nations combined.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Briefly.

Mr. PASSMAN. So as to keep the record straight, I believe it is in keeping with what the gentleman from Virginia said, the public debt of the United States is \$57 billion greater than the combined public debt of all the other nations of the world combined.

Mr. GROSS. That is right. Maybe the coal miners of Pennsylvania have the ability to pay the taxes for this free-wheeling foreign spending, but the farmers of Iowa do not.

Mr. Chairman, each year at this time we are called upon to bow low and without question drink deeply from the ever-flowing fountain which has as its source of supply the allegedly superior knowledge of those who support the multi-billion dollar foreign handout program.

These paternalistic, papa-knows-best sermons, are becoming nauseating. They are not an answer to millions of our taxpayers who are becoming weary of carrying tax burdens for foreigners and foreign governments which, in all too many instances, have already demonstrated that they intend to oppose the Communist conspiracy only if the cost to them in dollars and manpower is insignificant or no cost at all.

This foreign WPA appropriation bill comes to us as have similar bills in the years past—in an atmosphere of confusion, doubt, and behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing.

The distinguished minority leader [Mr. MARTIN] urged us on Monday to embrace this offering and leave to others the judgment of whether it is good, bad, or indifferent. I must respond that I cannot accept this, nor have I accepted any other foreign handout program on the sole judgment of any President or his advisers.

The maneuvering that has taken place in connection with the consideration of this bill, which ought to be of the gravest concern to the majority of the Members of the House, is set forth in the RECORD

of Monday, July 9, and is to be found on page 11050.

Let me read to you from the colloquy between the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN]:

Mr. ROONEY. As the gentleman from Massachusetts knows, it had been my intention to offer an amendment here on the floor of the House which would restore funds with regard to the military assistance part of the bill. After conferring on Saturday last with certain Members in whose judgment I have great confidence, including the gentleman from Massachusetts, I have arrived at the conclusion that it might be safer and better procedure for those of us who think, as does the gentleman from Massachusetts, that the reduction made in military money is entirely too drastic, to get this bill over to the other body as promptly as possible so that it may become a much more improved bill than it is in its present form. At the moment this would seem to be the best strategy.

Mr. MARTIN. The gentleman is correct. This determination not to increase the amount now is reached in the expectation that the other branch would have better judgment as to the safety of our country.

Here we are told that a behind-the-scenes meeting attended by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN], together with certain others as yet unidentified, has been held and this led to a decision not to risk a vote in the House on the restoration of the paltry cut that was made in the request for additional hundreds of millions of dollars this year.

I have arrived at the conclusion—

Says Mr. ROONEY—

that it might be safer and better procedure for those of us who think as does the gentleman from Massachusetts * * * to get this bill over to the other body as promptly as possible so that it may become a much more improved bill than in its present form.

To which the minority leader [Mr. MARTIN] replies:

This determination not to increase the amount now is reached in the expectation that the other branch would have better judgment as to the safety of our country.

I can only assume that both statements reflect the views of those who made them since no effort was made yesterday to correct the Record. This being true, I resent and challenge both statements, particularly the latter.

Are we now ready to admit that we are incompetent to exercise judgment in relation to the safety of this country; that such judgment can be entrusted only to the other body? Or are we to be made the victims of prearranged expedition—a scheme which may have for its purpose the protection of those who would rather not go on record in the House to increase the bill, but leave it to the handful of Members in conference to put back all or part of the cut?

Mr. Chairman, I am sick and tired of being accused of not being interested in the safety of this country. I voted for every dollar that has been asked for our own defenses and I intend to continue to do so. Although I have at times had some questions and doubts concerning those expenditures, I have voted for them. I resent being accused here of not being able to legislate, that the leg-

islation must be entrusted to the other body; that we are not competent.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I think it is a matter of their squaring their conscience. Those of us who never voted excess funds that were used to cause Communist aggression all over the world, like Red China and to give Joe Stalin \$5 billion more than he asked for, never voted that way in the first place. We do not have to apologize for the security of America, but there are those who have to and I think it is a matter of their squaring their consciences.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman. The gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] has been asking me to yield. I shall be glad to yield to him now, if he desires.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I hope I have not forgotten the thought I had in mind at the moment awhile ago. Perhaps it was that I wanted to inquire whether or not the gentleman from Iowa claimed that I said that the other body would have any better judgment than this body with regard to anything.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman will find that I read the statements verbatim. They are in the Record.

Mr. ROONEY. I do not think my remarks on Monday contain any such reference statement as the gentleman has made on the floor with regard to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GROSS. I shall be glad to submit the remarks I have made to the gentleman.

Mr. ROONEY. They are in Monday's Record. But I do not want the gentleman to leave the inference here today that I contended that the other body had any better judgment than this body.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, I want to compliment the gentleman on his excellent speech. Of course, we will never understand the attitude of Congress when we continue to vote billions of dollars at a time when our debt is staggering. We are still under the illusion in this country that there is no limit to our expenditures. But does not the gentleman believe that if we could compel the Congress to attach to this bill a tax measure and undertake to pay for it, that we would have a different sort of bill?

Mr. GROSS. Yes. I hope the gentleman will offer an amendment to this bill to provide that none of the funds be spent unless there is a tax levy to produce the money.

Mr. DIES. Of course, that would be subject to a point of order. But the point is that if it were not for the inflationary policies that we have adopted, does the gentleman believe for 1 moment that we would undertake to beggar the next generation as we are doing?

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman from Texas is correct. If we were to submit this proposal to a vote of the people of the country, with \$7 billion now in the pipeline, it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

When the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] had the floor earlier this afternoon, I asked him a question with respect to the Secretary of State, what his position was or what he had told the committee about world tensions, and the need for increasing this appropriation over the \$2.7 billion made available last year. I did not get an answer from the gentleman from New York.

Reading the committee hearings, I find the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] asked the Secretary of State that question:

Mr. PASSMAN. You do think improvements are being made in the cold war? You think progress is being made, and the possibility of peace maybe is greater than it was a year ago? Are changing world conditions more favorable than a year ago?

Secretary DULLES. I think, as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, that there is less likelihood of a general war originated by the Soviet Union than was perhaps the case a year ago.

A lessening of tension. Mr. Dulles continued:

I cannot record any comparable improvement as regards Communist China. But there are some encouraging developments, as I pointed out, within the Soviet Union which makes me feel that if we adhere to the kind of policies which have contributed to bringing these changes about, we can expect continuing dividends from them.

I was told at my staff briefing this morning that the Soviet Union has brought out for the first time since the revolution a Bible.

On the basis of this statement by Dulles, where are the tensions that call for an increase in this appropriation? Why not liquidate the \$7 billion now in the pipeline and get out of program except for a few selected countries such as South Korea, Formosa, Greece, and Turkey?

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANHAM].

(Mr. LANHAM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS] on his splendid statement. I want to commend also the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HAND] for his truly courageous statement under the conditions that now exist and the pressure that is being put on my friends on the left. It was truly a courageous statement, but he was entirely right in his attitude.

I have always supported our foreign-aid program. I agree with those who say that it is not a giveaway program and that it is not an attempt to buy friends. It is intended of course, first of all, for America's security. I have always supported it.

I was a little surprised at the distinguished minority leader in a statement he made referred to by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS]. I could hardly believe my ears. I think he was a little confused that day because he apparently had the general staff or General Eisenhower confused with General Motors. A man that confused might confuse the two bodies of this Congress. I was truly shocked. I think if I had made that statement and believed it I would resign and run for the other body. I am sure

he did not realize what he was saying. Something was wrong with the minority leader that day.

It has been rather amusing this morning. I have seen things this morning that I did not think I would ever see. I have seen the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] pleading and begging you to add more funds for foreign aid.

This bill has in it approximately \$900 million, more than they had to spend last year. Mr. Dulles says the tensions have not increased any during the past year, so why should they have asked for more money this year? I will tell you why they did it. They asked for less than they thought they needed last year in order to balance the budget this year, this election year. Now that they think they have balanced the budget, they come in and ask for a huge increase which will appear in next year's budget and they simply have not sold the American people on an increased foreign-aid program. You know it and I know it. A part-time President cannot sell it to the American people. I regret his illness, and I am not blaming this entirely on that, but this program has not been sold to the American people. As Mr. Truman says, he has always been a part-time President. So it is not a question solely of his health.

Listen to what Doris Fleeson says:

Ike has not made a case for foreign aid. The reverse suffered by the President's foreign aid bill indicates the public temper which has been indicated to the Congress. The public is letting its guard down for good or ill. Obviously, the President must take the major responsibility. He has not made his case for foreign aid. He has not spread the presidential umbrella over embattled Members of Congress obligated to defend at the grassroots what the grassroots does not want.

That is the situation in America today. Neither the President nor the State Department has sold this increase to the American people. They have not sold it to the Members of the Congress except with extreme pressure that has caused many Members to reverse all of their former stands. Last year, the people who are asking you to vote more this year helped the members of our subcommittee to save \$500 million. We did it because we had been misled by the people in charge of this program, people who had made an agreement with us and who had gone back and broken that agreement, and obligated funds in the last hour of the fiscal year in violation of that agreement. They went even further, they tried to mislead the subcommittee. They had a smart lawyer draw up a contract and sent it over, which upon examination proved to be a memorandum and not the verbal agreement they had agreed upon with our subcommittee. The members of this subcommittee, the chairman of the subcommittee and the ranking minority member had had an agreement that if they were allowed to obligate a certain proportion of the funds, the foreign aid officials would not attempt to obligate the \$420 million that they got from the Air Force which they did not know the Air Force owed them. We were so disgusted with what had been done that we made up our minds that we were not going to be treated in any such

fashion and we stood out against the Senate efforts to restore those funds. And all of the members of our subcommittee went along at that time and we made that cut of a half billion dollars and saved the taxpayers that much. Every witness has testified this year that we in no way hurt the program by that cut. Yet, these same Members on the other side now say that \$900 million more than they had last year is too little.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a correction on that?

Mr. LANHAM. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. TABER. The total appropriation last year, when you add the \$302 million which was included in the other body, was \$1,358,000,000. This appropriation here, including the reappropriation, is \$1,930,000,000 and the difference between that and the other is a little less than \$600 million. I thought maybe the gentleman would like to have that.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANHAM. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. I am sure the gentleman refers to the phoney bookkeeping that we have had to deal with ever since we have had this program. Of course, the gentleman from New York knows, as the gentleman from Georgia knows, that we had already passed the bill in the House and the other body had passed the bill, and we were trying to reach an agreement in conference when this little \$302 million check happened to fall in our lap; is that not correct?

Mr. LANHAM. That is correct.

Mr. Chairman, as I say, I am going to support this bill as the committee voted it out. I have always, as I said, supported foreign aid because I think it is in the interest of American security. I think the best proof of our foreign-aid program especially our economic program is the fact that Russia has adopted the same method and is going all over the world bragging about what it is going to do in that field. Why did they get into it if they did not think it is a good program? But, I do not want to see our money wasted.

The only policy our State Department seems to have to meet this changed policy on the part of the Soviets is to outbid them. I say to you that our foreign policy is almost totally bankrupt today. Our bases are going all over the world. Countries are gradually slipping behind the Iron Curtain. We must revamp our foreign policy. They are crying in the Middle East for a policy; not any particular kind of policy, but for some sort of policy. The government newspaper in Lebanon is calling on America to say what its policy in the Middle East is. We have no firm policy there, and the Middle East has just about gone down the drain. It is said that about a year ago we might have saved the Middle East, and we might be able to save it yet if we had some affirmative policy.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANHAM. I cannot yield at this time.

Just as our foreign policy is confused and vacillating, so the foreign-aid program is bankrupt. The people in charge of it have no imagination, and no effective plans. They have no great vision, and without such a vision the people perish.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANHAM] has expired.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. LANHAM. They are going on in the same rut. They do not know how to meet this challenge of Soviet Russia in the economic field. They have let Cambodia go down the drain. I am sure everybody who heard what was said knows that Cambodia is gone. With Cambodia is going the balance of that part of the world.

Now, we must have time to reform our foreign policy. Somebody with imagination, somebody with some thought other than to give people more arms and a little more money; somebody that can take advantage of the feeling that is sweeping Asia, the desire of the people for a better way of life; the desire of the people for a higher standard of living; the desire of the people to determine their own future and their own welfare. We are managing only to fall in line with the colonialists, and we are doing nothing to capitalize on the burgeoning aspirations of the underprivileged peoples of the world. I do not think we ought to stop our program now. We cannot afford to do it when the desire for freedom is moving in the satellite states. You see what happened in Poland. But we ought to hold our appropriation for this purpose until we have somebody in charge of our policy, somebody with a real policy, somebody that can take advantage of that situation, somebody that can catch the imagination and the loyalty of the people of Asia. It cannot be done by the present foreign-aid Administrator. If you Republicans would use the same effort you used with Robert Montgomery, with the advertising hucksters on Madison Avenue to sell America to the world, that you used to prove that the President is vigorous and ready to go ahead with a vigorous campaign, you might win the peoples of Asia to our side. If, instead of thinking of politics and drawing a man out of India, Mr. Cooper, who has won the confidence of the Indian people in order to run for the Senate, you would give more consideration to the condition of the world today, I would be willing to go on and give you this money. But, until you are willing to do that, until you rethink this program, until you really make it effective, I am going to stick with this committee, and I am sure we have not cut the appropriation bill below what it ought to be.

If Mr. Hollister would turn this program over to the advertising agency of his own great corporation, I believe they might sell our American way of life to the neutrals and undecided.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

(Mr. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I have traditionally supported this program whether it was recommended to Congress by a Democratic President or by a Republican President, and I have traditionally attempted to come to the proper decision dollarwise and otherwise. I intend to make similar efforts in the future as best I can.

The record should be clear that in the subcommittee I voted against the reduction which was made below the House authorization figure. In the full committee I voted for an amendment which would have raised the appropriation figure to the House authorization figure. I have been preceded by Members on this side and by Members on the other side of the aisle who have made a sound case for the program and for the figure which was contained in the military part of the House authorization bill. I will not get into some of the details which they have discussed, but I would however like to emphasize and perhaps reemphasize several points which to me are most important.

One of the reasons why we have an increase in the fiscal 1957 program is because there has been a transfer of funds for the support of the Korean forces from the military program to the foreign aid program. I have in my hand here the hearings for the Department of the Army appropriations for 1955. In these hearings in the Army budget for fiscal 1955 we have all of the testimony for the support of the so-called ROK forces which at that time, in training and in the front line, totaled approximately 10 divisions. Throughout the hearings as included in this volume we had justification for the guns, the ammunition and certainly our part of any other supplies which were made available to the ROK forces which are standing shoulder to shoulder with our boys, some eight divisions at that time. It is my recollection that in the appropriations that were made available for the United States Army in fiscal 1955 there was approximately \$800 million for the ROK forces.

Now we come to fiscal 1957. Here is the Department of the Army appropriations for fiscal 1957. There is not a penny in it for the ROK forces in the current fiscal year. Where is the request for those ROK forces which today number 21 Army and Marine Corps ground divisions and some 6 reserve divisions? The request for funds for those troops today came before the Mutual Security Appropriations Subcommittee.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. GARY. Can the gentleman give us the figures for 1956? He gave us figures for 1955 and then jumped to 1957.

Mr. FORD. As I recall, for the ROK forces, both military and defense support, it is about \$700 million.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will yield, it is \$805 million.

Mr. FORD. For fiscal 1956?

Mr. TABER. No, for fiscal 1957.

Mr. FORD. It is somewhere between \$700 and \$800 million for fiscal 1956.

The point I wish to make is that when support of ROK forces was in the military appropriation bill there was no serious question raised but when the funds for South Korean forces are in the mutual security program then the money is slashed.

We supported the ROC forces and we built them up until they are the fourth largest army on our side of the Iron Curtain. We supported them in adversity. When we are asked to support them to preserve the peace, some want to slash the funds which are necessary for this program. Such a viewpoint is unsound and unwise.

Let me turn to another important aspect of this whole problem. We have a number of allies throughout the world. Some are more arduous in our behalf or more emphatically on our side than others. In Europe we have strong allies. Turkey and Greece certainly are on the side of the free world. Formosa, South Korea, and others are on the side of the free world to preserve the peace. Certainly to win a war or preserve peace you have to have ammunition for ourselves and our allies.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. GARY. I would like to get this matter straight as between 1956 and 1957. The gentleman has used the figure for 1955 when Korea was under the Army and the expenditures were made out of the military funds. In 1956 that was not true. They were handled by this program.

Mr. FORD. That is correct.

Mr. GARY. As a matter of fact, the request for 1957, although the figures are classified, was nothing like \$700,000. They are not much larger than they were in 1956. We spent in Korea less than that in 1956.

Mr. FORD. Let me say that in fiscal 1956 the South Korean forces were using much of the Army equipment which our Army left there when our 6 divisions pulled out from South Korea. Now in fiscal 1957 we are asked to start channeling into South Korea additional new equipment so that they will be strong enough to do the job in order to preserve the peace in that area of the world.

Let me turn to one other point, which is vital. We have substantial allies that are on our side. They must have ammunition just as our forces do. In our own Army program we have money each year for ammunition. We build up our mobilization reserves of ammunition in case of any contingency. At the same time and in order to make our overall collective security program more effective, we are trying to build up the ammunition reserves in conjunction with our allies. In the Army hearings for the fiscal year 1955 some very interesting testimony was given on this problem. On page 1052 of those hearings, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES], the ranking minority member of the panel at that time, was interrogating Gen. Wiliston B. Palmer, who was Deputy Chief

of Staff for Logistics, a very responsible person in the Department of the Army.

Here is the question that Mr. SIKES was propounding to General Palmer:

We all recall the serious problem which developed in Korea over alleged shortages of ammunition and the great clamor about our failure to provide more ammunition. Is there a possibility that a similar situation could develop as the result of these reductions if we should find ourselves in another war?

General PALMER. I would say, Mr. SIKES, that I was satisfied at this moment with the provision being made for the supply of ammunition for United States forces.

Then he goes on to say:

I think the problem, however, will arise, to answer your question quite candidly, if another situation were to come up paralleling closely what happened in Korea, that would undoubtedly mean we would be supporting large numbers of foreign troops; and having planned for the supply of United States forces we would be taking ammunition of the United States forces to supply the army of another country and we might well run short.

Now, the testimony goes on to say on page 1054:

Mr. SIKES. And the critical nature of the problem would depend entirely upon the size of the conflagration and the requirements suddenly placed upon us to supply our allies.

Then subsequently in these hearings, several pages later on, I followed up the excellent point which was made by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] and here is the question I asked:

As I understand it from the testimony which has been given here this morning, the funds which you have available and the authority which you want for fiscal 1955 in procurement and production will provide a mobilization reserve satisfactory for the United States Army in the concept we now have of a long, extended, uneasy peace.

General PALMER. I believe that is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Then I asked this:

The provisions of our allies, the military equipment which they need to go along with our joint defense program, would have to come out of what is commonly called the foreign-aid appropriation request.

General PALMER. That is correct.

Then I asked this:

Any deficiencies which they might have, if we as a Nation intend to supply them, the Congress will have to provide for in a military-assistance appropriation act.

General PALMER. That is correct.

Now, I cannot help but emphasize and reiterate that if we do not provide sufficient funds in this program for military assistance, including funds for ammunition, for our allies, we may well be putting in jeopardy our own ammunition mobilization reserves for our own United States Army.

In this instance we are not talking about a minor reduction. The original request was \$3 billion. The authorization figure as finally passed by the House and the Senate was a reduction of about \$600 million in the military program. We are talking here about the danger of a reduction in the military below what the House authorization figure was. That is dangerous. It does jeopardize our own military program.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLOOD. I have had the pleasure of serving on the Army appropriations subcommittee with the gentleman from Michigan, and in my opinion, there is nobody in the Pentagon now or at any other time or here who knows more about the Army bill than the gentleman from Michigan, and he makes an excellent point on armament to our allies.

I think the gentleman knows full well that any war, God forbid, that we have to fight from now on, is not going to be a war of rifles and hand grenades and machine guns and small arms and ammunition; and that while we may have these ROK divisions and divisions of other armies aiding us, they must have modern equipment. Their equipment must be in munitions and armor and armament the same kind that our divisions are going to have and they have the right to ask for them.

Mr. FORD. I could not agree more with the gentleman. If we expect them to stand side-by-side with us in any large or small war or in the preservation of the peace, we must expect to treat them equally with our own forces who are guarding the free world.

Mr. Chairman, one more point, if I may. At the height of the Korean war our own army had a strength of approximately 1,500,000. Since that time we have successively reduced the size of our own army so that at the present time the strength of the United States forces is approximately 1,100,000. It may be slightly less, but not materially. In other words, from the height of the Korean war to the present time we have reduced United States Army personnel strength by around 450,000, a one-third reduction in the total strength.

At the time of the Korean war, at the height of it, we had approximately 10 ROK divisions. Subsequently that was increased to 20 army ROK divisions, 1 ROK marine division, and 6 ROK divisions in reserve. At the time we had 1,500,000 United States Army personnel, in 1951, the Formosan troops were less in number and not too well equipped. Today they have a greater number, they have better equipment and are better trained. At the time of our strength of 1,500,000 of United States Army forces, the Turkish forces, their ground forces, may have been as great as they are today, numberwise, but they certainly were not as strong equipmentwise as they are today.

Mr. Chairman, you can go right around the circle of our allies, those who are on our side and who are trying to do their share, you will see that from 1951 to 1956 there has been generally an improvement in numbers of their ground forces and there has been generally an improvement in their equipment and training.

It seems to me that this upsurge in their ability and numbers as a part of a collective security program for their defense and for ours has made it possible for us to reduce our own forces to the extent I indicated previously. This reduction in our Army forces has permitted

us to take a smaller number of young men from the factory, the farm and the school, United States boys. It has permitted the United States to add our emphasis in this collective security program in the areas where we can do the job best, in the Navy and in the Air Force.

It seems to me dollarwise, manpowerwise, this program is the best program for the United States. It means that less of our own boys from the factory, the school and the farm have to serve in our United States Army. It means that instead of Uncle Sam paying \$6,000 a year to equip and supply a United States Army soldier, we are able to spend about one-tenth that amount to help equip, to help man, and to help feed those allies of ours who are joining with us in the defense of the free world.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I want to reiterate what the gentleman has stated on that point. I cannot understand the thinking of those who in one breath try to boost our own defense appropriations beyond their needs as stated by the President, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and every military adviser and in the next breath take away a comparatively much smaller amount from the military budget for our allies that we are trying to build up to help us defend our country. As the gentleman said, the only basis for this program in any of our minds is, Is it essential for the defense of our own country? That is the only basis upon which we can support it. It seems to me utterly inconsistent to cut down on the one hand and build up on the other. This program of military aid seems to me a crucially important element of our own defense. Solely on that ground do I support it.

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEATING. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HESELTON. The point the gentleman has so well made should be repeated emphatically through the rest of this debate, particularly in answer to the allegations that have been made on this floor by certain of our colleagues as to WPA, handouts, and giveaways.

I want to ask a few questions to see if I am correct as to the information I have been able to develop. As I understand it, the request for the NATO countries totals \$760,471,000, as evidenced by a table which is restricted as far as the individual countries are concerned but as to the total appears on page 231 of the hearings. Am I right about that?

Mr. FORD. That was the original budget request for the NATO countries.

Mr. HESELTON. As I understood the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH], he indicated we are getting full value from the expenditure of this money because these countries on the average are expending themselves \$6 for every \$1 we are putting into this program.

Mr. FORD. I think that is correct, but the more important point in my opinion is the fact that if we are going

to be called upon to increase our own forces then it will cost us as taxpayers \$6,000 per man per year for every additional man we put in the United States Army.

Mr. HESELTON. That is exactly right.

Mr. FORD. In contrast to that, we are able to get our friends and our allies, our staunch supporters, to put their people in the field to defend their countries and to help to defend ours at a cost to us of around \$600 or less per man per year.

Mr. HESELTON. Let me ask two more questions: Is it not a fact that this \$760,471,000 requested is for maintenance items, ammunition, replacement of equipment lost by attrition, necessary spare parts, and some modernization of equipment to meet the threat of the new program that is so much discussed by some persons in terms of modern missiles and improved weapons?

Mr. FORD. I believe those figures are correct.

Mr. HESELTON. That data is in the hearings available for anyone who takes the trouble to read it.

One final question: If the reduction that is recommended by the majority of this committee prevails against the recommendation of President Eisenhower, against the recommendation of Admiral Radford and of the members of the General Staff, and against the recommendation of General Gruenther, will it not be a fact that that appropriation to NATO will be reduced? I cannot refer to the exact figures by countries but I think I have a right to refer to the percentages. Will it not be reduced by nearly 80 percent?

Mr. FORD. That is what I understand. Based on this reduction, I believe that is correct.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HOSMER. I have difficulty understanding the reason why, since a lot of this material is in the pipeline and the money is not actually going to be spent for 18 or 24 months or more, we should appropriate it now, ahead of time.

Mr. FORD. The reason is that you have to conclude your program finally after the Congress has successively reduced it below what they had originally requested. That takes a little time, which they call administrative lead time. Then you have the actual production and delivery period. The average on that for all items is somewhere between 18 and 20 months.

Mr. HOSMER. Is not that the normal planning that you have in business on long-range expenditures? You have to have your financing available and know what it is before you go ahead and make your policies other than your day-to-day policies.

Mr. FORD. It certainly is, and that is the way I understood it. I might emphasize that that is precisely what our own military people have in the planning and execution of their own military procurement programs.

We have had testimony from all of the responsible people in the executive branch of the Government in reference to this program. They have urged certain programs and certain amounts. The testimony that struck me emphatically was that given by Admiral Stump, the commander in chief of the United States forces in the Pacific. A part of his testimony is to be found on pages 93 and 94 of the hearings. At the time he was testifying before the committee, I asked him several questions. I would like to read the questions and his responses:

Mr. FORD. I take it from what you have said that your defense plans for the United States in that part of the world are predicated on the success of this program?

Admiral STUMP. Yes, sir, it is definitely a program for the defense of the United States.

Mr. FORD. Can you tell us generally what you would have to do, as the United States commander in that area, to revise your United States defense plan if this program is not enacted into law and properly funded?

Admiral STUMP. I feel sure that within a very short time I would have to ask for a considerable increase of American forces in the Pacific.

Mr. FORD. Army, Navy, and Air Forces?

Admiral STUMP. Army, Navy, and Air Forces; yes, sir.

Mr. FORD. Would you be able to do your job in defending the United States as well without this kind of a program?

Admiral STUMP. Well, sir, I think the time has passed when it will be possible for the United States to survive with all of the rest of the world against us.

I feel that we must take the testimony and the recommendations of the responsible people in the executive branch of the Government, both civilian and military and go along as well as we can so we can preserve the peace and be in the best possible military position in case of any outbreak of war. Already this program has been reduced substantially below what the budget recommended and what many of our responsible military people in the executive branch of the Government have proposed. This problem, it seems to me, is not one which we can pass over lightly with superficial criticism, political and otherwise. This is a problem involving the security of the United States. It involves whether or not we are going to draft more United States boys to serve to defend the United States or whether we are going to depend upon the aid, assistance, and support of our friendly allies. The record is clear that because of this program we have been able to reduce the personnel of our own Armed Forces. The record is clear that we have been able to spend less money for our own United States Armed Forces because of this program. And the record is clear, I think, that for the security, safety, and future of America, this program must go on at a high enough figure with whatever reasonable modifications the Congress in its wisdom decides to make. Let me conclude by saying that I intend to support this program because it involves the welfare of our citizens.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of the time, 37 minutes, to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY].

(Mr. GARY asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, the bill that you have before you today is the result of hours, days, weeks of study by a very able subcommittee. We have on that committee some of the ablest men in this body. Many of them have served for long periods of time. I have had the privilege of serving as a member of that committee for the past 8 years. It was my privilege during part of that time to serve as chairman of the committee. The present chairman, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] was then a member of the committee and served with me. As a matter of fact, we have served together on two subcommittees, and he has always been an able, conscientious, and efficient member of every committee on which he has served. He has been an able and fair chairman of this subcommittee. There is not one single member of the committee or any witness who wanted to appear before it who was not given the fullest opportunity to state his position and to make such record as he desired.

I want to pay my respects at this point to our chairman who, in my judgment, has done a magnificent job.

Moreover, I want to say that I am very sorry that I find myself in disagreement with my very warm friend, the ranking minority member of this committee the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER]. He and I have fought shoulder to shoulder on this bill for many years, and seldom have we been in disagreement. I hope the gentleman realizes that I have a deep and abiding affection for him. I do not believe we are very far apart at this particular time. He wants to raise this amount some, but I do not believe that he wants to raise it very much.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. TABER. Only a half billion dollars.

Mr. GARY. I will say that is a half billion dollars more than he has ever wanted to raise it before. I agree to a very large extent with the remarks made on Monday by the distinguished minority leader, my friend from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN]. I agree that this is not a political matter. If there ever was a bipartisan bill to come before this House, this is it. This program was originated by the Democrats when the Democrats were in control of the Government.

Mr. TABER. If the gentleman will yield, the program was originated in 1948, when the Republicans were in control of the House.

Mr. GARY. But when the Democrats were in control of the Government. It is not a political matter. Both sides can take the credit or blame for the program, whichever they prefer. The program has been continued by the Republicans, and in the common parlance of the boy in the street, I might add, "And how."

I may say to the gentleman from New York that 2 years ago, when I had a

Republican opponent who was running on the coattails of the President of the United States and claimed to have the President's blessing, I was rather surprised that his chief attack upon me was that I had supported the President's foreign-aid program. Nevertheless, I agree that this is not a political matter, and that politics ought not to be brought into this discussion.

I want to say, moreover, that I agree with the minority leader of the House that this is a sound and necessary program. I have been a staunch supporter of the foreign-aid program since its inception, and I am a staunch supporter of it today. It relieves our boys of defending foreign lands. I have a boy today, if I may add a personal note, serving in the Army in the Pacific. He is planning to come home next month and complete his schooling. I do not want him to be held in the Pacific unless it is essential to the national defense. Of course, I want him to discharge his full duty to his country, and I know he wants to do so.

I realize that by appropriating these funds we do provide that Formosa shall be defended by the Chinese and that Korea shall be defended by the Koreans.

I do not believe that there is a single Member of this body today who would advocate that we give up Korea, and it is much cheaper and much better to have Korea defended by Koreans than to maintain our own Army in Korea.

This House several years ago almost unanimously voted authority to the President of the United States to defend Formosa. It is far cheaper to defend Formosa with Chinese troops than it is with American troops. I know, moreover, from personal observations in the two countries that the Koreans cannot defend Korea and the Chinese cannot defend Formosa unless we give them the necessary funds with which to do it.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield.

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Does the gentleman not feel with me that the program of strengthening Formosa is today used purely as bait?

Mr. GARY. No, sir; I do not. I cannot agree with the gentleman on that. I think we have got to give the Chinese the necessary funds to defend Formosa.

Mr. O'KONSKI. That is the gentleman's opinion and mine, but with the attitude that certain people in the State Department take toward Formosa, does the gentleman think they will ever send Chiang Kai-shek any material? I would like to send him this whole \$2 billion worth and would vote for it.

Mr. GARY. I will not attempt to speak for the State Department, but they have advised our committee that a substantial part of the funds will be spent to aid Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa.

The same situation holds true with respect to Indochina. We all know that Indochina is one of the strategic places in the world today and that forces must be maintained in Indochina to prevent

further aggression there. We must help Indochina defend itself.

It is true also that we must have bases in Europe.

So few people realize the true situation. We talk about our superiority in atomic bombs, but those bombs are no good unless we can drop them on the enemy. To do this we must have adequate bases from which our planes can take off on the missions of destruction.

The question today is not whether this is a good program, not whether it is a necessary program, but, how much shall we give to the program?

I had the privilege of visiting Europe in 1951 with the Richards committee, composed of members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Armed Forces Committee and the Committee on Appropriations. I went as a representative of the Appropriations Committee. We were sent over there by President Truman to confer with General Eisenhower, who was then the Supreme Allied Commander for Europe.

I well remember one day we sat in the briefing room. General Eisenhower was explaining the needs of the program and he urged that under no circumstances should the program be cut at that time. He said that we were just beginning to build up the forces in Europe where we could see some results, and that it would be disastrous to the entire NATO movement to cut the funds.

This was in 1951. One of our members said:

The people of the United States are getting pretty tired of this program. When do you believe that we can begin to cut?

General Eisenhower said that it was difficult to set a definite time but that he thought we would reach the peak of expenditures by 1954.

He said that he believed that Europe should be defended by Europeans, that Asia should be defended by the Asians and that the other countries should be defended by their own troops; but that if they were to defend themselves we must help them for the time being to build up their defenses and to put them on their feet. Then he said we would begin to withdraw both our manpower and our money.

I pulled out of my files the other day a radio speech made by me to my constituents in Richmond on June 23, 1951, immediately after my return. Here is what I said:

Our representatives are making it very plain that in the long run we expect Europe to be defended by the Europeans and that although we recognize their need for help in the beginning, we expect them to gradually assume the entire burden insofar as both manpower and costs are concerned. Our aid should begin to diminish at the end of 1952, or certainly not later than the end of 1953.

What are the facts? I was astonished several months ago when the program was proposed for the fiscal year 1957. We appropriated for this program \$2,700,000,000 for the fiscal year 1956. The President requested \$4.9 billion for the fiscal year 1957, nearly double the amount appropriated for last year.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Before the gentleman leaves the subject of NATO, can he tell us whether we have anything more or much more than a paper defense of Europe under NATO today?

Mr. GARY. I think we have made progress. I hope with the bases we have in Europe and with the potential power of the United States and our allies that we would be able to stop any aggression in Europe as we did in Korea and as we have done in other places.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. As a matter of fact, is it not better that we should have NATO in existence, even with all of the conditions the gentleman described, assuming they are true, than not have NATO in existence for the defense of our country?

Mr. GARY. I think NATO is an essential part of the defense of our country, and I certainly would not do anything to injure NATO. The point I am trying to make here is that we have in this bill a sufficient sum of money to take care of an adequate foreign aid program for the fiscal year 1957.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. Well, now, if NATO is such a success, why, then, is the move afoot to transform it into an economic organization through which we would channel some more tax money? Why, then, are we confronted with the three wise men, none of whom come from the United States, and the move to make this an economic instead of a military organization, if it is a success?

Mr. GARY. I do not think the time has come when we can change it from a military organization.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. There is nothing in this bill that could be transferred to OEEC, is there?

Mr. GARY. No.

Mr. TABER. I did not understand there was.

Mr. GARY. No, there is nothing in this bill for OEEC, but it does provide funds for the continuation of NATO and for the further arming of the NATO member nations.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman think that France would be fighting in Algeria and incurring the wrath of the Moslem world if it were not for NATO and the military equipment and the money we have given them?

Mr. GARY. There are some things happening in Europe, in Asia, and throughout the world that are distressing to a great many of us. But, we are trying to build an organization throughout the world that will promote peace and at the same time be able to take care of any emergencies that may arise. That is the real objective of our foreign

policy. We are a peace-loving nation; we do not want war, and what we are trying to do is to build up a sufficient force to guarantee peace and to stop aggression wherever it may raise its ugly head, whether it be in Europe or Asia or other parts of the world.

Mr. GROSS. I certainly hope the gentleman is right, but I have never coveted the right of being a disillusioned optimist.

Mr. GARY. I will say to the gentleman that unless he is an optimist in these days he is going to have ample opportunity to worry.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. In answer to a question by the gentleman from New York, I believe you stated that there was nothing in this bill for OEEC. Is that correct?

Mr. GARY. Nothing that I know of.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Well, may I say that this bill before us today is the implementation of our foreign policy authorization, and in that MSA authorization it does give the right to the President of the United States to give to OEEC. That is found in section 535, the new section. And, I want to say at this time that in the Committee on Foreign Affairs I endeavored to delete this section by an amendment, but did not bring it to the attention of the committee on the floor at the time the bill was discussed. I have no objection to it, but I do not want to weaken NATO in any form or manner. It is my belief that this was inserted in the bill as an admission on the part of the administration that NATO has been weakened and therefore is seeking this new method of strengthening Europe, and I do not want anything in this bill to be taken away from NATO.

Mr. GARY. We have several items in the bill in the use of which the President is given very great discretion. There were 3 requests for specific Presidential funds of \$100 million each. There was one for Asia, one for the Middle East and Africa, and there was a general fund. We found with reference to the Asian fund that the Congress had authorized \$200 million last year. We gave them \$100 million. They had obligated to date only \$10 million. They asked for an additional \$100 million. Since they had \$90 million left we cut out the additional \$100 million. But we left 2 funds of \$100 million each in the bill to be used largely in the discretion of the President.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. The Asian fund could not be used for OEEC. That has a \$90 million unexpended balance, as I understand it.

Mr. GARY. That is right.

Mr. TABER. The only other fund in our bill that could possibly be used for it would be the \$100 million Special President's Fund authorized by section 401b. Unless it was in section 401b

it could not be used for anything of that character.

Mr. GARY. There is one \$100 million in the use of which the President has very wide discretion.

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. WINSTEAD. The bill reported by the committee, concerning which we have read so much about having been cut, in reality increases the amount to be appropriated over what was appropriated in the fiscal years 1955 and 1956 by approximately 32 percent. What is said to be a cut is really an increase above what they had in the fiscal year 1955 and 1956; is that not true?

Mr. GARY. That is true.

Mr. WINSTEAD. If this bill should be increased to the total in the authorization bill it would be approximately a 50-percent increase over what they had for fiscal 1955 and fiscal 1956. If the American people learn the fact that there is no cut being made here but an increase of 32 percent, I think we would find a lot more protest against any effort to increase it further.

Mr. GARY. I can give the gentleman the exact figures. For the fiscal year 1955 we appropriated \$2,781,499,816. We reduced that slightly in 1956 to \$2,703,341,000. The request for this year was \$4,859,975,000, and we have allowed in this bill \$3,425,120,000, which is \$721.7 million more than the 1956 appropriation.

In addition to that in 1956 there was an unobligated balance of \$62.5 million which made a total appropriation of \$2,765,875,000. The estimated unobligated balance at the end of 1956 is \$240.8 million. We recommend the appropriation of that entire amount which totals \$3,665,920,000, for 1957, an increase of \$900 million over the amount appropriated in 1956.

Mr. WINSTEAD. If it takes 32 percent more money now under this bill, or 50 percent more money, as some report, in order to keep our friends overseas how can we reconcile that with what the President of the United States, the Secretary of State and the military leaders all tell us—and I am on the Committee on Armed Services—that the world is more peaceful now than it was a few years ago?

If we must increase foreign aid 32 percent in fiscal 1957 over 1955 and 1956, and the situation continues to look as if there will be more peace and prosperity and leveling off, I am wondering if we will not be back here to increase it at least 100 percent in fiscal 1958 and 1959.

Mr. GARY. The only difference between those who are advocating increasing these funds and myself is that I think the time has come to decrease the funds rather than increase them.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. The increase is not \$900 million but \$600 million above last year, because in getting up the tables the \$302 million that was given to this program in the Senate last year at the end of the session does not appear.

Mr. GARY. That was the \$300 million they lost altogether and did not know they had.

Mr. TABER. That is exactly right.

Mr. GARY. If this program has so much money in it that they can lose \$300 million without knowing about it, it seems to me it has enough.

This is the situation: The unexpended balance on June 30, 1956, is estimated at \$6,870,000,000. If we add the \$3,425,000,000 contained in this bill, they will have available for expenditure in 1957, \$10,300,000,000 for this program. That it seems to me ought to be ample for the program during the next year.

Let me call your attention to one other fact: When the military authorities came before us last year asking for appropriations for 1956 they estimated that they would spend \$3 billion for this current year, 1956. Do you know what they have actually spent? They have actually spent \$2,200,000,000, so that there is \$800 million more in the pipeline.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. I am advised that the latest figures including all deliveries give a figure of \$2.6 billion instead of \$2.2 billion.

Mr. GARY. The figure I quoted was the one given to our committee.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. This came directly from Secretary Gray's office, within 24 hours.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. Is not that another indication that you never know what figures you are going to have the following day, because they go up and go down with the sun on the military?

Mr. GARY. That is absolutely true.

Let me say this: I have the highest respect for Mr. Philip McGuire, who was praised on this floor by my distinguished friend from New York. I also have the highest respect for Mr. John Murphy, who handles the figures for the nonmilitary part of the program. He has been exceedingly accommodating in furnishing information, but this program is so big, there is so much money in it, that it is difficult to keep track of it. The time has come, in my judgment, when we must bring it down to size and must get it within reasonable bounds.

Mr. Chairman, I know there is not a single Member of this House who does not want to defend the United States of America. I know there is not a Member who would not defend it with his own blood and with his own life if it were necessary. But the method of defending our Nation is a matter of opinion, and all any Member can do is to act according to the dictates of his own conscience, and according to his best judgment. I certainly would not be advocating the cut which our committee has recommended here today, if I felt that it would weaken the defense of the United States. But, after many years experience with this program, and after having sat on this committee for a long period of time, I am convinced in my own mind that the

amount of money which this committee has recommended is ample to carry on an adequate program for the next year. I trust it will be the pleasure of this House to adopt and pass the bill as recommended.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman has been associated with this program from its inception. He has served as chairman of the committee under his party, as ranking minority member under the other party, and as ranking majority member under the present chairman. He has always supported the program.

Mr. GARY. Yes, and I am supporting it today.

Mr. PASSMAN. And his considered judgment is that we have sufficient funds in the bill before us today to carry the program on without any curtailment or any impairment of the program.

Mr. GARY. That is my judgment. Moreover, if we increase this amount to the sum requested by the administration, I think we will start it up again for another period that might make it very difficult to control it in the future.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman has been my chairman on the subcommittee on the Treasury and Post Office for about 8 years. We have worked together very closely. Would the gentleman care to comment on why there is so much pressure being brought to bear on the Members of the Congress this year for an increased appropriation? The testimony does not indicate there is any need for it.

Mr. GARY. Frankly, I do not know why the pressure is being exerted. I give the President of the United States credit for being absolutely sincere in his belief that the amount he has requested is necessary. I think he is making every effort to sustain those figures because he thinks they are right. I do not question the integrity of the President of the United States. I think he is thoroughly honest in his convictions, but I just do not agree with him. Frankly, I think his request is entirely too large for the program at this time.

Mr. PASSMAN. If the gentleman will yield further?

Mr. GARY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PASSMAN. You have observed the unusual pressure this year on certain Members of the Congress to support a position that has not heretofore been their position.

Mr. GARY. I think that is obvious to everyone.

Mr. PASSMAN. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. The gentleman said that he did not question the President's integrity. Does the gentleman question the President's military judgment in connection with this program, in which the President has served, namely, the NATO military program?

Mr. GARY. I certainly do not. But, General Gruenther appeared before our committee. General Gruenther testified as to the need for this program. When we began asking General Gruenther, whom I consider one of the best-informed men in the entire Armed Forces of the United States, about the money requests, he said, "Gentlemen, do not ask me about the money. I will not testify as to the amounts, but only as to the need for the program."

I think that these figures which were the basis for the President's request were made up by some of the people down the line, and that they have overestimated the needs of the program.

Mr. VORYS. Does not the gentleman know that the President himself has studied these figures and discussed them with Members of Congress?

Mr. GARY. I question whether the President has been able to give the time, the weeks and months of study to the program that the members of this committee have.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GARY. I yield.

Mr. PASSMAN. Before we get into the reading of the bill, I would like to refer the membership to page 4 of the report at the bottom of the page. I think those figures will answer any questions you may have as to whether or not there is an attempt to stuff the pipeline.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY] has expired.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, yesterday in making his expected statement that he would run for reelection, the President said that he intended to take up certain specified issues in the campaign this fall. One of the issues he mentioned is the school construction bill.

Just what sort of an issue does he intend to make of this? Does he plan to be honest and tell the people that his own Republican Party deserted him when this legislation was up for a vote in the House?

Mr. Chairman, it was a foregone conclusion that the inclusion of the Powell amendment in the school construction bill would have the effect of killing it. I knew that, as did the other Members of this body; and surely the President himself knew it. True, he did make half-hearted public statements that the school construction bill was a necessary piece of legislation but as he has done so often, he substituted words for leadership.

What happened on the vote? Some 148 Republicans ignored their titular leader and put political expediency ahead of national interest and the Powell amendment was adopted. Then on the final vote, on this piece of legislation that the President wants enacted, only 75 members of his political party supported him. One hundred nineteen voted against the bill. The 96 members

of his own party who voted for the Powell amendment and against the school bill held the balance of power that could have given the President the legislation which he deems to be so important. Of course, when one realizes President Eisenhower's record in not standing by those legislators who go out on the limb to support him, we can perhaps understand why so many of them may be reluctant to go along with his vague policies.

I believe the school construction bill should be an issue in the campaign this fall, for it is just another illustration of how the present administration is failing to provide our Nation with the leadership it needs.

Leadership cannot be performed in absentia or belatedly. President Eisenhower, of all people, with his military background should realize this. It appears to me that if he is as fit and as capable of handling the affairs of the Presidency as it is claimed he is, he certainly would have exercised some leadership over the members of his own party and the school construction bill would have passed. If he cannot do this, how can he be expected to lead the country?

Mr. Chairman, there are many vital issues facing our Nation today. The welfare of America is much too important to be left in the hands of an individual who cannot devote full time to the tasks of the Presidency. Our country needs a leader who can provide strong, effective leadership the moment it is needed.

Mr. Chairman, let Mr. Eisenhower bring up his issues in the campaign this fall. We Democrats will be pleased to discuss them and to point out that on each one the missing factor was the administration's failure to face its responsibilities of leadership.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Chairman, I have not heretofore taken the floor to speak either for or against any phase of the mutual security program. I have opposed it consistently on each rollcall vote since I have been in Congress. I have studied this program intensively and while I do not pose as an expert on either foreign aid or the mutual security program, I feel that I know a great deal more about both of these subjects than I did 2 years ago.

In the first place I have studied it to see if I could find some justification for my Government appropriating nearly \$60 billion over a 10-year period. I have reached the conclusion that the initial funds appropriated and spent under the Marshall plan to drive back the threat of Communist aggression on all fronts was perhaps wisely spent during the reconstruction period immediately after the end of World War II during the time we sought to help many other nations, among them friend and former foe alike, to rehabilitate themselves from the ravages and devastation of war and to help them to help themselves.

Those who advocated the program at that time assured the American people that it was a temporary measure which would be suspended when the need for it had expired; and if I recall correctly they

set a maximum time of 5 years on the original program.

Five years passed, five more passed, and we are now in the third 5-year period of foreign aid—mutual security or a global WPA—call it by whatever name you will.

Mr. Chairman, my study of this subject has truly convinced me of this: that our position among the nations of the world is not being strengthened and cannot be strengthened by an annual appropriation of three or more billions of dollars for foreign aid or mutual security. Our actual security is possibly not one bit stronger because of mutual security expenditures than it was 10 years ago. We can never strengthen our position or strengthen our position by this poorly administered mutual security program.

What we need is a development of a program of mutual trust and mutual respect between and among us and the other nations of the world. I doubt that anyone can sincerely state that this present program has developed any mutual trust or any mutual respect anywhere in the world.

I hope and I pray and I know that our Nation devoutly yearns for a lasting peace founded upon justice and honor. It is only upon a foundation of justice and honor and mutual respect and trust that we can attain our objective—a true and lasting peace along with a position of leadership among the nations of a peaceful world. I do not believe that these billions of dollars which the Congress yearly appropriates under the guise of mutual security has added or will add one bit to the attainment of our goal of world peace. It is a known fact that the two principal economic segments of the Fourth District of Georgia, which I represent, have suffered, and suffered greatly, from this program. That district is almost equally divided economically between industry and agriculture and the largest single segment of our industrial strata is in the textile management field. Our textile industry and the textile employees in my district are suffering and suffering greatly, because under the guise of mutual security and foreign aid many other nations, principally the Empire of Japan, have been developed into strong competitive producers and manufacturers of textile goods and this recent development has been financed largely, if not entirely, by the American taxpayer and the American people.

The agriculture population of my district is suffering as it has not suffered since 1932 and many, if not all, of those who are being caught in the price-cost squeeze, contribute a large part of their plight to the fact that American farmers have lost large portions of their foreign markets because of the foreign-aid program.

The foreign-aid program has resulted in converting other nations into strong competitive positions in the production of every agricultural commodity of which we presently have a surplus. Foreign nations financed largely by American foreign aid have in many instances taken over our export trade. Our Government, through the various foreign-aid programs has actually subsidized and

encouraged certain foreign nations to produce cotton and to take over the world's cotton market. In 20 selected countries throughout the world, where during the past 5 years important increased production of one or more of the basic price supported commodities has been reported, foreign-aid funds for the promotion of agriculture totaled \$948,159,436 from April 3, 1948, to March 31, 1955. In addition, approximately \$710,800,000 in local counterpart funds, created by United States assistance activities in some of these countries, has been used to further agricultural production and processing. During this period, the International Cooperation Administration granted a total of \$476,819,000 for agricultural machinery, tractors, and equipment for foreign countries.

During the period July 1, 1947, to August 1, 1955, the United States Export-Import Bank of Washington made loans of \$260 million to foreign countries for farm machinery and equipment. The International Bank of Reconstruction extended \$500 million in loans for the same general purposes. On June 1 of last year, there were 733 United States agricultural technicians on duty in foreign countries, helping to increase agricultural production.

These huge amounts of money from the pockets of the American taxpayer have been spent for tractors, machinery, fertilizers, seeds for planting and pesticides. The technical assistance has given these foreign countries the know-how. This money has helped develop the processing plants of foreign nations, also. Murray & Co., one of the largest manufacturers of gin machinery, reported sales of \$1 million of gins and gin machinery, financed by foreign-aid funds, to Greece in 1943 or 1949. More recently, such funds have been used to purchase gin machinery for other nations.

The results of these large expenditures of dollars and application of our technical skills are easily seen. India, a country which cannot even be called a friend, and where the United States financed 2,600 deep irrigation wells, has increased production 50 percent since 1950-51 and will have a 4-million-bale crop in 1955-56.

Private American financial interests have also helped increase foreign production. In Mexico alone, over 1 million acres of farmland has been added, largely financed by American financial interests. Production of cotton in Mexico has doubled since 1950-51.

The foreign-aid program as administered by this country since 1948 up to and including the present time has resulted in less and less acreage for American farmers and more and more production for every other country in the world which competes with us in the production of price-supported agricultural commodities.

If the administration has its way, the foreign-aid program will continue to subsidize foreign agriculture, which is in direct competition with American agriculture. Plans have recently been announced for the United States to aid in the construction of the Aswan Dam in

Egypt, which will result in 2 million new acres of farmland.

The larger portion of the additional acreage will be devoted to the production of cotton. It just doesn't make sense to me for us to finance a country ruled by a dictator who is to say the least closely connected with Russia so that his country can produce more cotton, while at the same time telling our farmers to produce less. People supporting American financing of this vast dam, estimated to cost over \$1¼ billion, argue that if we do not finance it, Russia will. I have yet to see any evidence of Russia giving anything away to any country. It seems that all a country has to do to get a handout from the taxpayers of America is to ask for it with the threat of going to Russia if we don't give them what they ask. What is this but a polite form of blackmail?

I had a telegram from a citizen of Georgia only last week calling my attention to another phase of our foreign policy affecting domestic agriculture. This telegram pointed out that total consumption of long staple cotton in the United States last year was approximately 100,000 bales. During this year we allowed Egypt to import 100,000 bales and Peru imported 19,000 bales. United States production was 45,000 bales, which was a complete surplus, due to these imports. The entire domestic consumption of this cotton could be raised here if the allotments were increased, and if imports were cut down.

All of these programs have resulted in foreign countries moving into competition with us at our expense. All the while Secretary Benson has been reducing cotton acreage in this country, we have been financing and subsidizing increased acreage abroad.

Mr. Chairman, I was not surprised to hear the gentleman from New York read the news item in which he referred to the statement of Jacob Malik to the effect that the Russians would like to see President Eisenhower reelected because they can get along with him. The reason I was not surprised is that I am aware that the Russians believe and feel that they can get along with anybody who will help continue this misguided program of foreign aid and so-called mutual security program by helping spend this Nation into bankruptcy and giving away vast portions of our economic strength, natural resources, and the products of American industry.

I wish I could express a genuine hope that this Congress would today vote down this appropriation bill and let the program continue for the next 2 years on authorized but unexpended funds which we often call the pipeline. It is a well-known fact by whatever accounting method is used that there is enough economic and military aid in the pipeline to continue this program at full speed for the next 2 years. I would like to see the next 2 years or a reasonable portion of the next 2 years devoted to a reappraisal and a reevaluation of this headlong expenditure in a field which may be alienating nations and peoples in every corner of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Defense support: For assistance authorized by section 131 (c), for Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey), \$63,700,000; for the Near East (including Greece and Turkey) and Africa, \$165 million; for Asia, \$865 million; and for Latin America, \$35 million.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. GROSS asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, a little while ago the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] talked about the necessity for building up armed forces elsewhere in the world, saying that would relieve us of building up armed forces in this country. He wondered why some of us who are opposed to this bill could not understand that. Let me say to the gentleman from Michigan that I am one of those who learned to my entire satisfaction during the Korean war—and it was not a police action—that we had better depend upon our own forces. All the help that we had in Korea, when the first real test came of whether we had friends in the world or not, were token forces of other countries. We lost 35,000 dead on that little blood-drenched peninsula. It was American and South Korean blood. You can put all the rest of our so-called free world allies together, and you have only about 3,500 fatalities. In addition to that we had about 100,000 wounded. I believe in spending our money on our own defenses so that we will know what we have if the chips are down again. We found to our complete disillusionment that we had no help in Korea, or no help worthy of the name.

Mention was also made of the obligation of funds. Earlier in the afternoon I called the attention of the committee to the fact that back in 1954 the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], then chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, turned out a scorching report from his committee, blasting Mr. Stassen for his obligation of funds in the last few days and the last few hours of the fiscal year.

I might read 1 or 2 excerpts from the statement issued by the Committee on Appropriations at that time:

The committee can only conclude that there was a deliberate effort to tie up or dispose of available funds before the June 30, 1954 deadline. The finger points clearly to various forms of June buying to get rid of hot money—

And so forth. Then what happened in 1955? We find in the hearings this year before the subcommittee the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] read into the record the following:

Obligations and reservations. The obligations and reservations—

This new word "reservations" that has crept into the vocabulary of the State Department and the ICA—

obligations and reservations entered into during April, May, and June of 1959 were based on firm programs. Practically all of the still-available funds for the fiscal year 1955 and prior years were obligated or reserved during the closing days of the fiscal

year right up to 5 o'clock on the afternoon of June 30, 1955.

That was after 1954 when the head of the foreign spending outfit was told, and all those connected with the program, that they must not rush into obligate unspent funds.

And how much did they obligate in the last days of June? On June 28, 1955, they obligated or reserved \$376,700,000. On June 30, the last day of that fiscal year, they obligated \$641 million, or almost a billion dollars between June 28 and 30, 1955, paying no attention whatever to the previous warning of the Appropriations Committee. As a matter of fact they literally thumbed their noses at the committee.

Yet we are expected here today to take upon faith the statements that money is not being wasted in this program.

How can you obligate and reserve \$1 billion in the dying days and hours of a fiscal year with no firm programs? How can it be done with any intelligence? Do not tell me that money is not being wasted under this program.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SIKES: On page 2, line 20, after the figure "\$35,000,000" and before the semicolon insert the following: "of which not less than \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala."

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Chairman, I shall take a few moments before I begin to discuss the amendment to pay tribute to the very splendid work done by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN], and by his subcommittee. I think every one of us applauds the courage, the integrity, and the wisdom which has characterized the service of this able Member. I have appreciated the opportunity to enjoy his friendship and to work with him; and every day as I watch him stand here and fight for the things he believes in and that he knows his people believe in, I am more impressed with him and the value of his work to the Congress and to the Nation. What I say about him is true in very large measure of the fine subcommittee with which he is associated.

Mr. Chairman, one of the more courageous acts of this century was observed when Colonel Castillo Armas and his little band of valiant patriots overthrew the Communist regime in Guatemala a very few years ago. That is the only instance, Mr. Chairman, where a Communist-dominated government has actually been thrown out of power in any country in this century. We should have a great deal of interest in what happens in Guatemala. Because of the bankrupt treasury and economic unrest throughout Guatemala, because of unemployment and land distribution problems which the Communist regime left in that nation, it has been exceedingly difficult for the present administration to carry through to successful conclusion the sound programs it had developed for the economic rehabilitation of that sturdy little country. These were programs,

Mr. Chairman, which were intended to insure that Guatemala, and perhaps some other nations watching Guatemala, would remain on the side of the free nations. Remember that Guatemala, by ousting the Communists, became a showcase of democracy in Latin America. But the Communists have not ceased to work in Guatemala. People throughout the hemisphere are watching to see what happens there.

The purpose of my amendment, which adds no money to this bill, is simply to carry out in this appropriation bill the overwhelming intent of the House in approving in the authorization bill the specific amount of defense support assistance to Guatemala.

The legislative intent of the House was clearly stated by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Dobb] that in adopting his amendment increasing defense support to Latin America the total authorization for defense support for Guatemala is \$15 million.

The reason why some confusion may have arisen on this matter is because the original request of the executive branch of \$5 million was classified. The classification was later removed by the International Cooperation Administration and the Department of State. Actually I could never understand the original classification in any event, since the defense support figure for Guatemala last year was not classified.

The original executive request for defense support for Guatemala was \$5 million. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MORANO] offered an amendment in the Foreign Affairs Committee to increase the amount by another \$5 million. This amendment was adopted. On the floor the amendment which I have already alluded to of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Dobb] increasing the amount of defense support for Guatemala by another \$5 million was adopted, making a total of \$15 million in defense support for Guatemala.

The legislative intent of the House is stated in positive, clear, and unequivocal terms. The legislative intent of the other body is not stated in positive terms. The report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this question reads as follows:

In the case of Latin America, the administration has programed development assistance, instead of defense support. Only two countries—Bolivia and Guatemala—are involved. The amount for each is classified, but the total, in the administration program, came to \$27 million. In increasing this figure by \$10 million, the committee intends \$5 million to go to Guatemala and \$5 million to be available for use generally in the area.

The statement in the Senate report that "the amount for each is classified" is inaccurate since the figure for Guatemala had been declassified by the executive branch. It will be noted from the statement I have quoted that the Senate committee leaves the final \$5,000,000, which would make up the \$15 million for Guatemala defense support, "available for use generally in the area." Thus the extra sum is left floating in the air. The Senate, in effect, says to the executive branch, "Gentlemen, you can do with

the \$5 million what you please, you can give it to Guatemala or you can give it to anybody else."

Mr. Chairman, the issue involved here is not one small Central American country, Guatemala. While we all applaud the courage and valor of the Guatemalan people in overturning the Communist tyrants who dominated them prior to the liberation government of President Castillo Armas, it is the peace and security of the whole Western Hemisphere that is involved in this issue. I, for one, and I know many of my colleagues join me, am not willing to cut down our assistance to Guatemala in this crucial turning point in her history—indeed, in the history of the Western Hemisphere. Guatemala got \$15 million last year. I know that many of my colleagues are anxious to continue United States support for this courageous little country, not cut it down. Guatemala is the only country in the history of the world which has been successful in turning back the tide of Communist domination in its government. A Communist threat in Latin America is a direct threat to the United States, and indeed to every freedom-loving nation everywhere.

In presenting this amendment it is simply my purpose to remove the seemingly conflicting legislative intent. By accepting my amendment the House will show clearly that it means what it says.

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MORANO. I wish to associate myself with the gentleman from Florida. It is important that this \$5 million that seems to be floating around be nailed down so that it will be specifically earmarked for that gallant little country who has overthrown communism. And it would serve notice in that area that we mean business in this fight against communism wherever it might crop up in the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. SIKES. The gentleman is exactly right.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. It would indeed be rare for the gentleman to offer an amendment that would not be accepted by the Committee on Appropriations, either the subcommittee or the full committee, or the Committee of the Whole. The gentleman from Florida discussed this amendment with members of the minority and majority, and without exception we agreed to make it a committee amendment and accept it as submitted by the gentleman.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Florida, has, of course, correctly stated the position of the House with reference to the extra \$5 million that it placed in the authorization bill specifically for Guatemala.

During the conference with the conferees from the other body, it was stated by them that the Senate had not re-

moved the additional \$5 million from the authorization bill but it had not left the House earmark on it for Guatemala. Thus the Senate bill carried \$10 million specifically for Guatemala and the other \$5 million could be used for Guatemala or elsewhere in the hemisphere if situations developed that made that seem advisable.

The senior Senator from Georgia, Mr. GEORGE, chairman of the conference committee, in his statement on the conference report to the State on Monday said:

In connection with Latin America, I should also point out that it is the intention of the conferees that \$10 million should be used for Guatemala.

That was not quite in accord with the understanding of the House conferees, so I promptly called the Senate committee and I received this morning copy of a letter that Senator GEORGE has sent to the Secretary of State, reading as follows:

JULY 10, 1956.

The Honorable JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: During consideration of the conference report on the Mutual Security Act of 1956, I inserted a statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pointing out that with respect to Latin America, it was the intention of the conferees that the \$10 million of funds authorized for Latin America should be used for Guatemala. It is my understanding that some question has now arisen as to whether this was to be a ceiling on the amount for that country.

To the extent that it may assist the executive branch in interpreting this statement, I want to make it clear that my reference to the \$10 million of funds for Guatemala should not be viewed as a ceiling on the amount for that country.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Congressman Judd who brought this matter to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER F. GEORGE,
Chairman.

So, to adopt the gentleman's amendment today will not be in conflict with what Senator GEORGE has told the Secretary of State, although it would have been without this clarifying letter, the amendment merely ties down for Guatemala the \$5 million which the Senate bill had made available for the whole hemisphere, and thus makes this appropriation bill conform to the authorization bill as passed by the House.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman's amendment will be adopted.

(Mr. JACKSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I think the intent of the House was made abundantly clear when this matter was under discussion here previously, and while the remarks of the gentleman from Minnesota are certainly welcome to all of us, I think that this exchange of communications between a Member of the other body and the gentleman from Minnesota may not receive any considerable circulation in the country of Guatemala itself. I think the intent of the membership of this body was to express in positive and affirmative terms the intention and the determi-

nation of the United States to see that the only nation, not only in this hemisphere but throughout the world, which has successfully repelled Communist aggression would not go unnoticed by this country. I think it is of tremendous importance that we make our position in this matter crystal clear and that we say not only in diplomatic language, not only in the phraseology of the Department of State and the language which has been brought to your attention as represented in the exchange of communications, but that the Congress of the United States in its own sovereign right say to the Government of Guatemala and to the people of Guatemala that we intend to uphold their hands by providing them the assistance which is sorely needed at this time.

Mr. Chairman, there is perhaps no country in the entire hemisphere which is today in a more precarious situation than is Guatemala. During the tenure of the Communists of that country, they raided the public treasury, and when President Armas came to power he found himself with empty coffers, so to speak. Unless something is done and done in a positive and affirmative way—and I mean no criticism of the Department in this respect because I feel that they are doing and will continue to do everything possible to uphold the hands of that Government—but I do feel that unless an expression of this sort from the people of the United States through their Congress to the people of Guatemala through their Government is delivered, that there may be a letdown, there may be a feeling of desertion and of desolation in a nation which is of tremendous importance to us in any concept of hemispheric solidarity. While I do not ordinarily approve the policy of earmarking specific amounts for specific countries, I do feel that the circumstances here are of a nature unusual enough to require that the action be taken, and I shall be happy to support the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask to be recognized to speak on the military part of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, the complaint is being made that the President is strenuously urging a program larger than the House has approved, without an understanding of the amounts involved. Well, I respectfully disagree with that line of argument. I am among those who have discussed this with the President and have been impressed, not only with his grasp of the strategic situation, but with his detailed knowledge of the program, of the amounts of money and equipment involved, his appraisal of the consequences of the cuts. I think we all have to vote our own convictions on this, but in arriving at a decision I am certainly inclined to rely heavily upon a successful military commander who has participated in this program when he was the commander of the NATO military forces. General Eisenhower sat and waited for American military equipment that was

promised but did not come. He has had experience in this program, and I am supporting his judgment rather than the judgment of this committee, on the requirements of this program.

A number of you are voting against this program, voting to cut it and gut it, because things look peaceful now. Things looked peaceful in June 1950. President Truman said we were never further away from war. Then on June 25, 1950, the Reds attacked Korea, and within a few days Americans were there, fighting and retreating and dying.

On July 19, 1950, the mutual defense assistance program, the military part of this program that we are considering today, came to this floor. The bill passed by a vote of 362 to 1. That "1" was our former colleague, Vito Marcantonio. All of you who were in Congress then who were here that day, including my friend, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross] voted for this program that is now called a foreign handout, a giveaway, because you all realized then that when Americans were in a scrap, it would be pretty nice to have some others able to get in there, to chip in and help us fight. You realized that it was of value to our own security to have those who were ready and willing to fight for freedom help us to defend our mutual security.

Yet, some of you today are blissfully ignoring the warnings of our leaders that, in spite of Soviet peaceful talks, there is still deadly danger of war, if we weaken our mutual defense. Apparently, the Soviet propaganda is having its effect in this country, in many directions, in many ways.

In 1951 I was a delegate to the United Nations. Vishinsky attacked the American delegation saying that this mutual security program was to buy Hessians, mercenaries he said, to support and defend the Wall Street monopolists. We then made, in response to that charge by Communist Vishinsky, the answer that was made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] today, when a similar charge was made. When we do this, when we appropriate for mutual security we are not buying Hessians. We are, in addition to aiding our own security, giving other people who want to be free a chance to defend their homeland with our help.

As arguments against this program, newspaper reports have been quoted today, giving discouraging news about this program in Japan, Cambodia, Yugoslavia, Iceland, and elsewhere. I appreciate the value of a free press, but I doubt the wisdom of legislating on the basis of newspaper reports. Doubtless, however, such news has its effect. I wonder how much effect the reports of these wholesale cuts have had in discouraging our allies.

This program is for defense, our defense, planned and directed by the same people who plan and direct the rest of our defense, the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and their assistants. This House has voted almost unanimously for defense appropriations of about \$35 billion. We voted the other day for military construction in the

amount of \$2 billion, which included money for our overseas bases. Those amounts were not cut. One of them was increased. But when it comes to the money to guard these bases, to keep them out of enemy hands, to maintain them in friendly hands for the operation of our planes, our ships, we cut the appropriation over 45 percent below the amount that is considered vital by the same men who plan the rest of our defense. It just does not make sense. It is just as if we voted for B-52's, all except for landing gear, and then cut the strength of the landing gear 45 percent because we do not like the bookkeeping in the Defense Department. Can we in the House plan better how and where to land and take off a B-52 than those who designed it? We are monkeying with the landing and takeoff of our bombers when we cut this base-protection money this much.

(Mr. VORYS asked and was given permission to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr VORYS. None of this request is for money in general. Exactly what each dollar is for, exactly what each country is to get and why, is shown in 3 secret books available to 2 of your committees, showing exactly how many planes, mine-sweepers, trucks, and howitzers, how many rounds of ammunition, how much for shipping, how much for training, and how much for men.

I agree with those who criticize the speed with which this program has been carried on. It has not been done fast enough. I agree with those who criticize past Defense Department bookkeeping, and with those who criticize the way the program has been explained to Congress and the public. But when we cut this program, tailor-made, weapon by weapon for each of these countries, by an amount of 45 percent over the request, we injure our own defense for the purpose of scolding the Pentagon for its redtape, its bookkeeping, its public relations. If these weapons are needed, we do not speed up their delivery or unravel the redtape by cutting off the money for the weapons.

You talk about having \$5 billion on hand, as if you could replan and dispose of it again. That money has already been programed.

I want to read what Admiral Radford said:

We have already communicated to our allies in Europe the details of the items which we plan to furnish to them under prior programs. Their defense plans are based upon receiving this equipment. Any diversions of this equipment would completely destroy their defense planning and give rise to fear that we have lost our interest in NATO; and would also reduce their expected defense capabilities, which have been taken into account in our own military planning.

The \$5 billion of unexpended military balances that are on hand have already been programed and we have told the countries what they may expect to get, as our military people had a right to do after the money had been appropriated. If we go back and attempt to replan that money, that means taking it away from countries that are planning on it and, as Admiral Radford said,

it would also reduce their expected defense capabilities, which have been taken into account in our own military planning.

Therefore the question is: How much do we need in new moneys to carry on the program.

As has already been pointed out, we have certain fixed charges that go ahead each year whether we have a small or a large program. The first billion to come out of this would cut Europe more than half, about \$600 million, according to Admiral Radford, and then would cut Korea 23 percent. You have heard the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] tell you how the Korean military money was put into this program only last year. Well, you are going to cut it 23 percent, even though a lot of that war material we left there, trucks and other material, has worn out and needs to be replaced. We are going to cut Korea 23 percent, Formosa 14 percent, Pakistan 27 percent, Turkey 24 percent, Greece 42 percent, and cut in two the advanced weapons program which is at the heart of the future for this program. It will take about 3 years to prepare the equipment for the advanced weapons program. If you cut it out now and delay it until next year, it will not be ready 3 years from now. If you carry out the program that is proposed by this committee, it will come to a stop in a little over 2 years. The only way you can take care of it beyond that period is to make it possible to plan and order these complicated weapons now that will be needed 3 years from now.

I do not believe that every military request is sacred. I have voted to cut past requests. I voted to cut this one half a billion dollars, because I went through the request and picked out items I thought could be trimmed or delayed. But this \$1.265 billion cut is too big. I am going to go along with whatever the members of the committee do with respect to trying to increase this bill in the House, but I believe that we make a great mistake when we cut it so deeply that we injure our own security.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to defend my good friend the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross] and many others on the left side of the aisle with regard to the statements made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys]. The gentleman from Ohio pointed out that on July 19, 1950, there was a vote in this House and that the only one who opposed the passage of the bill on that rollcall vote was the late gentleman from New York, Mr. Marcantonio. That vote was for the Mutual Defense Assistance Act immediately following the invasion of the Republic of Korea by the Communists on June 25, 1950. This was not an appropriation bill. The gentleman from Ohio is absolutely correct, so far. But, that was a lapse, a very brief lapse on the part of our friends on the other side of the aisle. Today we find that some of

them again are all out for military assistance—which was not their position throughout the Korean war. That was not their position on the 28th of June, 1952, when the bill H. R. 8370 containing funds for the mutual security of our Nation was before this House for consideration. You may recall, as is shown on page 8521 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the 82d Congress, 2d session, that an amendment to that bill was offered by a former Member from Michigan, Mr. Crawford, which sought to make a cut—not in the foreign aid funds so to speak, but in the military assistance funds to the extent of \$145,600,000 after the subcommittee and the House Committee on Appropriations, under the leadership of the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Gary] had already cut, not the entire bill, but the military assistance funds to the extent of \$200 million.

Now I want to defend these certain gentlemen with regard to the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] because on that particular day, the 28th of June, 1952, they had the courage to oppose appropriations for military assistance. This so-called Crawford amendment was adopted on that day by a rollcall vote of 173 to 167. Now, let us see who voted for that meat-axe cut. We have the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber], the gentleman from Massachusetts, the distinguished minority leader [Mr. Martin]; the minority whip [Mr. Arens] who had a live pair in favor of the amendment, as did the present chairman of the Republican National Committee, our former colleague, the distinguished Len Hall. We also find among those opposed to the military assistance appropriation the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Halleck], the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Anderson], the gentleman from New York [Mr. Keating] who made such a plea here yesterday not to cut military assistance. We do find the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Passman] voting for that amendment and I admire him for his consistency. He followed the pattern and the position he has taken ever since the inception of the foreign-aid program. But I do not understand this switching around all the time on the part of the other gentlemen. Military aid today is so much more important than it was on June 28, 1952, during the Korean war? I do not believe it.

I do not understand a great many things going on. I do not understand a dispatch on the AP wire this morning which said that the Soviet Ambassador in London, Jacob Malek, is an Ike for President booster:

"I am for Eisenhower," said Malek. "The people of Europe know him. They like him and trust him. We can do business with President Eisenhower."

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. I have voted repeatedly to cut and trim this program and offered an amendment to trim it \$500 million this year. When it comes to cutting it a billion two hundred million dollars in military assistance, that is a different thing.

Mr. ROONEY. Does not the gentleman see his inconsistency? How can he justify cutting the military-assistance fund when we had the trouble in Korea? Does the gentleman deny that the facts I have adduced here today are correct?

Mr. VORYS. Oh, the rollcall is absolutely correct, and the gentleman will find I have repeatedly voted to cut this program, but not to gut it, as this bill does.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to my distinguished colleague from New York.

Mr. KEATING. Like the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] I have frequently voted to reduce certain appropriations for foreign aid or military assistance. Every time a bill like this has come before us I have tried, as best I could, to analyze the evidence pertinent at the time. There is one very important difference, however, between the situation in 1952 and now. We had a different group of advisers advising us then as to the amount which it was felt was necessary. Without any attack on their sincerity, very frankly I had much less confidence in their judgment on these matters than I have now. President Eisenhower, in whom I have the utmost confidence, urges that the figures in our authorization bill are the very minimum that is needed, not to defend some other country, but our own. I confess this is very persuasive with me, because I consider that we have never had a leader and adviser who is as well equipped to tell us in accurate terms what is needed for the defense and security of our country.

Mr. ROONEY. Does not the gentleman recall the position President Eisenhower held at that time, in June 1952? Was he not one of President Truman's principal advisers? Was he not at the time supreme commander of NATO forces? Does not the gentleman feel that the cut in this bill which is now going to the other body—military assistance—is entirely unconscionable and too drastic?

Mr. KEATING. I think it is too drastic.

Mr. ROONEY. Then would the gentleman—

Mr. KEATING. If the gentleman will yield further.

Mr. ROONEY. I do not yield further at this moment. I will inform my friend when I am ready to yield. I want to make this point, that at the time the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING] voted to gut the military assistance funds during the time of the trouble in Korea, to the extent of \$145,600,000, in the supplemental appropriation bill of 1953, those funds had already been cut by \$200 million.

I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford]. Incidentally, before I yield I would like to give this distin-

guished gentleman credit for his consistency, as well as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wigglesworth] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fenton], because on the rollcall to which I referred they stood by their best judgment. They did not stand for any sheep-herding or any voteherding or any such thing.

Mr. FORD. I appreciate the opportunity to say a word in response to this last colloquy between the gentleman from New York [Mr. Rooney] and several others. The gentleman from New York is now consistent with the position he took in 1952.

Mr. ROONEY. I am consistent.

Mr. FORD. Apparently the gentleman is saying that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Wigglesworth] and myself are consistent, both then and now. Of course it would be very interesting if the gentleman would analyze the vote that he refers to and the vote which took place in the Subcommittee on Foreign Aid a week ago last Monday, and the vote which was taken in the full Committee on Appropriations last Friday. The gentleman knows that in the full committee last Friday the vote on this issue, military assistance, was 24 against an increase to the House authorization figure and 22 for the increase. The gentleman also knows that on that vote only 4 members of his political party voted for the increase and 18 members from this political party voted against the increase.

Mr. ROONEY. I do not remember the exact figures, but perhaps the gentleman from Michigan is substantially correct. And that is exactly the situation that my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Passman] has been talking about. How was this whole business lined up?

Mr. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield.

Mr. FORD. I think it is unfortunate that any politics has been injected into this very serious problem. He is trying to be consistent, and I have tried to be consistent. Others may have changed their minds in the interim since 1952. I do not think it is right to be critical of a change of mind with reference to this program. Certainly when something involves the security of this country we should not throw it into the political arena. I hope we will forget partisan politics on this appropriation bill.

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this bill. Investigations by my subcommittee disclose that more than \$2 billion of foreign aid funds, provided by the United States, have been used to promote increased foreign agricultural production, largely for export. Much of such increased foreign production which we have financed are in the very commodities in trouble here in our own country.

Investigations by the staff of the Appropriations Committee disclose that this foreign aid group handles its money in such a lax manner they do not even know how much carryover they have themselves. A cursory check with anyone who has been in these countries we aid will disclose tremendous waste.

Instead of foreign countries increasing their own defense, they are cutting

back; and this administration, this Government asks billions of dollars more to take up this slack.

The chairman of this committee says that this appropriation will make available more than 10 billions of dollars for foreign aid, enough to last 33 months. In fact, he says, and I agree with him, that "if not a dollar were appropriated this year the program could go ahead."

Mr. Chairman, I went before this committee and presented in detail the findings of the investigators on how we, through foreign aid, are putting our own people out of business. The details are in the hearings. I have seen this situation and its causes for some time. I had the investigation and had the facts to prove the soundness of what I tell you. My suggestions to the committee were as follows:

Include the following language:

Provided, That no part of the funds herein appropriated shall be available for expenditure so long as the funds heretofore appropriated for such purposes and unexpended by the Mutual Security Administration exceed \$3,000,000,000.

Or after such cuts as are possible, place part in reserve, certainly place in reserve all amounts above the President's private request in January, to be released only by the Bureau of the Budget or the President and include the following restriction:

Nor shall any of these funds be used for technical or other assistance for agricultural production of commodities in surplus in the United States, exported by such country.

I then urged an investigation by committee investigators of the Appropriations Committee on the following points:

EFFECTIVENESS

First. Profiteering on United States aid (a) by American interests, (b) within foreign countries.

Second. Economic level—foreign countries aided (a) prewar, (b) present.

Third. Cut back in foreign contribution as United States aid increased (a) military, (b) economic.

For some reason the committee would not take these actions. I can see that some perhaps had rather not be charged with knowledge of all the facts.

This whole debate has been based on how much the amount was cut by the committee when in actuality after the cuts, which were only cuts in the President's request, the bill carries some 30 percent more than we had last year. It is the case of the administration, whichever one it may be, requesting some huge sum for foreign aid, and then practically every member who helps put this deal over each year, goes home and tells how much he helped cut out. Remember the only cut here is in the President's greatly increased request.

In the last campaign I told the Democrats in Mississippi that President Eisenhower offered us no improvement on the things to which we were opposed. I regret to say subsequent events, as shown here in his request on this foreign-aid bill, and in many other fields have proven I was right.

However, even then I could not foresee the effect the election of a Republican President would have on the voting of

such of my Republican colleagues as the minority leader and minority whip, such as my friends on the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from New York; my friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts; my friend, the gentleman from Kansas; the gentleman from Ohio; folks with whom I have cooperated and worked through the years for conservatism in Government, including foreign aid and similar questionable programs. If any one had told me they would reserve themselves completely, I would not have believed them. I know they are men of integrity and I have the highest regard for them, but there is something about having their President in the White House that affects their voting record and I am forced to presume it has affected their feelings, for certainly I could not afford to say they would have changed their position of years from pressure alone and be here not only supporting a 30 percent increase over last year but advocating even more.

Mr. Chairman, I recently told the people in my district that perhaps one of the soundest reasons for electing a Democrat President was so our Republican colleagues in the Congress could vote their convictions or perhaps in kindness, I should say, return to their former convictions. I believe it would be good for the country.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, a little while ago the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], for whom I have the highest regard, read something that he said was on the teletype. I do not know whether it was or not. But what he read was that Soviet Ambassador Jacob Malik said, "I am for Eisenhower." He said, and I refer to Ambassador Malik, "the people of Europe know him; they like him and trust him. We can do business with President Eisenhower."

Now, I do not know for sure just what the gentleman's purpose was in reading that, but I would like to remind some of my friends on the right that a few days ago the policy committee of my party in the other body issued a staff report, and they said in that statement, quoting, that some convicted Communist in this country wanted the Democratic Party to win. I never heard such an outcry in my life from the people of your party as a result. Why, you said, that is associating us with communism, you are accusing us of being soft on communism, and we resent it.

I want to say to all of you and to the gentleman from New York, again may I say I respect and admire him, to use whatever Malik said for what seemed to be an obvious purpose hits something of a new low, and I think the people of this country will resent it.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. Does the gentleman understand that I merely read verbatim what appeared in the Speaker's lobby as an AP dispatch? And I should like to inquire what interpretation does the

gentleman place on Mr. Malik's remarks, assuming they are correct?

Mr. HALLECK. I would not know what interpretation to put on his remarks, but the very fact that the gentleman saw fit to bring that press report in here and read it, in my opinion, is susceptible to but one interpretation, because the gentleman speaks too well and too brilliantly to be up here for exercise only.

There is another thing I would like to point out to my friends on the right. As far as action here today is concerned and the action yesterday in the Appropriations Committee as it has now been disclosed, who would be the friend of the Russians? Would it be the people who voted to provide the requested military assistance to develop our offshore strength to counter the threat of the Russians or the Communists, or do you find the people who oppose it in the corner with the Russians and their threat to us?

I deeply regret that this matter has taken such a turn. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] was correct when he pointed out this sort of legislation should not be the subject of politics. But I would like to remind my friends on the right that when we look in the RECORD to see what happened in the past, we find that I was majority leader of a Republican 80th Congress. The President was of your party and his name was Harry S. Truman. Communist aggression and infiltration threatened the world. I could make quite a speech, as I did when the Marshall plan was here on the floor, as to why something had to be done at that time. But may I say, as I said then, mistakes of the past many times must be forgotten and what we must do is to provide for the present. Your President asked the Republican 80th Congress to provide interim aid to France and Italy and to give aid to Greece and Turkey. Why? To meet Communist aggression. Yes, and he asked us for the Marshall plan.

I would like to remind you that it was the Republican 80th Congress, under Republican leadership acting out in front, that responded to the request of your President to meet the Communist threat. In the light of such history, it seems to me your conduct here today comes with poor grace, to say the least.

Actually I had not proposed to get into this debate, because it seemed that no effort was to be made to raise this additional amount. But, I would just like to say that I have consistently felt from the beginning that we could not stand alone in the world. As I pointed out the other day in another debate, we cannot go back to that time when a million farmers could successfully meet the enemy at the Atlantic and the Pacific with pitchforks and shotguns. We cannot go back to the time when we felt safe with control of the seas was sufficient for us. We are living in an age when stratojet bombers travel 500 miles or more an hour, and enemy bombers can travel that fast against us. So, in my opinion, you cannot bring the defense of the United States back to our

own shores. How gratified am I—and I am glad that I had a part in it—that our bases are scattered all around the periphery of the Communist area.

Let me ask you a question, those of you who have refused to go along with the amount which finally came back as an authorization bill—and I think that is why we should be here today—suppose we had any idea at all of being the aggressor in a world conflict and we found ourselves ringed with air bases, as our bases and those of our allies ring the Communist Russian people; we would think twice before launching an offensive war; would we not?

(Mr. HALLECK asked and was given permission to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. HALLECK. When an attempt was made to move into Guatemala, we got busy; did we not?

I want to emphasize that if we were ringed around with that sort of an operation against us, we would be mighty unhappy about it, and we would assuredly hesitate before starting an aggressive action against anyone.

Now, what have we developed in this program? We have developed a defensive structure under which we have, in friendly places, where we can look for protection by our bases and our operations, facilities that will handle B-47's, in England, in Turkey, in Spain, and in north Africa, within striking distance of Russia, able to deliver effective counter blows, if need be. These are bases a potential enemy would not dare bypass in an attempt to strike us. Offshore defenses I call them, offshore protection for the security of the United States of America. And, all I can say is that you people sitting on this right side of the aisle must take responsibility for the reduction that has here been had, starting with your heavily supported action in the appropriation committee. If you had been consistent, if you had followed the President of the United States, as the President of all the people, and if you had been willing to follow him on this occasion, a Republican President with a Democratic Congress, even as I in a Republican Congress back in 1947 and 1948 responded because I thought it was right, to the request of your President, then we would have this bill in an amount which it ought to be. But, no, you did not see fit to do that. So, here we are.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. Why did not the gentleman ask me, since I was the ranking Member who would offer the amendment in the full committee or the subcommittee, to offer an amendment on the floor of the House here today to increase this fund for military assistance?

Mr. HALLECK. Having asked me that question, I think the gentleman will permit me to say that I spoke to the gentleman on the floor the other afternoon, when this was getting under way, and I said to the gentleman that I certainly hoped he would offer such an amendment. The gentleman will recall that. And, it has become very obvious

that for whatever purposes may be yours—I do not challenge them; I do not question them; you are the matters of your own consciences; you are the determiners of what you ought to do in respect to what you think is right, but it has been very obvious since this matter got under way that there was no substantial support on your side of the aisle for the restoration of these items, evidenced all the way through. So, I say to you yours is the responsibility.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I think it is pretty obvious, since the motion to recommit lies with the minority, that if the minority whip, who has just spoken, is serious about this, that they could offer a motion to recommit with instructions to raise this amount, and we will get a rollcall.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman if he will get me additional time.

(Mr. PASSMAN (at the request of Mr. HALLECK) was given permission to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. The gentleman from Ohio is a distinguished parliamentarian. He knows that when you offer a motion to recommit on the minority side, the Member must qualify by saying he is against the bill. I do not know of anyone over here who would deal so loosely with the true facts as to get up and say that he is opposed to the bill and then undertake to put more money into it on the theory that he was opposed to the bill.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I have seen it happen that Members have said they were opposed to the bill in its present form and that has been accepted. That would be, I think, an acceptable way of doing it. I think the gentleman is only quibbling about technicalities now.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. I wonder if the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK] would permit me to make a bit of a canvass among his colleagues on that side of the aisle to see if we might be able to find a few Republican Members who could offer an unqualified motion to recommit.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, would the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. I know the gentleman from New York is an expert on his side, but I doubt that in the limited time available he could become much of an expert on our side.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I was in hopes that we would not inject too much politics into the debate on this bill. Let us face it realistically and go to the record.

Last year my friends on the left supported my position on the House floor by voting for only \$738 million for military aid for the fiscal year 1956. Then the other body increased it to \$1,056,000,000. That was an increase of \$321 million last year over what was supported in the committee and on the floor. Then during the conference we found a little unused balance of \$302 million. So in the final bill there was a total of \$629 million over and above what my friends on the left supported in the subcommittee, the full committee, and in the House.

I want to state for the record that we are allowing this year, for the military, when you include the amount of money that we are reappropriating, \$1,930,000,000. If you subtract from that the amount that my friends on the left supported last year on the floor of the House, it means that in this bill you have \$1,181,000,000 more than they supported last year. And last year they stated that that was a sufficient amount to carry on their program.

I do not want a single Member left under the impression that you are crippling this program. In my opinion they have more money than they need in this bill. I repeat what I said a few days ago, if you do not give this program any additional money this year, you could come back next year and find the program still in operation. Your pipeline is now long enough so that you would not be doing any damage.

If we pass this bill as presented to you today, you will have \$10,302,000,000 to continue this program next year. That amount will carry it on for approximately 33 months at the average rate of expenditure during the fiscal year 1956. And those Members who have read the hearings and the report know, as I do, that they do not need 1 dime more than has been recommended in this bill. I hope you will consider this bill on the basis of what they had last year, what my friends on the left supported last year, and what you have in the bill for the new fiscal year.

I yield to my friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER].

Mr. TABER. The only thing I have to say is that the Members on the left, as the gentleman calls them, on the appropriations subcommittee with one exception all voted for a figure as large as the House authorization bill, and that was the only thing that we could do at that time. As to the small cuts that were made in smaller items later on, the big item was only a 2-percent cut. Nobody is going to get much excited about that, and they could not in the committee or on the floor. You could not expect them to. On that one thing, I felt and I so stated, and the Members who were sitting here with me and one other felt, that it was not enough. I still feel the same way I did then.

Mr. PASSMAN. Does the gentleman disagree with the figures I just read?

Mr. TABER. Yes, I do.

Mr. PASSMAN. Will the gentleman agree that we increased the amount \$1,180,000,000 over what the Congress voted last year?

Mr. TABER. No; I would not do that.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman will have to if he refers to the report.

Mr. TABER. We appropriated for military assistance last year \$1,358,000,000. Frankly the report does not show that, but that is the fact.

Mr. PASSMAN. I am speaking about what we voted for before the other body increased it.

Mr. TABER. The gentleman asked me about what the Congress voted.

Mr. PASSMAN. I had in mind what the House voted.

Mr. TABER. The House voted the lower figure.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman supported the lower figure last year, did he not?

Mr. TABER. I did, and I did it because Mr. Hensel, the Assistant Secretary in charge of that item, had told us that there would be \$500 million left that would be unobligated. Then when they got down to a day or two before the bill was coming up in the Senate, they started calling up and they wanted to obligate all that money.

Mr. PASSMAN. Is it not true that even after the cut last year for the military, they ended the fiscal year with \$240 million unobligated?

Mr. TABER. Yes; they did.

Mr. PASSMAN. Does not that indicate they had sufficient money last year?

Mr. TABER. Yes; they did.

Mr. PASSMAN. What leads the gentleman to believe they would require more money next year than last year?

Mr. TABER. They have a different management in this Mr. McGuire.

Mr. PASSMAN. Does not the gentleman agree that \$1 billion extra is a high enough price for the new management?

Mr. TABER. The reappraisal is over and the job is being done now, and the stuff is getting out for the first time.

Mr. PASSMAN. I am very fond of my friend from New York. I am sure the gentleman from New York will agree that they do not need more money next year than the amount in this bill.

(Mr. PASSMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I was a little surprised this afternoon. As you know, this program has begun now to carry in large part what is needed just for the maintenance of the indigenous or resident forces in these Asiatic countries that are threatened by the Communists continuously. It has reached the point where it carries just the money for the military supplies and equipment and the sustenance of the troops that are involved in those countries that cannot afford to raise the money to maintain the sort of armies that they need. We have better than 20 divisions in Turkey. Including the reserves, we have 3 divisions in Korea. We have a large number in Formosa. We have a large number in the Philippines. In Japan, we have reached the point where we do not have any troops

there except on the main island. Are we going to run out on our obligation to keep that going? You know the military supplies were largely furnished in the early days of this so-called Marshall plan out of military sources, and the Marshall plan was used as an aid to their economic condition. But following the Korean war, and in 1955 we gradually got into the situation where we were taking care of this thing out of the funds provided in this bill. That is why the dollar requirement has to go up, and that is why it does go up. The fact that we supported a lower figure on the basis of testimony by the Assistant Secretary in charge of it a year ago is of minor importance. We are living in the present. We are facing the present and we are not going to get into a discussion of ancient history. When the fellow who is in charge of a job tells you that you can go for so much and do a job, it has been my practice to do it. When the fellow in charge of a job really demonstrates that you need to go farther than you went the year before, I am willing to go along with him. But when he does not show that, I cannot go along. That is the picture and that is the reason why I am supporting this and why I would support a larger figure this year. Frankly, I did that in the committee. I did not see what the objective of these folks was who were going out trying to play politics with this thing, except that they must have been afraid that they could not justify their position based on the merits of the question when they got back home and they want some kind of holler to cover themselves up. Now that is the only excuse I can see for anybody to get up here and holler politics into it. I hope instead of that approach we will have an approach based on a judgment of the merits of the situation and stick to that.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I think the preliminary to what you are talking about occurred in 1953 when the Committee on Armed Services sent six of us to many of the trouble spots all over the world to deal with and inspect and discuss the military programs and the progress of the assistance groups there. Their purpose was not to have any Americans do any fighting because we had declared in 1950 that we did not want to do any more fighting with our own personnel. But their purpose was to teach the local people the art of warfare and how to use weapons and things like that. The MAAG's worked very closely with the Ambassadors in the various countries where they were stationed.

Here are the places we went to.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

(Mr. TABER asked and was given permission to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Here are the places we went to—Wake Island, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Singapore, the Malayan States, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, India, Pakistan, Lebanon, Syria,

Egypt, Italy, Spain, Portugal, French Morocco, and the Azores. We found that these MAAG's were doing a very fine job and were dedicated to their work and mission. It was evident to us that great care had been used in selection of the personnel of these groups. To me they were doing a fine work, of which we can be proud. We sent our report to the Defense Department and they screened it thoroughly and agree to it 100 percent. We also sent our report and our recommendations, some of which were classified and are in our safe in our committee, and they agreed with it 100 percent. I hope that what the gentleman is arguing for will come to pass today. I am glad I was a sort of pioneer in helping this along.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I am glad the gentleman came into this, and I hope that before this bill goes to the White House for signature the situation will be resolved on the need of the Government of the United States for this program, and nothing else.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. There has been much discussion of the cut made last year because of the Defense Department book-keeping. It was not discussed as to whether that added up to a \$600 million cut or \$400 million cut, but when the cut was made it was not the intention of the committee or of the Congress to cut the items out of the program that were referred to. It was intended to administer a rebuke to the Defense Department for the way they kept their books?

Mr. TABER. It was partly that and partly the admissions of the man in charge of the thing as to what was needed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] has expired.

(Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last five words.

Mr. Chairman, in order that there be no misunderstanding as to the position of the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] in relation to offering an amendment to increase the amount, I think in all fairness it should be stated that in the judgment of the leadership on both sides it was thought that that would be unwise, and that in the long run this bill passing this body and going to the other body and being acted on in conference, the situation might develop that it would be in the end quite satisfactory.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN. I think the gentleman might also add that it was the expectation of the leadership that they would get a larger amount by this arrangement.

Mr. McCORMACK. I agree with the gentleman. I think that statement should be made. It is not one-sided. There have been consultations. The leadership has a responsibility. I have

always been for a strong authorization bill and for a substantial appropriation in connection with our mutual aid. I favor, personally, increasing the amount. I am hopeful, and I feel confident, that by the time the bill gets through the other body and through conference, there will be an amount appropriated that will be satisfactory or approximately satisfactory, having in mind the honest divergent views entertained by different Members of this body. So I think in all fairness to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] I should say that he was willing to make the amendment to increase, he intended to do it, and I advised him of the conferences with the leadership on both sides and as to our judgment as to what the policy and procedure should be as far as the bill in the House was concerned, and later our efforts when the bill is in conference. I am not going to get into any other subject. I like to talk politics. I love it. But I am not going to go into an answer to the rather emotional utterances of my friend from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK]. I think the world of him. So I will confine my remarks to the brief statement I have made, much as I regret curtailing my remarks, because I love to talk politics. I would simply say that the leadership on both sides have assumed their responsibility. We are going to do the best we can. We are all in agreement that the amount should be increased and that it is better perhaps to let the bill go through, and ultimately as it comes out of conference an amount will be appropriated that will be quite satisfactory.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. Did I understand the distinguished majority leader to say "We all agree when it goes to conference that the bill will be substantially increased," indicating we had agreed?

Mr. McCORMACK. No; I said we hoped.

Mr. PASSMAN. We have a right to hope.

Mr. McCORMACK. Well, hope, of course, is a very very powerful influence. I think my friend from Louisiana will not challenge, I presume, that there might be a reasonable expectation of having the hope attained. Is that right?

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman has made a very fine statement.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I say that the gentleman from Louisiana has always, even under difficult conditions, cooperated with the leadership of his own party.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield.

Mr. GROSS. What about the responsibility of individual Members of the House on this issue? That I know has not been settled by the leadership.

Mr. McCORMACK. No; there has been no settlement.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know how you could construe it any other way.

Mr. McCORMACK. The gentleman of course, can construe it any way he wants to.

Mr. GROSS. No; I thought the gentleman was construing it the other way.

Mr. McCORMACK. I simply said that the leadership felt that after the bill came out of conference, having passed the other body and been considered by the conferees, that we are hopeful and confident there will be an increase in the amount which will be over the amount of the bill reported out of committee. The gentleman can exercise his individual responsibility as he always has exercised it; and I may say I admire my friend for doing it.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

(Mr. LANHAM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I want to supplement the statement I made on the floor this morning. I stated that I had always supported the foreign-aid program and that I was supporting it this year, and that I would vote for the entire amount requested if the present administration really had an effective foreign policy. I also spoke of the fact that the President had taken out of India, probably the most sensitive spot in the world today and the country it is most necessary for us to hold in our struggle on behalf of the free peoples of the world—had taken out of India the man most fitted to be our Ambassador to that sensitive spot, and urged him to run for the United States Senate from Kentucky.

In addition to that the Republicans have sent Mr. Nixon, to build him up for the Vice Presidency, on a trip around the world, and now he has actually gotten into a squabble with Mr. Nehru, the very man the President has failed to see at this time and whose coming the President has postponed indefinitely; yet to prove that he is strong enough to run and be elected again he is going down to Panama.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANHAM. No, I do not yield at this time.

A word about our policy. I told you that we had no real policy in the Middle East. That is absolutely true. Our own representatives there are demanding that we have some sort of policy. Even if it is wrong we ought to have a policy there, but we have no firm policy in the Middle East.

Here is an article from the Washington News that asks: "What is our policy toward the neutrals?" Mr. Eisenhower has said one thing, Mr. Dulles has said another, and now Mr. Nixon has gotten into a squabble with Nehru about what our policy is.

That is a terrible situation. If India goes Communist where are we? We are lost. Cambodia has gone, because you did not have any policy there. Now, what policy does the administration have? What is its foreign policy? What is its foreign-aid policy other than to pour out more money and ship arms overseas?

Somebody asked the other day if these foreign countries came over here with trucks, backed them up to the Treasury doors and loaded them up with greenbacks and gold? No; they do not have to come here; our representatives go over there and urge them to take our money. The administration has no policy other than to give them money and to send more arms to them.

What is our policy, I ask again, with reference to neutrals? Nobody knows. You do not know, I do not know, and, apparently, Mr. Eisenhower does not know or he is contradicted by those who represent him.

The gentleman from Indiana spoke of the United States bases overseas. The administration is claiming that they do not need the additional money for the B-52's that we voted—and I am happy we have—because, they say, we have this ring of bases and we can use these. They say we have this ring of bases around the world, and do not need to depend upon intercontinental bombers.

But here is what the U. S. News & World Report says about that, and that is a magazine which is very friendly to the Republican administration: "United States bases overseas going, going"—then a blank.

You will remember the old Herpicide ad. It showed the picture of a man almost bald. I used to pay attention to that when I was younger. It said, "Going, going," then, "too late for Herpicide."

Our foreign bases are going like that man's falling hair. They are trying to run us out of Iceland. What are you doing about that?

Here is what the U. S. News says:

Air bases in Morocco, Libya, Saudia Arabia may be too expensive. In Spain and the Azores they are not ready. In Iceland United States may lose.

Recently they held an election in Iceland and the man who wants to move our bases out of there was elected. What are we going to do about these bases? If we cannot depend on these bases that we now have, we better have many more B-52's.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I wonder if the gentleman will use some of his time to correct what he said about the President refusing to see Nehru.

Mr. LANHAM. I did not mean to say he refused to see him.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I said he had postponed his visit here indefinitely. That is exactly what the newspapers report. The gentleman may know better, but according to my information he is going to Panama instead of seeing Mr. Nehru now.

Let me continue with the quotation: Almost anywhere—

The U. S. News & World Report says—you turn you can find an American base in trouble. - A whole defense network is involved.

Talk of pushing Americans out of Iceland isn't half the story. The United States has its problems in Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere.

Look at the bases from the North Atlantic to the Middle East and you see what is ahead for key outposts of the United States.

I will go along with increased appropriations for the foreign aid program if you will get a program that is really effective. If the administration comes up with a firm foreign policy I will go along with you so long as we have something that is sound, but until you do that I am going to vote to increase our own strength. I think our B-52 program should be stepped up, especially in view of the serious situation with our bases abroad.

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

(Mr. DEVEREUX asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DEVEREUX. Mr. Chairman, I would like to address myself to the point we are considering here this afternoon without getting off the track. I am sorry that many of you were not present when the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] made such an able, clear, and sound presentation of the military section of this bill. His points were so well made that they bear repeating.

First of all, I think we want to consider that this bill is a mutual security bill, not a foreign-aid bill. That speaks for itself.

The next point he made. All we are doing here today is shifting the funding from Army appropriations to this particular bill.

Another point he made that I think is excellent is that presently we do not have the munition reserves built up among our allies abroad, and if we do not build them up, then they will have to rely on our own munition reserves in this country. It is far better to get those reserves to the point where they may be used rather than to jeopardize their delivery. I refer to war conditions when we might not be able to get them abroad in time.

Another point he made, as to the wisdom of the entire program, we must remember that as we build up our friends, we are then able to reduce our forces. We have reduced them by one-third since Korea.

Now, as to the saving in money, I will repeat that point again too, because I think it is most worthwhile. Remember that we can keep foreign troops in the field for one-tenth of what it costs to keep our own troops in the field. As to the saving of manpower I spoke of, remember that as we save military manpower in this country we then channel that manpower into our industry and thereby increase our industrial potential.

Another question that has been brought up is the question about how much is being fed into the pipelines today. I say to you that if we cut off the amount of materials going into the

pipeline, eventually that pipeline will go dry; in other words; we will have a feast and famine situation, off again—on again, a condition that we have largely been able to straighten out so far as our own forces are concerned. Let us make possible orderly planning for our allies.

In conclusion I would simply say that this bill makes possible the defense of our bases overseas which have been such a potent force for the security of the entire free world. These bases have been costly, it is true, but they have been a wise expenditure of money. Let us not jeopardize this large investment which has proven so effective in preventing aggression.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I offer a preferential motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HAYS of Ohio moves that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken out.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I pointed out a little bit ago that it would be possible for the leadership on the minority side to get a record vote on the matter of raising this at least to the amount that was authorized by the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I read in the paper yesterday that the minority leader had said that he preferred not to make a fight of it in the House, when he was talking up at Gettysburg, but the place to put it in was over in the Senate.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARTIN. I did not make any statement arriving at our plans about this bill at Gettysburg. They were determined before we met at Gettysburg.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Well, I am only quoting the press, and you know how sometimes they are not right.

Mr. MARTIN. As a newspaper publisher, I will say you cannot always believe what you see in the press.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. We agree about that, whatever it was, but that would be a possibility. The majority leader, who is a dear friend of mine and for whom I have a great deal of respect, said there was sort of an agreement among the leadership to do this, and that is fine; I am going to go along with him, but I would just like to say to the majority leader—and I hope he will not object—that when the conference report comes back—and mind you, I will support the increase, but I just think for the purpose of the record that we ought to know who supports it.

If I am around here—and I aim to be around when that conference report comes up—I am going to try to have a record vote on it, either by making the request, or objecting to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present, or something of the kind, to find out what people in what party are supporting the President on this.

I was down to the Ohio University yesterday with one of the President's assistants, had been there or 2 days. This was the summer-school program. Someone said, "How is it that Mr. Nixon said what he did about Nehru out in Pakis-

tan?" The President's assistant said, Well, you should have heard what Mr. Nixon said about India at Lafayette, Ind. He said just the opposite. He praised them." And some student said, "Well, Mr. Hays, what do you have to say about that kind of foreign policy?" And I said, "Oh, don't you understand that? That is the dynamic foreign policy we have been hearing so much about. You say something favorable about Mr. Nehru at Lafayette, Ind., where he probably won't hear it, and then you go out to the capital of the country that he considers his most likely enemy and you damn him. That is the dynamic foreign policy."

I supported this program ever since I have been in Congress. The President said, according to the press—and I do not know if that was accurate or not—that he had a notion to take this issue to the country. Well, I surely hope he does, because I am confident that his speech writers will find a way for him to get it in the same speech, but I am going to be interested to see just how they do it, because I cannot figure out how he is going to condemn those people in his own party who voted against this program and continue to vote against it and then have him come forward with that big smile and say, "Give me a Republican Congress to uphold my hands in the next 2 years."

I am sure that they will do that, but it will be a dilly and I can hardly wait to see it happen. I hope that what I read in the paper about that becoming an issue is true and that the President does take the issue to the country. When he does, with whatever limited time I can get on television, I would like to help him call the roll and have him explain just whom does he want elected to Congress and just what does he propose to do if he is reelected? It will be an interesting fall.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the motion.

Mr. Chairman, I indicated in an earlier colloquy with the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] that I regretted very deeply that in this debate this afternoon we have had any mention of partisan politics. This issue, this problem, this program is far too serious for the interjection of politics when we think of the welfare of the country.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HAYS] has indicated that he wants to know who is going to stand up and be counted for this program at the appropriate time. I think the gentleman from Ohio should know, because these are the facts: That within the last week on this issue, in the Subcommittee on Mutual Security of the Committee on Appropriations, 4 out of the 5 votes for a higher figure in military assistance came from the people on our side, and 6 out of 7 votes for the figure that is contained in the bill, the lower figure, came from the people on his side.

In the full committee, last Friday, there were 22 votes in the Committee on Appropriations for a higher figure than is contained here, and 18 out of those 22 votes came from the people on our side of the aisle. Four votes came from the people on his side of the aisle. There

were 24 votes against a higher figure in the full Committee on Appropriations, and 23 out of those 24 votes came from people on that side of the aisle.

Let us talk about the record. Let us look at the record as it was made in this important committee in this body. The record clearly shows that the support for a higher figure for military assistance came from this side, and the support for a lower figure came from that side.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman in all sincerity, and without making any political issue of it, if he thinks or even believes that he can come anywhere near approaching a percentage of support like that on his side on a rollcall, or if he thinks that the percentage on this side will come anywhere near the one he is talking about as being against it, on a roll call. I think it is important to have the votes of the full membership of the House.

Mr. FORD. Yes; but much of this discussion, if not all of the discussion we are having here today, would have been avoided if we could have gotten a little more support on that side in the full Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. I never knew Members on either side in the past to indicate the number of Democrats or Republicans who voted to increase money in the committee.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, this is my time and I refuse to yield because I want to answer the statement made by the gentleman from Louisiana. None of this information would have come up until my very good friend, and he and I see eye to eye on this, interjected the question of politics into this matter.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ROONEY. I want the record to show I did not bring partisan politics into this question. I merely cited certain historical facts in defense of a great many of the gentlemen on the gentleman's side of the aisle who have consistently opposed military assistance.

Mr. FORD. I just wanted to recite even more recent historical facts which I think are very significant to what we are discussing here today.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GAVIN. I just want to take this moment to say that regardless of what anyone may think of our foreign policy let me call to the attention of the Members of the House there are no American boys fighting and dying today. I am thankful to Almighty God that no longer are the lists of our boys killed in action, wounded in action, and missing in action

coming across my desk. So whatever our policy may be, I am for it.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The motion was rejected.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, it has been indicated several times today on both sides of the aisle the number of Democrats who supported the motion to increase the amount in the full committee and the number of Democrats who voted against it. Let us be perfectly fair about this thing. My friends on the left-hand side of the aisle know as well as I do that Members on their side of the aisle voted to increase the amount, even though in reality they are against the bill. They have voted against the bill in the past. They are going to vote against the bill in the future. Their vote to increase this bill was the result of considerable pressure exerted on them from the White House.

While I was presenting this bill to the full committee a member of the committee was called to the telephone. They were exerting pressure up until we voted on this bill. While I was presenting it in the committee they were still trying to get members of the committee to change their vote to increase the amount. I think the membership should know that.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, is there an amendment pending at this time? What is the parliamentary situation?

The CHAIRMAN. Members are speaking on pro forma amendments.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, I think it is about time that the pro forma amendments were withdrawn and we get along with the bill.

The pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Development assistance: For assistance authorized by section 201 (c), for the Near East and Africa in accordance with section 201 (a) (1), \$60,000,000; and for Asia in accordance with section 201 (a) (2), \$70,000,000;

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. GAVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I noted the criticism which was directed at the Vice President relative to his recent remark. It is not necessary for me to make my position plain on foreign aid programs.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania yield for that purpose?

Mr. GAVIN. I do not yield, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I might make my position plain—everybody knows how I voted on foreign aid over the years and my position is the same today. However, there are some phases

which, in my opinion, are irrelevant to this debate that have been injected into this discussion that would have been better left unsaid. Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to say I think the Vice President is turning in a magnificent performance as our Ambassador in the many places he has visited around the world. He has created good will and made a tremendous impression for good wherever he has stopped. It is about time that we showed some American spirit and energetically expressed ourselves to these various countries so that they know how we are actually thinking. So long as we are going to dole out these tremendous sums of money—not with my vote—we certainly have a right to let them understand our position. Certainly we are entitled to express our opinions to these various recipients who have been receiving these benefits for many, many years. I am also tired, I want to say, of hearing about the Communist threat. The Communist threat—what do we have to fear as far as the Communists are concerned? I ask you that. Every time there is any legislation presented, whether it is for aircraft production or whether it is for foreign aid—we hear the Communist threat brought up as a buildup to pass the legislation. I think they are overestimated. We should recognize the fact that the Communists, if they did start trouble, would have to fight through Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, and East Germany, and let me tell you, my friends, those people are just waiting for an opportunity to break loose. Look what happened in Poland in their very backyard and the courageous Poles had but little to support them. But they did have the courage to stand up to the Communists. In my estimation the Communists are not going to start any trouble. Let us hear no more in these legislative discussions about the Communist threat. It is time we took a very definite stand. I would like to see a rehabilitation of the spirit of Americanism, the spirit of the pioneers that built this great country of ours. They had the courage to stand up when necessary to do so. Why every time there is a breeze wafted from the Kremlin we tremble with fear about the Communists and what might happen to the world. Right now they have plenty to look after in their own backyard. We should have no fear about the Communists. We have always taken care of ourselves in the past and will continue to do so in the future. The world looks to us for leadership. Let us stand up for our convictions and let us be determined to see that peace and stability are restored to the war-torn world rather than trying to conciliate with the element in control of the Kremlin. So, my colleagues, when the Vice President stood up and sounded off the other day it was gratifying to me because I said to myself, "At least ye have one courageous American who is standing up to this communistic element in the foreign countries and expressing forcefully that no longer are we Americans going to take everything that is pitched at us without letting them know our feelings

in these matters. For years we have been carrying on programs to feed, finance, and equip and send our boys over to do the fighting when necessary, so certainly the time has come to do some plain, understandable talking to these people. Let us show some of that spirit of the American pioneers. Let them know we are and have been willing to do our part to bring peace and stability to the world, however, that we expect a lot of cooperation from those to whom we have been granting assistance. So I think it is time for some very definite and plain talking.

Let us keep the Communist threat talk and all of these political aspersions out of the debate, determine whether we think the foreign aid program is a wise investment of the American taxpayers' money or not and take such action as the House may decide is for the best interest of the Nation.

(Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Chairman, I regret that from what has already been said, some of us will not apparently be afforded the opportunity to vote our true convictions on this appropriation bill. If afforded that opportunity, I would support and vote for restoration of the cuts in the military assistance funds. Also, if afforded the opportunity, I will vote to reduce the so-called defense support and other elements of economic foreign aid. As far as I can determine, defense support is just another name for economic foreign aid.

Last year when this bill was before us for consideration I was frustrated by the fact that there was no way to separate the wheat from the chaff. I am again confronted with the same situation. I agree with what seems to be the recommendation of both the executive and legislative branches that a detailed study of this program should be undertaken by the Congress. I sincerely hope that as a result of that study military assistance will be separated and placed in a separate bill from foreign aid in the conventional sense. From my conversation with various Members, I believe that this would be of substantial assistance to the membership of the House in permitting us to vote our true convictions.

I agree with most of the skepticism that has been expressed on the floor of this House with regard to the necessity and effectiveness of our continuing foreign economic aid program. There are some parts of it which I believe have some merit, but as I stated last year, the program should be designed to encourage other nations of the free world to stand with us rather than to lean upon us. One thing has not been mentioned which to my mind condemns this program further. In my short service in Congress it has been my experience that this foreign giveaway program costs us many, many times over what we actually appropriate for it. It is repeatedly used, and too often successfully so, by proponents of unjustified domestic expenditures to obtain authorizations and appropriations on the basis that "if, after all, we can afford to give it away overseas

we should not criticize a giveaway to a part of our own people." I do not believe that we can suddenly cut off this foreign-aid program, but I do believe that we should taper it off in an orderly fashion so as to drastically reduce it to a minimum program in a matter of a very short period of time. I do not believe that this Government can justify taxing its people to the breaking point for this foreign giveaway program.

When it comes to military assistance that is an entirely different matter and the two subjects should not even be considered in the same bill. I have the greatest admiration and respect for our President. I certainly defer to his judgment when it comes to this matter of military requirements of this country and military assistance to our friends in the free world, whether it be NATO, SEATO, or otherwise. That judgment in this instance is supported by the combined judgments of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and those who work with them. More important, I think the effectiveness of that program was proved in Korea during the Korean war. Need I recall to your memory the accounts of the effectiveness of the forces of our ally, Turkey, or other of the nations to which we render this military assistance. The development of the South Korean Army meant that our boys could return home. I am impressed with the arguments, and I agree with them, as to the value of this program from the standpoint of the taxpayers. I agree that it is true mutual security at a price to the taxpayers of less than what the cost would be without it. More important even than that, I believe that it contributes to the security of our own country. I do not believe that American boys can or should be expected to shoulder the whole burden in the event of another conflict. Of even greater importance, I believe that a well-armed free world is, for the present, our best assurance that such a conflict can be avoided without a loss of our way of life.

I have a very high regard for the committee that has considered this bill and the members of the subcommittee. I have listened carefully to this debate and have read the committee reports. I am impressed with the arguments of those who seek to sustain the cuts. But for the life of me, I am unable to reconcile the cuts that have been made with the arguments presented. The objections are principally directed to the appropriations for foreign economic aid and considerable praise is given to the military assistance program. On the other hand, the military assistance program is cut drastically and the economic aid is left virtually intact. As I understand it, of the total cut of \$1,406,000,000 made from the President's request, \$1,236,000,000 is taken from the military assistance program, which I consider to be the worthwhile feature of the bill. Even if I were to question the military assistance part of the bill, I would certainly defer to the judgment of our President and our present military leaders under the circumstances. Contrary to the predictions made here today, I hope that I am permitted to vote to restore these military assistance funds to the request made by

the President in the interests of the security of the United States. If such an opportunity is afforded, I intend to so vote.

On the other hand, as I have previously indicated, in this bill we are purposely mixing the wheat with the chaff. To separate the wheat from the chaff, I, with equal sincerity, hope that some member of the committee who is in agreement with my position will offer an amendment to further reduce the foreign economic aid funds. Although the arguments of the majority of the committee apply to these funds to justify a cut, the bill as reported by the committee and as shown by the committee report recommends an appropriation of over \$1,735,000,000 for foreign economic aid. Instead of a cut, this is an increase of more than \$25 million over what was provided last year. A first-term Member, not a member of the committee, hardly has the necessary information and background to propose such an amendment himself. However, I will certainly support any such reasonable amendment that is offered.

Those of us who wish to restore the military assistance to the amount requested by the President, but wish to oppose the amount provided for foreign economic aid, are placed in a difficult position as far as voting our convictions. For my part, if an amendment is offered to restore the military-assistance funds to the amount requested by the President, I intend to support and vote for such an amendment, but unless amendments are offered and adopted to substantially reduce the foreign economic aid program, I intend to vote against the bill on final passage in protest to the continually rising expenditures for this purpose which I consider entirely unjustified just as I voted against the authorization legislation on final passage this year, and the appropriation on its final passage in the last session. Again, may I say that I sincerely hope that as a result of the study that is apparently to be undertaken, these programs will be separated in future legislation so that the Members of the House who believe as I do, and I believe that there are substantial numbers of us, will be afforded an opportunity to express our true positions.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, we have generated a lot of heat in this debate. I am wondering if we are emphasizing to too great an extent the question of appropriating money rather than emphasizing the necessity for spending it properly.

As I look at the record, we have been away ahead on appropriations, and we have been away behind on performance.

We have in the pipelines today, according to the record, which is not disputed, sufficient money to operate this program for 2 years. I think we ought to take a look for a moment to find out where we are going.

What is the situation among our allies and those who are receiving aid from us?

We have referred a number of times to the NATO organization. Well, certainly it is a paper organization today. We are going to be kicked out of Iceland, unfortunately. In Britain they are going to call off conscription. They are reducing taxes. In France, the French Army, which incidentally is on the right flank of our own troops, is in North Africa. There is great doubt as to what West Germany will do. This is the situation after the United States has spent more than \$50 billion. The situation is not encouraging for us. But, here we are, appropriating again, and we are being asked to increase the appropriation when, as I say, there is serious doubt about the success of the program.

The American people are away ahead of Congress on this proposition. We are bound to hear from them in the fall campaign.

Is there something wrong with this mutual security law? There must be serious doubt that it is working. In the Senate they have authorized an appropriation of \$300,000 to investigate this program. In the House, in our own committee, we have voted to set up a study committee. The President has suggested a reappraisal of this program. I understand, if I read this report right, that the Appropriations Committee is considering an investigation. In view of the temper of the people, and of the Congress especially, I wonder whether or not our people are going to support us when we say we want another \$4 billion, when we already have more than we can spend today. When this bill is adopted there will be more than \$10 billion in the program. This is irresponsible financing.

I do not think this is a matter of partisan politics. It never has been treated as such in our own committee. My friends on the right today of course are critical, but I ask you in all fairness, is there much difference in the foreign policy that your administration followed and that now being followed by the Republican administration? Not much, Mr. Chairman.

But you say today, "We can do a better job." Well, maybe you can. The future will take care of that.

What I would like to see the President say to the Congress and to the American people today is, "We have enough money in the pipelines to operate the program for 2 years. Now let us get to this question of reappraising." We can do that reappraisal job between now and next spring, and by March 1, 1957, the new Congress can take under consideration the question of whether or not we are justified in view of the world situation again to ask the taxpayers to assume an additional burden of \$4 billion.

I believe that if the President were to make such a suggestion it would electrify the American people. It would also serve notice on some of our weak-kneed friends abroad that the American people are for the first time in 10 years going to look into this situation.

The Clerk read as follows:

United Nations expanded program of technical assistance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a), which shall consti-

tute the total United States contribution through December 31, 1957, \$10,000,000;

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I brought back from my service as a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly last year some rather clear impressions regarding the relationship of our technical assistance program to the technical assistance program of the United Nations. I wish to share those impressions with the House, and I am confident that they are the same as those of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW] with whom I had the honor to serve. I do not intend to take the time of the House this afternoon for a full presentation of the problem of maintaining an efficient technical assistance program.

Mr. Chairman, the budget request for the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Program is for \$15½ million and the authorization is for the same amount. The pending bill carries only \$10 million for this item, a cut of more than one-third. Mr. Chairman, I trust that what the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] has said with reference to hope for an increase in military aid resulting from Conference Committee action will apply to this item. There is a danger that the focusing of attention upon the larger items may tend to obscure the tremendous importance of the technical assistance programs, both of our own bilateral program and that of the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman I respectfully take issue with the language of the report which attempts to justify the large percentage cut in the technical assistance item for the U. N. Actually it is very much in our national interest for the U. N. program to carry a larger share of the financial burden.

Contrasted with this is the recommendation of around \$140 million for our own technical assistance projects. We should not regard these programs as competitive. Both are extremely helpful in the effort to achieve a greater degree of stability for the world and enhance the well being of vast populations which look to the United States and other free nations for help.

During the sessions of the 1955 general assembly I had an opportunity to study the work of the technical assistance agency. It is impressive. Several of our fellow countrymen and others trained in our own institutions are in policy-determining positions, and the U. N. program supplements our own. It contributes a service in coordination and counseling that no single nation could supply. As a result of the information and skills acquired by the United Nations, such operational agencies as the World Health Organization, and Food and Agricultural Organization are able to conserve resources and avoid overlapping services. It is an invaluable ad-

junct to the technical assistance program.

During the last 6 years 78 countries have pledged over \$142 million to the special account by which the expanded program is financed. This has made it possible to recruit experts from 77 countries and to make use of the facilities of 105 countries and territories to provide training in various forms. It may safely be said that never before have the resources of so many countries been mobilized for a worldwide cooperative enterprise.

Some 131 countries and territories have been helped. Since the inception of the program in 1950, some 5,000 experts have served in capacities ranging from advice on a narrow technical problem to assistance in the formulation of overall national economic and social plans. Over 10,000 fellowships have been awarded for study abroad, ranging from on-the-job training in industrial enterprises to long-term study at advanced educational institutions. Equipment and supplies amounting to about \$10 million have been provided as part of approved projects. Technical assistance projects may range from a single expert spending a few months in a country advising on the solution of specific technical problems in an individual enterprise, or a single fellow studying a particular manufacturing process or administrative technique, to a large regional training center combining many forms of assistance over a period of years.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I trust that the Congress will stand by the commitment of \$15½ million that our Government has already made for the 1957 U. N. budget for technical assistance.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman may extend his remarks.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration: For contributions author-

ized by section 405 (a), \$12,500,000: *Provided*, That no funds appropriated in this act shall be used to assist directly in the migration to any nation in the Western Hemisphere of any person not having a security clearance based on reasonable standards to insure against Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere;

(Mr. CHRISTOPHER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point.)

Mr. CHRISTOPHER. Mr. Chairman, I listened with a great deal of interest to the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK], whom I consider to be the most able speaker on the left-hand side of this aisle. He kept saying, "Let me remind the Members on the right-hand side of the aisle," referring of course, to the Democrats. Now, Mr. Chairman, let me remind my distinguished and able colleague and other Members on the left-hand side of the aisle.

First, I would remind those Republican Members who seem so disturbed for fear the House will not pass an appropriation large enough to carry on our foreign-aid program, that I have always supported this type of legislation, both when Harry S. Truman of Missouri was President of the United States, and also now, when Dwight D. Eisenhower is President, and I assure my colleagues that I shall sustain the committee today, a committee which has worked hard and diligently for many weeks to perfect this bill and bring it to the floor.

With a carryover from previous appropriations amounting to almost \$7 billion added to the amount the committee seeks to appropriate under this bill, the foreign-aid program need not be crippled in any way. Many of the nations this appropriation is designed to assist are now spending a much smaller percentage of their gross national income and a smaller percent of their total government expenditures for defense than we are. Statistics shown in the following table proves this to be the case:

	Percent of gross national product spent on defense			Percent of total government expenditures spent on defense		
	1953	1954	1955	1953	1954	1955
Belgium-Luxembourg.....	5.9	6.6	4.5	21.7	23.9	20.3
Denmark.....	2.9	3.9	3.2	19.6	26.0	20.7
France.....	10.5	10.4	7.8	37.7	36.8	29.3
Germany (Federal Republic).....	6.4	6.0	(¹)	22.7	21.2	(¹)
Greece.....	7.1	7.1	6.3	32.1	30.2	30.0
Italy.....	4.6	4.5	4.4	20.6	20.5	21.6
Netherlands.....	5.3	6.7	5.9	20.0	24.7	23.1
Norway.....	4.7	5.2	4.9	25.0	27.3	28.6
Portugal.....	3.7	4.0	4.2	31.5	33.3	31.0
Spain.....	4.1	4.3	4.3	37.5	35.1	29.3
Turkey.....	6.2	6.9	5.7	40.0	40.0	35.2
United Kingdom.....	11.0	10.6	9.4	35.5	36.9	35.2
Yugoslavia.....	18.5	16.2	11.6	79.6	80.0	77.5
United States.....	13.8	13.2	10.9	67.3	67.8	62.9

¹ Not available.

This foreign-aid program for the extension of which we are providing funds today is only an extension of the Marshall plan and former President Tru-

man's point 4 program. It was begun in 1945. The next table, the source of which is the Office of Business Economics, United States Department of

Commerce, shows the money that has been spent for foreign aid, military and economic, between 1945 and 1956:

Foreign-aid funds paid out during the post-war period from July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1956, and foreign-aid funds available from July 1, 1955, to date¹

	Million
Grants paid out July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1955.....	\$41,842
Grants unexpended as of June 30, 1955.....	8,700
Appropriations provided for fiscal year 1956.....	2,703
Total grants.....	53,245
Less: Returns on grants to June 30, 1955.....	1,493
Net aid in grants.....	51,752
Loans paid out July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1955.....	12,117
Grants converted to loans and not included in grants above.....	2,256
Loans authorized but not paid out June 30, 1955.....	2,433
Total loans.....	16,806
Less: Principal collected on loans to June 30, 1955.....	3,386
Net aid in loans.....	13,420
Total net aid.....	65,172

¹Source: Office of Business Economics, U. S. Department of Commerce.

This is the first time in the history of the world that immense amounts of money, goods and services have been given by one nation to many other nations in the hope that it would strengthen the desire for peace in the world, to raise the standard of living for underprivileged peoples, and bring closer the time when nation would no longer go to war with nation, and there would come an end to the slaughter, misery, debt and degradation that are a part of every national conflict.

This foreign-aid program is a child of the Democratic Party and so long as a Democratic administration was in control of the Government, a very great majority of the Members on the left-hand side of the aisle opposed it. I would like to say at this point that this administration in a period of 3½ years has accomplished something that all the Democrats in the United States could not have accomplished in a century. I want to compliment the Members on the left-hand side of the aisle for their part in this great achievement. During the 20 years in which the Democrats were in control of the executive branch of the Government, a period that has been referred to in some quarters as "20 years of treason," there were enacted the greatest program of liberal legislation ever known to the world. It has been referred to as the New Deal and the Fair Deal, a part of which was the Marshall Plan and former President Truman's program for economic assistance.

Those programs were criticized and vilified at the time of their enactment, and that criticism and vilification did not cease until after the Republican victory in 1952. But now this administration has made all of this array of Democratic legislation respectable by accepting and espousing it. Reading the re-

marks of Republican Members as they appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of the past would indicate that they considered these Democratic legislative programs illegitimate, born without benefit of clergy, but now that these measures are grown into beautiful, charming ladies and stalwart, respectable men, Republicans are seeking to claim them, and I would warn my colleagues on the right-hand side of this aisle that in the not too distant future, Republicans will be claiming the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the Marshall plan, and the point 4 programs were all conceived, sponsored, and brought into being by the Republican Party. I hope the House will sustain the committee.

In closing, I want to note that many of our needy veterans, especially those of World War II and prior wars, are without assistance and a pension for them is opposed by the Bureau of the Budget and the President.

This House did not see fit to pass any legislation which would help to educate the children of our own country, though I am sure there is not a Member of this House who does not realize the need for Federal aid for our schools has been a grave and pressing need for many years. When we passed the highway bill, we re-taxed ourselves to pay the cost. Some Members of the House worked themselves into a frenzy over the postal deficit. We appropriate little money for the internal needs of our country, and what we do appropriate seems to be with hesitancy and much reluctance, therefore, any attempt to raise the amount the committee has recommended should be voted down.

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mrs. BLITCH asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Chairman, in rising to speak on this bill I rise as an American citizen, not a Democrat, not a Republican. I love the Democratic Party; I am a Democrat, but I disagree many times with people on my side of the aisle. Members on the other side of the aisle are great Americans just as are those over here; there is disagreement amongst them also as to how this program should be developed or should be carried out.

But this bill is such a serious thing that I think it is most inappropriate for either the minority whip, the gentleman from New York, or anybody—whether it has been done or not—to inject politics into this discussion; it is too serious. I doubt if we have ever been on the threshold of a more serious time in American life than we are right today. We have an election year, for one thing, and we have a great former general who has just again offered himself as a candidate for reelection to the Presidency. Our Republican friends have that burden upon them and they will have to follow through with it the best they can.

There is also quite a burden on the right-hand side of the aisle with reference to getting a nominee that we can back with all the assurance that we would like to.

The main thing that I am trying to get over to this body now is that this situation is too serious for us to quarrel about among ourselves. When you get down to rock bottom, we are all patriots, we are all true Americans.

Mr. Chairman, if I thought for one moment that spending dollars would secure the American people from future slaughters and would prevent our boys and girls from participating in future wars, I would be here offering a bill to manufacture dollars for this purpose. I would have the Printing Office start printing dollars as fast as it could. But, Mr. Chairman, that is not going to solve the situation.

I do not believe that in the days of the Revolution and in the days previous to the Revolution that the backbone of the people of the United States would have remained rigid, so much so that we could stand up against an enemy, if we had been stultified by France or other nations saying we would be taken care of so that we would not have to worry about those hard problems that we faced at that time and did not have to figure them out for ourselves. I think our forebears had to suffer before they could long for and appreciate freedom to the extent that they would defy the Crown for freedom.

The 36 countries included in this bill to receive military and economic aid have to do something for themselves. I stated on the floor of this House the other day that we in Georgia did not want any gifts from the richer States of the Union insofar as Federal education is concerned. I do not think these foreign nations want a largess any more than the United States. I do believe they want to stand on their own feet for a while without being put in the position of a poor country cousin, who in accepting material favors from his wealthy city cousin feels that he must accept also the opinions and advice of his city cousin whether he wanted to or not.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to be forced to vote against this bill in its entirety because there is too much money already obligated that has not been spent so if dire consequences were to be the result of the bill's defeat, that money that has piled up in this fund over the years will take care of any emergency that might arise before the Congress meets again. We cannot continue throwing good money after bad just hoping that it will save us. It will not. It is up to the people of the different countries, including the United States of America, to assume some responsibility for themselves. The philosophy of recent years so far as so-called mutual security is concerned has not only undermined the spirit of the people in these foreign countries but it has undermined the spirit of the people of this Nation and even of the Congress itself because so many people have adopted the attitude that if we go ahead with this program, it will save us, and we do not have to use our imagination, to devise any other program. We should adopt a foreign policy that we can follow. However, the worst part of it is that we are lulling ourselves, the Members of

this Congress, who are charged with providing for the Nation's defense, into a false sense of security. We cannot afford to do that. The American people cannot afford to have us do it.

Mr. Chairman, hard thinking on our parts would bring us to the inevitable conclusion that we are no longer going to follow blindly Members who cannot explain this program themselves, who do not know what it is all about. And I know that I can't follow it, just because the President has called for it. The unfortunate President has been seriously ill for nearly a year. I can't be convinced that he speaks alone from his own carefully considered judgment.

This bill will pass. There are not enough of us in opposition to it to kill it. But Mr. Chairman perhaps the "noes" will be in increase over those of last year. I surely hope so, because in my humble opinion the American people are utterly sick and tired of this program both from a tax standpoint and the fact that it has lost so completely its effectiveness.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FEIGHAN: On page 3, line 18, after the colon, strike out the remainder of line 18 and lines 19, 20, 21, and 22, and insert the following: "Provided, That no funds appropriated in this act shall be used to assist directly or indirectly in the migration to any nation of any person not having a full-scale field investigation and a security clearance based thereon to insure against Communist infiltration in the free world."

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment merely would provide the same security regulations and provisions for migrants coming from the Far East as are now in effect for migrants coming from Europe. This provides that there shall be a full-scale security investigation and a security clearance based thereon before any of the American taxpayers' funds can be used to transport them to some thirty-odd countries of the free world from Red China. The people whom we are transporting by the use of American taxpayers' funds are coming from Red China, most of them in possession of valid passports issued by the U. S. S. R. and having in their possession exit permits issued by the Red Chinese.

Now, this amendment would in no way curtail the movement of migrants from Europe as is going on at the present time. It would only apply the same security procedure. It would not in any way affect the marvelous work that is being done by the International Cooperation Administration and the volunteer agencies such as the self-help projects, low-cost housing, child-feeding programs, and the relocation projects. It will not in any way affect any other nation which may want to accept any of these people without a full-scale security risk if the want to pay the bill themselves. As an example, Brazil, which is a member of ICEM, has discontinued taking any of these so-called White Russian migrants

from China because of the sad experience of taking one of them into their country and later they learned that his previous assignment had been Communist security officer in the Red Polish Embassy in Peking. Subsequently, they found other Russian Communists in Brazil, and they have discontinued this program. Canada, or any other nation, if they so choose to pay the expenses of these people coming into their countries, is perfectly free to do that, but I think they should pay for their own folly and the United States taxpayers' fund should not be used for that purpose. I cannot see for the life of me how anyone would oppose a full-scale security investigation of migrants in the Far East as is required and now being done in Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that this amendment will be adopted.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this is an appropriation bill that we have under consideration. This amendment was submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and it is my understanding that they turned the amendment down. Inasmuch as we are dealing with an appropriation bill, and have not had an opportunity to go into the full impact of the amendment, and I am going to oppose it.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Did I not appear before you and the other distinguished members of the committee?

Mr. PASSMAN. My distinguished friend from Ohio did appear before our committee. I was not unfriendly at the time, but it developed later that it had been submitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and they turned it down for good and sufficient reasons. Several of my own subcommittee did not feel, inasmuch as we are dealing with an appropriation bill, that we should get into something in the nature of legislative policy.

Mr. FEIGHAN. The gentleman mentioned a good and sufficient reason. I have heard not one single good or sufficient reason advanced to justify the use of American taxpayers' funds to pay the transportation costs of people some of whom have already been proven to be Communist agents infiltrating the free world.

Mr. PASSMAN. Would not the gentleman agree that this should be taken care of in the legislative committee and not in the Committee on Appropriations? We are dealing here with money matters. When you get into language of this kind you go beyond the realm of appropriations. I do not know whose hands would be tied trying to administer the act that we are passing today.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PASSMAN. I yield.

Mr. FEIGHAN. My amendment provides a change only of about 2 or 3 words in the present language on page 3, beginning on line 18 and running through line 22. You already have in this bill a requirement for security investigation,

Mr. PASSMAN. I am not opposing the gentleman's objectives or intentions. My objection to his amendment is simply that we are here dealing with money matters and the impact of the gentleman's amendment may be such that those administering the law would find their hands tied, perhaps the State Department or the President.

Mr. FEIGHAN. It could not tie anyone's hands. It would merely let them know that Congress had determined that we will not permit the use of the taxpayers' funds to keep open the door to a breach of security of the free world.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry the distinguished gentleman from Ohio did not persuade the Committee on Foreign Affairs to accept his amendment. I have no quarrel with the purpose or the intent of the gentleman's amendment. As I have already said, we are dealing here with money matters.

When we include such language in a bill of this kind, we may find that we have gone too far afield.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it is important to remember whom we are dealing with in this amendment. The people who are being moved are being moved to South America, Australia, and Canada. Six came to the United States. All of these people are so-called White Russians. They are people who have been in China for many years, most of them too old to render any assistance at all to the Communist Government in Russia. That is why they are still in China.

The documents they have are documents that have been issued by the Chinese Government because all evidence of identity was lifted by the Communists when they took over the Chinese Government.

I know about this situation. I went to Hong Kong and conducted an investigation for 2 days. Mr. Chairman, I assure you that a thorough screening is being made of these people. It seems to me that we run the risk of offending our friends when we tell them what standards of security they must employ, particularly in view of the fact that they are now employing the same standards that have been employed under the Displaced Persons Act, the Refugee Relief Act, and under the basic Immigration and Nationality Code of the United States.

I do not think it is good business to offend anybody at this time when we have too few friends. Mr. Chairman, I urge the Committee to vote down this amendment.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALTER. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman failed inadvertently, of course, to mention the fact that in addition to these people being in possession of an exit permit issued by the Chinese Government, they also have a passport issued by the U. S. S. R. Further, the gentleman should recall that the ICA had written a report to our committee in which they said no security investigation

is made on these people because none is possible on the mainland of China.

Mr. WALTER. I do not think the gentleman ought to talk about the screening that is being done in China. We, of course, cannot do it. We have no diplomatic relations. But I assure the gentleman that it is being done and it is being done as thoroughly as is the case in Europe with respect to the refugees who are coming to this country.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, only fools rush in where angels fear to tread. I am certainly not an angel. I hope and trust and pray that I am not altogether a fool, though there are many people who disagree with me.

No Member of Congress was ever defeated by the speech he did not make; therefore, I perhaps would do well to remain seated. But my seat had been hot and I have been boiling over, and though realizing that discretion is the better part of valor I feel constrained to say just 1 or 2 things. Certainly I never hunt trouble. Enough of it comes my way without my solicitation of it or hunting it.

I have heard on this floor from time to time considerable demagoguery. Though I do not want to be unkind to any man, I think almost a new low level has been struck here today by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANHAM] when he made strictly a partisan speech and when he misstated that the President of the United States has refused to see Nehru. That is just not so. It is not the truth!

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LANHAM. I stated that his meeting with Nehru had been indefinitely postponed. If I made any other statement, I withdraw it. I have looked through my remarks here and I do not see any such statement.

Mr. SHORT. The gentleman very distinctly stated that the President had refused to see Nehru. If he is willing to withdraw that remark, I am willing to accept it and apologize to the gentleman. Now, that is settled.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. Yes, I am glad to yield.

Mr. HALLECK. It would seem to me that the gentleman from Georgia might well withdraw some of his other remarks. He talks about having no foreign policy, that we were losing bases all over the world and apparently losing our strength all over the world. But I observed that when Mr. Truman came back from his European trip he said this:

I leave Europe convinced that the free nations of the West are in a much better position today to meet the threat of the Russians than they have been at any time since the war. They are in a far better position actually and relatively than they were when the Korean affair began just 6 years ago.

So it would seem to me that, quoting as they do President Truman as the authority, that statement coming from him would indicate that things have been

going fairly well in recent years as far as the defensive strength of our friends and allies is concerned.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. SHORT. My time is so limited; I would like to proceed.

Mr. LANHAM. The gentleman referred to my statement as demagoguery.

Mr. SHORT. I certainly want to be fair to the gentleman. It was demagoguery.

Mr. LANHAM. Unless the gentleman withdraws that statement I would have to ask that the words be taken down. I was stating my belief as to the poverty of the present foreign policy, and I think I was right.

Mr. SHORT. I do not know how the gentleman from Georgia has voted in the years gone by on foreign aid.

Mr. LANHAM. I have always voted for foreign aid.

Mr. SHORT. Yes, but today he is voting against it.

Mr. LANHAM. If the gentleman wants to make a partisan statement—

Mr. SHORT. The gentleman refuses to yield. The gentleman from Georgia has been here long enough to know the rules of the House. And the gentleman is wrong. He must know he is wrong.

Mr. LANHAM. The gentleman made a statement that is not correct. I said I am voting for it today. I said if you had an effective policy.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I insist that the gentleman's words be taken down.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw the request. The gentleman said he did not mean to reflect upon me in making the statement that my speech had been demagogic. I do not think my record in the House would sustain any such charge, but I am not going to ask that the words be taken down.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order that the gentleman's request is too late anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Missouri will proceed.

Mr. SHORT. We know how the gentleman from Georgia has voted over the years gone by on foreign aid. He has voted for it, but today he is voting against it.

Mr. LANHAM. No; that is not correct.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield. Evidently, the gentleman from Missouri, my distinguished friend, did not hear the gentleman from Georgia when he said he was voting for foreign aid and has always voted for it.

Mr. SHORT. And he is going to vote for this bill? How can he oppose it and yet vote for it? The gentleman is agile—to say the least. Then let the gentleman from Missouri say to the gentleman that the gentleman from Missouri has always voted against it and he is voting against it today. He may be wrong, but he is at least consistently wrong. Why does the gentleman from Georgia raise this fuss?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield.

Mr. MARTIN. While we are talking about inaccuracies by the gentleman from Georgia, I want to say that the gentleman from Georgia made a false statement when he said that Robert Montgomery was training me or anything else.

Mr. SHORT. There is always room for improvement with any of us. I need him and would like to have him. I cannot afford it. I am doing very well.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

(By unanimous consent (at the request of Mr. GAVIN) Mr. SHORT was given permission to proceed for 5 additional minutes.)

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield.

Mr. GAVIN. I appreciate the position that the gentleman has taken on the bill, and he knows my position too for the past 10 or more years. I want to call attention, and I believe I am correct and the gentleman can correct me if I am not, that the gentleman from Georgia said the B-47 is obsolete.

Mr. SHORT. It is one of the best planes that we have with a speed of 525 miles an hour.

Mr. GAVIN. That is a statement. I was wondering where all the champions of the Air Force were when the gentleman from Georgia said the B-47's were obsolete.

Mr. SHORT. It is the best intermediary bomber we have at the present time. Nothing can match it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if I may proceed, I have never believed that you could buy friendship. Friendship that has to be purchased is not worth trusting or worth having. We know that from our families, let alone from foreign peoples. I know that the Soviets with the false face and this new smile that they are wearing is absolute subterfuge. It is deceit, mockery and trickery which Stalin and Lenin in his works frankly stated that they would stoop to at any time in order to reach their goal. The one thing the Soviets are hoping for more than anything else today is that America will spend herself into bankruptcy because a bankrupt nation never licked anybody and never will. They are hoping we knock ourselves out by our own profligacy. You cannot have military might without economic strength. The thing that has deterred Soviet aggression more than the hydrogen bomb or the atomic bomb is America's industrial might and her productive capacity. They know that as well as we know it.

Now I think if these funds contained in the bill for foreign military aid were placed in our military budget under the proper committee of this House, we would not have all of this furor and dissension and division of opinion among the Members on either side of the aisle. I hope that in the future that can be accomplished.

Some attacks have been made here upon the Vice President of the United States. I know there are certain people

that hate his intestines because he convicted their fair-haired boy, Alger Hiss. I know there are others who despise him because he hits hard and where it hurts, but I want to say that in the 24 years I have served in this House—and Dick Nixon was no particular or close or intimate friend of mine when he served in this body—that I watched him closely and I can truthfully state that no man I have served with in Congress during these 24 years has grown in stature, maturity, and judgment more than Dick Nixon. He has been the best ambassador of good will we have had in this country.

I can well understand the fears that haunt my friends on the right side of the aisle. They know that with Ike and Dick the jig is up. We feel sorry for you. You cannot beat them any way you try. We welcome this coming election in November. During the months of September and October we will be back in the hustings battling with you to see that we have a Republican victory.

Mr. DIES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHORT. I yield.

Mr. DIES. I am glad to see the gentleman deplores the injection of politics into this debate.

Mr. SHORT. Only he who raises it will be laid low. We will wait until November with high confidence and unshaking faith that the victory will be won. You have started it; we will finish it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] has again expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. FEIGHAN) there were—ayes 4, noes 54.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000;

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Gross: On page 4, strike out all of lines 18, 19, and 20.

(Mr. GROSS asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment would strike out the language which reads as follows:

Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000.

That refers specifically to the Battle Act, which was enacted by Congress in 1951. I supported the legislation that brought about that act. But the Battle Act has become a deadletter in the law. We are maintaining a staff over in the International Cooperation Administration to enforce this act, and there is no enforcement. A week or so ago representatives of the ICA appeared before the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and at that time I asked these people

to cite me one instance in which the penalties or sanctions under the Battle Act have been imposed since the law became effective. Not one single case was cited, and I invite any Member here on the floor, any member of the Appropriations or any other committee, to tell me at what time and under what circumstances the Battle Act had been enforced.

The Battle Act provides, very briefly, that any nation which sells strategic materials to Soviet Russia or Iron Curtain countries shall be deprived of aid from this country.

Again, I invite any Member to stand up and tell me when it has been enforced, when the President of the United States has ever enforced the Battle Act.

I have here a copy of the London News Chronicle under date of June 5, 1956, in which the headline reads "Rubber for China. Britain Acts Without United States. Many Exports From Empire."

Then it goes on to state:

Britain, without waiting for American approval has given the go-ahead signal for exports of vital supplies of rubber to Communist China.

All the colonial governments have been told they may resume 'reasonable' shipments of rubber and other raw materials which until now have been banned to the Chinese, but freely sold to Russia.

Britain has been freely selling rubber to Russia.

The article continues:

This gives Britain and the Commonwealth a big opportunity of stepping up East-West trade. It may lead to the shipment of many forms of machinery, chemicals, and some nonferrous metals.

Already a sample order of more than 60 tractors has been sent from Britain to China.

Exports of rubber have been resumed, because it was considered ridiculous to continue the embargo while the independent Ceylon Government was freely shipping rubber to China above the world price.

Also it states:

Russia has been buying Malayan rubber on the Singapore market since March. It is believed that some of this rubber has been passed on to China.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield.

Mr. YATES. Is the gentleman in favor of enforcing the Battle Act?

Mr. GROSS. I certainly am.

Mr. YATES. How can the Battle Act be enforced if the gentleman's amendment prevails?

Mr. GROSS. Let me say to the gentleman that the Battle Act is not going to be enforced, because the British, French, and others have frankly admitted they were selling strategic materials to Russia and other Communist countries, and the President held it to be in our self-interest to overlook the shipments and not invoke the penalties of the Battle Act. So it will not be enforced. I simply do not see the sense of putting more than \$1 million in the bill to enforce a dead letter in the law. That is what it has amounted to and that is what it will continue to amount to. I want to save the taxpayers just a little bit of money, if that is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. GROSS) there were—ayes 29, noes 68.

So the amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this act nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result of assistance under this or any other act shall be used to make payments on account of the principal or interest on any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; nor shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country to make payment on such debts: *Provided, however,* That to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section 142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed purpose consistent with the provisions of such act.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENTLEY: Page 6, after line 24, a new section as follows:

"SEC. 105. None of the funds appropriated in this act shall be used to supply assistance to Yugoslavia."

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan close in 12 minutes, the gentleman to have his full 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, there are 3 or 4 of us who would like to get 5 minutes sometime during the day if we can?

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the amendment close in 15 minutes, the gentleman from Michigan to have 5 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, still reserving the right to object, does the gentleman expect to finish this bill tonight?

Mr. PASSMAN. We expect to finish the bill and go home.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. And get a vote on it?

Mr. PASSMAN. We intend to.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana that all debate be limited to 15 minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Chairman, this question of assistance to Yugoslavia, of course, has been debated over the past days, the past weeks, the past months, and even the past years. It is not my intention at this time to go into all the arguments pro and con as to the reasons for or against assistance to Yugoslavia at the present time but I shall take 5 minutes to point out what I believe to be a very serious inconsistency that I want the committee to be in full cognizance of before voting on this bill.

The report of the conference committee on the authorization bill for mutual security contained this section which

was not in the original bill as passed by the House. Language similar to it was inserted in the Senate version of the mutual security authorization and the conference agreed on this language:

It is the purpose of this act to advance the cause of freedom. The Congress joins with the President of the United States in proclaiming the hope that the peoples who have been subjected to the captivity of Communist despotism shall again enjoy the right of self-determination within a framework which will sustain the peace; that they shall again have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and that sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to them all in accordance with the pledge of the Atlantic Charter. Funds available under this section may be used for programs of information, relief, exchange of persons, education, and resettlement, to encourage the hopes and aspirations of peoples who have been enslaved by communism.

In other words all embracing with respect to communism.

Mr. Chairman, the people of Yugoslavia eminently qualify for assistance under this particular section.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call the committee's attention to page 3 of the legislation we are discussing at the present time, line 12:

Special Presidential fund: For assistance authorized by section 401 (b) \$100 million.

In other words, we have here a \$100 million authorization for refugees, escapees, or what have you from all Communist-controlled countries and, according to the language of the authorization bill, that would include Yugoslavia.

I think the Committee is faced with this inconsistency, Mr. Chairman: We are being asked on the one hand to appropriate money for escapees and refugees from Communist-dominated countries, including Yugoslavia. On the other hand, we are being asked to appropriate an unspecified amount of money for the very Communist country from which some of these escapees and refugees are fleeing to seek independence in the free world. You can support the people of Yugoslavia or you can support the Communist government of Yugoslavia, but you cannot do both.

My amendment will take out assistance for Communist Yugoslavia.

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. DONOVAN. The gentleman will recall the debate on the authorization bill that preceded this appropriation for foreign aid?

Mr. BENTLEY. Very well.

Mr. DONOVAN. Is it not true that if the Kelly amendment prohibiting aid to Yugoslavia had survived during that debate, the leadership on both sides of the aisle of this House would have had less difficulty with enacting into law the increase in foreign aid that the President of the United States still seeks?

Mr. BENTLEY. I think that is a logical assumption, I will say to my friend from New York. I would like to remind him, of course, that both of us supported the Kelly amendment.

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. CANFIELD. I would be very glad to support the gentleman's amendment, as I supported like amendments in the past.

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OSTERTAG. Does this amendment prohibit the use of any of these funds for both economic and military assistance?

Mr. BENTLEY. Funds combined in this authorization bill, I will say to my friend from New York, are for military assistance and defense support, which is so-called economic aid. This amendment does not strike out any funds authorized and appropriated for Yugoslavia from previous legislation. That would have made it subject to a point of order. It only reflects on the new money in the legislation at the present time.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENTLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you not think it patently clear that the first loyalty of Tito is to the international Communist conspiracy?

Mr. BENTLEY. I noticed just a couple of days also that our Ambassador in Yugoslavia, Mr. Riddleberger, who is now in this country on vacation, made the statement that in the last year or two he felt definitely that Tito has been going much closer to Russia and to the Soviet Union than he had previously.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Do you not think it is a contradiction in terms to call any person an independent Communist? In other words, one cannot be a Communist unless he is dedicated to the overthrow by force and violence of all free nations. All Communists are unalterably opposed to the concept of a free nation. Tito is a dedicated and loyal believer in the ideals of Marxism and a firm supporter of the Communist plan for world conquest. So one cannot be an independent Communist, since to be a Communist one must be obedient to the demands of the Communist timetable for world conquest.

Mr. BENTLEY. It would certainly be a difficult statement to make.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time allotted me be given to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski].

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski].

Mr. O'Konski. Mr. Chairman, in these trying days it is rather tragic that we are going to be called upon to vote funds to a nation and a man when we know nothing about the agreements he made on his recent visit to the Kremlin. I happen to have a report of that agree-

ment which was made between Tito and Khrushchev and Bulganin. In essence, here is what they agreed upon and signed, not with their bellies full of vodka. This was signed when they were sober. In essence the agreement says this: "In all major international issues Tito's policy will be from now on parallel to that of the Soviet Union. There shall be no deviation."

Let us go further and see what some of the other agreements are. There shall be mutual cooperation between the leaders of Yugoslavia and the leaders of the Soviet Union in order to arrive at a mutual goal of understanding as regards what Leninism really means.

Agreement No. 5: That there shall be a close working agreement between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Wait and see what that means. Listen to this.

Agreement No. 4: It sets up methods of settling differences between the two parties of the two countries.

No. 5: There shall be a continuous reappraisal of dealings with other nations between the two countries. In other words, every once in awhile they are going to get together, Tito and the Kremlin, and find out what they found out about this country and that country. That is why Tito is traveling so much around the world.

Get this. Another agreement: There shall be free interchange of scientific thought and knowledge and development at all times between the two countries. It is rather fantastic. When General Twining appeared before the Committee on Armed Services, somebody asked him the question: "Well, General Twining, did the Russians seem to ask any questions about the American Air Force?" That was a rather preposterous question, because under this agreement all Russia has to do is to go to Yugoslavia and find out about our Air Force, from the up-to-date planes we give Tito under this program. And another agreement, "there shall be a free exchange of visitors and officers of the Communists between the two nations." That means this, that any Communist official of the Kremlin can visit any Communist meeting in Yugoslavia, or vice versa. I wish I had the time to tell you more about what is in this agreement. When the meeting was over Tito said over a drink of vodka that, "Our friendship is based on common aims of mutual collaboration," to which Mr. Zhukov replied that "We are now one again and we shall never be parted."

I say to the Members, if you vote for this bill, you are adding to the insecurity of America. You are voting to give money for the destruction of America.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mrs. KELLY] for 1½ minutes.

Mrs. KELLY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to support the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY]. My record as far as cutting off aid to Yugoslavia is concerned, is well known. I only regret that this amendment does not cover the unexpended balance. I understand that

such an amendment would have been subject to a point of order.

My attitude about cutting off aid to Yugoslavia is not of recent origin nor is it as a result of the renewed diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. I firmly believe that we in the United States, with the background that we have of being for moral rights and the dignity of man should not permit us to give aid to any Communist whether in the light of anyone that Communist be considered a good Communist or not. The aim of communism is to overthrow the United States and to subject all peoples to slavery.

I therefore support this amendment and hope it will prevail.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MURRAY] for 1½ minutes.

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I support the amendment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY]. In my opinion, giving aid to Tito makes no more sense than buying the Brooklyn Bridge from a confidence man.

I would like to point out to the House that the legislation authorizing this appropriation requires, before expenditure of any funds to Yugoslavia, certain findings by the President. In appropriating moneys for the development of many of our own national public works projects legislation requires contributions by State and local governments. Prior to the time we appropriate, we make certain that our local people will carry out their obligations.

By appropriating funds prior to any of the required findings by the President, Tito is being treated better than our own local governments in connection with their public works projects.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. DODD].

(Mr. DODD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. DODD. Mr. Chairman, when the legislation authorizing the mutual security program was before this House June 8 of this year, I offered an amendment with respect to Yugoslavia.

That amendment would have prohibited assistance to Yugoslavia unless the President of the United States made a finding that Yugoslavia is independent of the control of the Soviet Union and that it is in the interest of the national security of the United States to continue to furnish assistance to Yugoslavia. My amendment also required that the President promptly transmit his findings and his reasons for his findings to the Congress.

Unfortunately, that amendment lost by only a handful of votes in this House.

Fortunately, later on in the Senate, Senator O'MAHONEY, of Wyoming, offered an amendment almost exactly like the one I offered in the House, and Senator O'MAHONEY'S amendment was adopted in the Senate.

In the conference between this House and the other body, that amendment was retained so it is now part of the language in this year's Mutual Security Act.

It is my considered judgment that Yugoslavia should not be given further assistance, and I am confident that the President will have to make such a finding.

However, since the President has the first and the greatest responsibility with respect to our foreign affairs, I think it is better that we handle the Yugoslav question in this way.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] to close debate.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, I certainly hope the Committee votes down this amendment. Our commitments to Yugoslavia are about 90 percent complete. Let us follow the leadership of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and have the President decide whether or not to give Yugoslavia this money.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PASSMAN. I will be happy to yield to the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, I have never been one of those persons to get excited, and not about this, either, but I know that we have few enough friends in the world and we need more than we have. Would you not rather somebody would be neutral than be against us? In my opinion, that is the question you are going to determine by your vote now.

With the world in the danger in which it stands, with civilization standing in the greatest shock it has ever stood since civilization dawned, are we going to kick them in the face just because we do not like something they have done some time in the far distant past or in the recent past? I think this would be one of the greatest mistakes the House of Representatives could make. I plead with you not to adopt an amendment of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENTLEY].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. BENTLEY) there were—ayes 58, noes 97.

Mr. BENTLEY and Mr. GROSS demanded tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. BENTLEY and Mr. PASSMAN.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 65, noes 117.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, it is regrettable that the amendment to remove the funds for Yugoslavia failed. I voted for this amendment because I do not believe we should include aid to Yugoslavia. This bill is for the mutual security of the United States and our loyal allies and it is difficult to consider Yugoslavia a loyal ally in view of Tito's recent visit to Red Russia where he pledged his loyalty and support to promote communism.

I have great confidence in President Eisenhower but I think we are placing

a great burden upon him by authorizing him to decide whether or not the funds in this bill should go to Yugoslavia.

I think that decision is our responsibility and should have been settled here in the House.

The mutual security program is due for a thorough study, investigation and review. Many questions have been raised about it that will require a searching analysis. I have supported mutual security because I believe it is a very vital part of our foreign policy and our national defense. I think we gain much by helping our loyal allies defend themselves, thereby making it unnecessary to send our American boys to foreign countries. If Red Russia should attack we must be prepared and help our allies to be prepared to meet such an attack, but I think we should be positive and certain that the nations we are helping are and will remain loyal to us. We cannot go on guesswork that is why I think we should proceed at once to investigate the need for further mutual security so we can be fully informed on all phases of this vast program for the next year.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

(Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, this idea and policy of attempting to purchase friendship should receive more consideration. It has never worked before. In time of stress and trouble nations have deserted each other, traveled the road of self-interest. If memory serves correctly, it was in 1914 that Germany under the Kaiser started a war against her neighbors. In 1917 in April, I think, the United States went in. We went in with Britain and with Russia. Russia. Our present enemy. Remember?—Russia. We helped her out. We saved Russia and Great Britain from disaster. Is there a challenge of that statement? That war was fought we were told to end all wars. It, and the treaty made at its end, laid the foundation of another war. Then sometime later, again if memory serves correctly, on the 7th day of December of 1941 we got into another war—primarily because our President planned it that way. The first one was to stop the Kaiser. That is my memory. The next one was to stop Hitler. And in that one we again went in with and built up Russia—did we not? That is twice—twice—we have gone with Russia to help her out—each time making her more powerful—or was it because we are so lacking in courage and in confidence in our own ability to defend ourselves that we thought it was necessary in order to protect our own country?

We have come a long, long way since the days of the Revolutionary Fathers when they defied Great Britain, have we not now? Remember the time when we said: Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute? Remember? Oh how we have fallen. In courage. In self-reliance. In faith in ourselves. Buying peace. If they knew what would be the comment of those who suffered? Of

those who died? And where have we gotten? And how come Russia is in the situation she is today? Why do we fear her? For 39 years we have gone with her in her quarrels. We have fought her—not our—wars. We have saved her economy. We have taught her the know-how. We have condoned by our silence her brutality while condemning her with words. We have poured billions into her war chest. She is able to threaten us only because we made her what she is. How many men have been killed because we went into those 2 wars and how many homes have been disrupted because sons, husbands, and fathers were sacrificed in those 2 wars?

Then because we had a dream of world leadership—seemed to have outgrown the Constitution, no longer gave priority to the Stars and Stripes—we let her push us into Korea. The result of meddling is that today we are confronted by a Russia which we created and now fear. She would have been nowhere in the family of nations, as to power, military or otherwise, without our help. Now there is one friend, so-called, that we have helped over the years, that we built up. So what about today? We just voted on an amendment a little while ago, an amendment overwhelmingly defeated, which would have denied further aid to a present friend, ally of Russia's. A former friend of ours and reportedly an ally. To whom we have given millions of dollars. How long can that go on? The gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER], a recent convert told us we had the choice of giving dollars or of sending our men to fight on foreign soil. Fortunately that is not our situation. We can attend to our own affairs—quit meddling in other peoples' disputes—keep our men and resources at home.

I noticed the other day a map of the world. Around Russia was a ring of military bases that we have established. We have more than 900 military establishments throughout the world, our own garrisons for our troops, supported by our taxpayers. Let me ask the simple question. Just in how many places throughout the world can we establish and successfully defend military bases?

It is doubtful if there is a land or a sea on or in which an American has not died and lies buried because we have failed to confine our efforts to defending our own welfare. It is all right to go along with the military men on a purely military question, but there never was a war fought that in the end was not won by the economic strength of the people back home. When in war the military spreads itself out too far it is sure to meet defeat. That is history's lesson in every battle in every war. In the Revolutionary War Britain came way over here across the seas to fight—and they lost. In the War Between the States, the South made its fatal mistake when it started up the Shenandoah Valley for Gettysburg. The South lost. But not because of lack of courage. The South lost—not because of lack of brilliant military leadership. The South lost because her economy could not feed, clothe, transport, and provide weapons and replacements for her fighting men. It

spread out too far. I think most military men, if you can get one away from the thing he desires money to build or construct, will admit that there is a limit as to just how far you can, without disaster, spread your military forces. Sure, this military man—they talk about the President. We just turn over to him the responsibility of deciding when and how much of this money should go to a former friend, a friend now of Russia.

When did a military man, a graduate of the Academy, ever acquire knowledge of how and where and through what efforts a dollar was acquired? Or of how it could best be spent. Do they have any idea of what might happen to this country if we continue to spend more and more money? What have we gained if we encircle the world with our weapons if in the end we find ourselves slaves of a military government? Did you ever meet a military man trained to economize? Why have we always insisted that at the head of a military department we have a civilian?

I will ask my Republican friends, What about this campaign slogan of ours: "Peace, progress, and prosperity."

Well, it is a strange and undesirable kind of peace that strips us of our economic ability to maintain ourselves. Destroys our freedom. Puts us into a regimental goosestep. Obligates us to pay tribute to supposedly friendly nations in order to get expressions of good will. We have spent billions upon billions to buy the friendship and support of other nations, but as was so ably pointed out by the two gentlemen from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH and Mr. O'KONSKI] today and on previous occasions upon not one recipient of our aid can we rely when trouble comes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] has expired.

(Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I take this time to find out something about section 104 of the bill. The first part, I understand.

None of the funds provided by this act nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result of assistance under this or any other act shall be used to make payments on account of the principal or interest on any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government—

And so forth. I can understand that. But tell me the meaning of this:

Provided, however, That to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required to be deposited—

And so forth. What does that gobbledegook mean? Will somebody give me a little enlightenment? Does this mean that foreign governments cannot use our counterpart funds, and then turn around and say that they can under certain conditions?

Mr. FORD. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Yes. I would like to get some information.

Mr. FORD. As I recall the amendment which was made in this provision, it is to take care of two situations where, before the original amendment was enacted, certain advances had been made. This gives permission to straighten out the bookkeeping.

Mr. GROSS. What two countries? Will the gentleman tell me?

Mr. FORD. My recollection fails me in that regard, but there are two specific instances where there is a bookkeeping problem. The nature and the intent of the amendment is to retain the original proposal but to take care of these two special contingencies in their bookkeeping transaction.

Mr. GROSS. Could it possibly concern Great Britain which has used a billion dollars—I did not say a million, I said a billion—a billion-dollars-plus of our counterpart funds to retire her debt?

Mr. FORD. It does not. The original intent of the amendment is plain in its language. Perhaps the chairman of the committee can be more specific.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman is correct in his statement in reply to the gentleman from Iowa. It is requested that the countries not be mentioned, and I think for a very good reason. Great Britain is not one of them.

Mr. GROSS. So we are not supposed to know who is digging into our counterpart funds. Is that correct?

Mr. PASSMAN. I will be very glad, because he is a Member of Congress, to give him any information I can.

Mr. GROSS. Another question: As I understand, there is an item of \$80 million in this bill for India. Is that correct?

Mr. PASSMAN. There is a lot in the bill for India to the extent that the President finds it in our interest to extend the aid.

Mr. GROSS. But there is in the bill between \$70 million and \$80 million for India.

Mr. PASSMAN. Yes.

Mr. GROSS. And the British are building a steel mill in India, are they not?

Mr. PASSMAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. GROSS. With private capital.

Mr. PASSMAN. That is my understanding.

Mr. GROSS. Yes, the British are building a steel mill in India to cost \$100 million. That is correct; is it not?

Mr. PASSMAN. I am not acquainted with all the minor details of the agreement.

Mr. GROSS. This does not make sense to me. We hand over \$80 million or more a year to India in this program while the British can come in and build with private capital, interest-bearing loans, a steel mill costing \$100 million on top of that the British supply the equipment that goes into the mill, yet we let the British take more than a billion dollars of our counterpart funds to retire their debt. How do you put that together to make sense?

Mr. PASSMAN. If the gentleman will yield, it is not often that we are in dis-

agreement; we are not in disagreement in our ideas now. Personally, these are matters I prefer to leave to our President to work out.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield.

Mr. PHILLIPS. Will the gentleman please ask the chairman of the committee to point out that section under which the President can withhold funds for India?

Mr. PASSMAN. I might state to the gentleman that he has the authority. It was done last year. The President does not necessarily have to use these funds; further, he can transfer funds from one nation to another and from one program to another. He could elect to transfer part of this \$70 million in the bill, at least 20 percent of it, under his transfer powers. I refer the gentleman to the Mutual Security Act of 1956 which contains the authority for the transfer of funds.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, this whole so-called foreign-aid program is one of the most fantastic deals I ever heard of. Here we are permitting the British to take counterpart funds that were originally derived from our taxpayers to retire their debt. Then British loans are made to India to build a steel mill. But we have got to carry both the British and Indians around on a chip. West Germany, too, is in India building a steel mill on a loan basis. We are not. The Russians are also in there on a loan basis building a steel mill. We raid our taxpayers for a hand-out to keep India neutral. If this program is not Operation Rathole, I wish somebody would tell me what it is.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Cong.), is hereby amended by substituting "during the 2 succeeding fiscal years" for "until June 30, 1958" in the third sentence thereof, and by substituting "under the authority of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended" for "in this act" in the fifth proviso thereof.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ROONEY: On page 7, line 11, insert a new section as follows:

"Sec. 107. None of the funds contained in this act shall be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956."

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, I shall endeavor to be as brief as possible in my explanation of the pending amendment which I am sure will be accepted unanimously. The adoption of this amendment would save the American taxpayers \$11 million. There is in the State Department, directed by the State Department, what is known as the international educational exchange activities program. The regular budget request for this program in the present fiscal year, to wit, 1957 fiscal year, was in the amount of \$20 million. The House Appropriations Committee saw fit to mark up this request in the amount of \$18½ million, which was subsequently approved by the House. The Senate al-

lowed the full requested amount of \$20 million. In the conference between the House and Senate the amount arrived at was the full amount of the budget estimate, \$20 million, when the House conferees receded and concurred.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. I shall support the gentleman's amendment. I think it would be a good thing not to go along and provide any more funds for that particular activity.

Mr. ROONEY. The gentleman from New York will agree with me, I am sure, that such a proposition as this does not belong in this bill at all.

Mr. TABER. It ought to be in the State Department appropriation bill.

Mr. ROONEY. The authorizing legislation would permit transfer of these funds, which this amendment seeks to cut out, to the Department of State. It is a devious method of getting around the provisions of the State, Justice, Judiciary appropriation bill to furnish money that the President does not want, that the administration does not want and that the Department of State does want and could not possibly use.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROONEY. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Chairman, the committee accepts the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, we are about to complete consideration of this very important appropriation bill, one that is directly connected with the national interest of our own beloved country. The important work done on this bill by the chairman of the subcommittee, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN], as well as the other members of the subcommittee, has been outstanding.

We all know that the Committee on Appropriations is one of the hardest working committees in the Congress of the United States, and that statement applies to all subcommittees of that committee. There is no subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations that has a more important or responsible task and duty to perform than the subcommittee which considers this particular bill.

The bill has gone through the Committee of the Whole under the able leadership of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] in cooperation with members of the subcommittee on both sides of the aisle.

I want to extend my congratulations to the members of the subcommittee for the fine work they have done and particularly, if I might select out the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN] I

want to pay him a special tribute. The gentleman has done an outstanding job. Knowing his views as we do on this type of legislation and appropriations, he assumed the responsibility of chairman of the subcommittee with a determination and the announced statement that he would fight for any bill that comes out of the subcommittee and out of the full Committee on Appropriations.

The gentleman has done that in an admirable way and in a manner which commands the respect and the commendation of not only the leadership of the House on both sides but of all his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. The gentleman has clearly evidenced real statesmanship particularly in the handling of this bill.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. FERNANDEZ. As a member of the subcommittee, I want to express my appreciation to the majority leader and to the leadership here for agreeing not to try to increase the amounts provided in this bill.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I want to particularly pay tribute to that fine, hard working gentleman and Member from Louisiana under whose leadership this bill has gone through the Committee today in such an admirable manner. Speaking for myself, and I know for all of my colleagues, I commend my friend, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. PASSMAN].

The Clerk concluded the reading of the bill.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I feel I must take 1 minute or so to express my deep conviction that the House is running a grave risk in the cut of one and a quarter billion dollars it has made in the appropriation bill below the estimates of the executive branch as to what is needed for military assistance to our allies around the world. I opposed any cut in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I was not willing to accept responsibility for weakening my country's position at this critical time.

When I served as a House conferee, I naturally supported the House position and we were able to get agreement on a conference report nearer the House's position than that of the other body. It represented a cut of \$700 million.

But this bill contains a further slash of \$500 million. I would feel derelict in my duty to my country if I did not say here and now that I believe the House is being reckless in the action it is taking. It is too great a chance and I feel the action may have dangerously bad effects on both the actual strength and the morale and confidence of countries under Communist pressure.

There are a few of the countries with whom we have been working closely that are wavering. This will increase, in my opinion, the risk of losing them.

There are other countries that are beginning to lean in our direction, in part as the result of their disillusionment with

Communist promises and performance. They may be on the verge of coming back more firmly into the free world camp. They need our understanding help, and steady support just now. With these drastic reductions we would not be in a position to extend the additional help they must have if they are to pull away from the Communist web and align themselves more openly with the free world.

During the conference with the other body on the authorization bill, the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] was so adamant against the cuts the House had made in it. He was most reluctant to accept the 50-50 compromise cut of \$700 million. Again and again he shook his head as he said "This is just too serious a cut. It is too dangerous. It is a 25 percent reduction, and we just cannot afford to do that at this crucial time."

Now, this committee has made a reduction of \$500 million more, and the House is going to approve it. That means a total cut of 45 percent. It is too deep.

Mr. Chairman, I realize that from a practical standpoint, there is nothing I can do about it, with the temper that prevails here today. But, for the sake of my own conscience if for no other reason, I have to express my deep concern. I fear that we are making a grave mistake that we may come to regret and that in the end may cost us a great deal more money, and perhaps blood, unless much of the cut is restored in the other body and a larger figure retained in the conference between the two Houses.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I simply want to say that I had intended to introduce a substitute amendment if the gentleman from New York had introduced his amendment for \$200 million. I had intended to introduce an amendment to have this appropriation meet the full amount of the authorization bill. But, for reasons heretofore discussed, I want to make it clear that I did not introduce the amendment for that reason.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the fact that the committee has given most careful consideration to the vital and basic problems presented by this bill. Like other Members of the House, the committee has been subjected to the various pressures generated by proponents and opponents, and I have no doubt in my mind that the intensity, scope, and influence of the campaign waged in behalf of the highest proposed appropriations for mutual aid, both military and economic, has been fully apprehended by the House.

While I share with the proponents the basic thesis that we must by all means at our disposal strengthen and buttress the free world against communistic aggression and infiltration, I am not at all satisfied with the results of some \$60 billion, which we have spent up to this time for the foreign-aid program.

I am not convinced that military strength has been sufficiently developed commensurate with the huge sums expended. I think there has been waste, extravagance, and loose administration

connected with the entire program and can well understand the viewpoint of those who assert that we have gone altogether too far with our spending in this field.

I may say that I have repeatedly voted in the House to moderate this program and keep it within reasonable and sensible limits. I have been shocked by the lavish, ultraliberal expenditures, by some of the features of the offshore procurement program, which is depriving American workers of jobs; by the meddling, wasteful aspects of technical assistance, which in some instances has been forced upon unwilling peoples.

Most of all, I have been stirred by the use of funds under the foreign-aid program and related activities to build up and strengthen some nations which have made it very clear to the world that they do not stand with us, but they intend to be aligned with world communism and the Soviet.

Moreover, it is a matter of grave concern that some of our closest allies are trading critical, strategic materials, including jet engines, machine tools, and other materials necessary to a war economy to the Russians. In fact, if the Russians had not received jet engines from one of our allies, they would not have been able to record the substantial progress that they have made at the present in building civilian and military jet-propelled planes.

This and other developments of a similar nature indicating that the proceeds of American foreign aid funds are in some instances strengthening the potential enemy and, yes, the whole manner in which this program has been conducted up to the very present time—all have given me some doubts about its efficacy, wisdom, and value to this country. It is not surprising that some good Americans regard this program as a huge, unsound, international venture, financed by money taken from the pockets of hard-working American taxpayers.

One of the unusual features of this program is that it is supported by leaders and platforms of both parties on the theory that it is essential to the security of the United States. If it is really believed that it is essential to the security of the United States, the program might come strictly under our military program.

We have been told time and time again that the program was approaching its end and yet its end is not in sight. When will it end? Many beneficiary nations are in flourishing economic condition, enjoying full employment, balanced budgets, and general prosperity far beyond prewar levels. How long will we continue to spend huge sums from the Treasury of the United States, not only to strengthen associated nations of the free world, but to provide them with the means of setting up competition against this Nation in virtually every part of the world? Has this foreign-aid program become so deeply ingrained in our governmental system that it is the purpose of some to retain it permanently?

Personally, I believe that there are those who would like to retain it permanently and use it to further addition-

al far-reaching, extreme, internationalistic proposals, but I do not believe that the American people would support such a plan. If the American people were given a chance to vote directly on this question, it is my view that they would favor a moderate program for the ensuing year and a gradual reduction and early discontinuance of these multibillion-dollar outlays at the expense of the working people of the Nation.

As I have stated many times, I believe that we have gone altogether too far in lavishing billions of dollars on foreign programs. It would be difficult indeed accurately to measure the benefits. Most of the results are disappointing and disillusioning, to say the least.

However, the international situation is tense, crucial, and difficult of solution. Insofar as we can, we must try to keep the free world strong, militarily and economically. Yet, it is impossible to help nations, who are not willing to help themselves. No amount of military or economic aid can make a nation stand up, which does not possess the will to defend itself, and no amount of military or economic aid can make an ally out of a nation whose leadership is wedded to Marxist concepts. Nations in that category should not be given any aid because they are unworthy of it and will use our assistance to spread and buttress the cause of communism. There are nations that will threaten to go Communist unless we extend our further largess of billions for their benefit. I say to these nations, let them go Communist, and the quicker the better so that we will know just where we stand in this world. I am unalterably opposed to yielding to this kind of international blackmail.

It is said sometimes that we are dealing with calculated risks. Our duty is to make sure that we properly calculate and fully evaluate the risks which we are taking, that we will balance one course of action against another, and take the lesser of the risks rather than the greater.

We have a responsibility to discharge to our own people to maintain the security of this country and keep our commitments to the free world. This is not an easy task. It involves, not only risk-taking, but chance-taking that some of the efforts to strengthen the free world will be successful even though the apparent results to date are frequently discouraging and quite the opposite of what was proclaimed they would be when this huge program was first adopted.

That the whole situation in the world today and the foreign-aid program is inexorably tied in with our foreign policy is incontrovertible. I have never been able to understand how this Nation could develop strength in the free world by pursuing a weak foreign policy toward the enemies of the free world. Since the end of World War II, I have been urging an end to appeasement of world communism, but as I have seen diplomatic events unfold, I have often felt a sense of futility. The Government has made one concession after another to the Soviet over a period of years. We have expected other nations to detach them-

selves from the Soviets while our own Nation has often appeased and conciliated them on major world issues.

The Geneva Conference and the visit of high American military dignitaries are but two examples of practices and attitudes on our part that can be used by the Soviet to convince its own people and the peoples of the oppressed satellite states that we are on cordial, agreeable terms of cooperation and friendship with the Soviet and that we have no intention of protesting or objecting to the continued subjugation of hundreds of millions of people, who are yearning for freedom and willing to fight and die for it at every opportunity, of which Poland is the glowing and most laudable example at present. This is a great and compelling world question.

This Government has stood for a more or less regular barrage of insults, jibes, slurs, espionage, and incitement of treason within our own boundaries, flagrant, brazen renunciation of solemn agreements by the Soviet which they had previously entered into with us and other nations, continued aggression, plots, conspiracies, infiltrations everywhere, including our own country.

Our foreign policy has moved along on a benign, innocuous course, apparently designed to be as inoffensive as possible to our allies, the British, and the Soviets regardless of what is happening in the world. We have sat by benignly and supinely in the face of great outrages against freedom and human dignity exemplified by the situation in Poland and Cyprus. No single ray of hope or word of sympathy and encouragement was given to these oppressed, tyrannized peoples and others like them throughout the world.

Some time ago a proliferation resolution was introduced in the other body and speedily withdrawn because, according to high officials, it was objectionable to some other nations? Why? A foreign policy has to be based on principles as well as upon interests, although our British allies have been candid enough to state that historically theirs is based upon their own interests.

We have a proud heritage of freedom to maintain, which has been consecrated by the blood of many American boys, who lie today under white crosses in foreign lands. It is to them and to our forebears, as well as to our own people and our posterity that we must reemphasize and repledge our faith and our purpose to uphold our free way and the security of our country and the democratic, humane ideals we have toward fellow human beings, persecuted and oppressed, as well as downtrodden and impoverished.

General Gavin's recent statement before the Committee on Armed Services of the other body must have stirred a few souls when he stated in effect that in an atomic attack many American cities could be destroyed and, depending on the way the wind was blowing, hundreds of millions of people would be killed by atomic attack in Eastern or Western Europe.

Of course, with due respect to General Gavin, I have not noted any documenta-

tion or scientific authority for these conclusions.

If General Gavin's statements are true, we would not need any military foreign aid program. It would not be necessary to develop strength among our allies. Since we have the atomic and hydrogen bombs in large numbers and the means of delivering them, according to General Gavin's statement, any war would be brought to a very speedy end by wholesale, mass destruction of life and civilization itself. Pray God the world will be spared such a fate, for a just, enduring peace.

I am particularly disturbed, as military leaders have been, by the fact that the Soviet is making rapid strides toward our own level of military power and that it has also spread its influence and control, and what is more sinister, its poisonous ideas into many places of the world.

Obviously, any chance that we have of securing the peace as against the Marxist aims of ultimate, complete world domination and conquest lies, in my opinion, in marshaling our full national strength behind a firm, decisive, unyielding foreign policy based on the interests of America, as well as the ideals of freedom. It is my belief that if we are strong enough in our attitude, we will have allies to stand with us against the forces of Communist despotism.

As a consequence of my studies of questions posed by this bill, I have come to some very profound convictions, which I am conscious bound to express by voice and vote in this House. While I am not impressed at all by the results of this program to date and propose to vote to curtail it, I am constrained nevertheless, by current world conditions and by the ever-present hope we may have in bringing freedom-minded peoples together against Marxist tyranny, to support the bill. I hope that, under new direction, the foreign aid program will eliminate waste, extravagance and the messianic spirit, which frequently seems to have possessed it, and come to a more realistic conduct of the comprehensive, far-flung activities committed by the Government to its charge.

The great fight of this century is the fight against communism. There may be wolves in sheep's clothing at large in the Nation and the world posing in the role of humane deliverers as they do their dastardly work for world communism. Let us fearlessly and courageously oppose these elements and their ilk and defeat their aims to destroy American freedom and conquer the world for Marxist despotism.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, I have waited until this late in the day on the 5-minute rule until every Member who wished to speak would have a chance to do so since I had taken time under general debate. Now, however, that everyone has had his say, I must intrude again upon the discussion of this bill, to make it clear that I support entirely the position taken by President Eisenhower in his request to this House on this mutual security appropriation.

You will recall, Mr. Chairman, when the authorization bill upon which this

appropriation action is being taken today was before the House, I introduced an amendment to have the authorization for mutual security in the amount requested by the President of \$4,900,000.-000. When discussing the authorization bill when it was before this body a few weeks ago, I stated that I would introduce an amendment in the full Committee on Appropriations, and if necessary on the floor, that this appropriations bill contained the full amount authorized by the Congress in the Authorization Act. It so happens that the Congress authorized \$4 billion.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, in my opinion even that is too serious and deep a cut of this necessary and essential mutual security program. In view, however, of the action taken by the Congress in setting the authorization ceiling at four billion it was my intention to introduce an amendment today that this bill appropriate that sum.

When this bill was before the Appropriations Committee earlier this week, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] introduced his amendment to increase the appropriation from that recommended by the subcommittee to \$250 million in addition, I introduced an amendment to his amendment to have the appropriation read \$4 billion, or the total that I was certain, at the time, the conference report, then being written on the Authorization Act, would provide.

I repeat, I did not introduce said amendment today for the same reason that the gentleman from New York did not introduce his, because the leadership of both sides of the aisle felt certain, as was expressed by the minority leadership, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MARTIN] and majority leadership, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCCORMACK], and explained in their thinking that a much larger sum could be obtained when the bill is before the Senate and then brought back to the House for final action. While I do not agree entirely with these tactics under all the circumstances with the gentleman from New York, I yield to this thinking of both the Republican and Democratic leadership in this manner, and since my objective is to give the President what he asks for, I want to be sure that any steps I take will best serve that objective.

Much has been said today about the Republican members of the Appropriations Committee, who, when this matter was before the Appropriations Committee, for the first time since we have had a foreign-aid program, voted to increase appropriations above the recommendations of the subcommittee report. My Democratic friends have been criticizing and needling them for the startling and sudden switch in their voting on such matters. There is no doubt, when I recall the names of my Republican friends on the committee who voted to raise this fund, that it is startling and surprising, to say the least. My Democratic friends have been criticizing them for being under pressure from the White House on this act to change their votes and to change their thinking. Frankly, I see nothing the matter with that. I

remember when under previous Democratic administrations the same tactics were employed by the White House, and as a matter of fact, I see nothing wrong in the Executive pointing out to the members of his party the importance of the specific legislation and expressing the wish that they could see their way clear to support such a legislation. That kind of thing has been going on in this town since Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was the first Speaker of this House, and I am sure it will go on through the avenue of years ahead, regardless of what party has its representative in the White House.

I do not criticize or deplore my friends on the Republican side for seeing the light of day which has been clear to me since the inception of this program. I am delighted that they have seen the error of their ways. I have been trying to convince them that they were wrong the past 12 years, and could not do it. If someone from the White House can do it with a telephone call, or merely by dropping a word in their individual or collective ears, more power to them, and thanks to them, say I. Verily, politics doth make strange bedfellows. I recall Saint Luke's word's in the Good Book, when he said:

I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.

So, Mr. Chairman, when my good friends on the other side of the aisle come around to my point of view and thinking the way I do, on a matter as vital and essential to the national welfare and safety as is this, I say, praise be, that they are "washed in the blood of the Lamb."

My position, Mr. Chairman, on this legislation is well known. I have been consistent and hope I will always so be. I supported lend-lease, UNRA, and similar programs under President Roosevelt, a Democrat. I supported the Greek-Turkish loans, the Marshall plan, and all mutual security on foreign-aid programs that followed from those days under President Truman, another Democrat. Politics must end at the water's edge, and I therefore see no reason at all why I must not support the same kind of program, even in greater amounts, with the same great purposes under President Dwight Eisenhower, a Republican. This program is simply an extension and continuation of these tremendous efforts for the peace, progress, and prosperity for this Nation and the world, instituted under Democratic administrations years ago.

When the President of the United States, no matter who he may be or what his party, and his Joint Chiefs of Staff, in my opinion, from my experiences and from my information from the Appropriations Committee, are wrong in their judgment, I have said so, and will continue to say so, as evidenced by my insistence and introduction of the amendment which gave to the Air Force an additional billion dollars, and passed this Congress and was signed by the President last week; but on the other hand, when that President, and his Joint Chiefs

of Staff, in my opinion, from my experiences and from my information from the Appropriations Committee are in the right, then you can be sure, Mr. Chairman, I will say so, and that I am saying today in supporting President Eisenhower and his Joint Chiefs of Staff on this mutual-security bill for the fiscal year of 1957.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I note with some satisfaction that there is provision for aid to Israel in the mutual security appropriation bill now before us. I note that Israel is to receive \$2 million in technical assistance. Israel is our friend, and that is good.

I note that Middle East, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya are to receive some \$63 million in development assistance. I see that the amount to go to each of the several countries is listed as classified. I am pleased that Israel is to receive this aid, but I find it distasteful to see American funds flowing into areas where they do America and its friends, among them Israel, no good.

I regret very much that we are still bidding against the Soviet Union to see whose aid Egypt is to accept. I feel that that is a bad thing for any intelligent person to do, and worse for us, an enlightened country, to do. I am sure that the Egyptians will not thank us for it, and certainly will not respect us for it.

I have raised my voice many times to urge an intelligent policy on the Middle East, one serving our enlightened self-interest. Such a policy surely includes the use of our aid to build up the peaceful countries of the area so that those desiring war will be aware of the danger to themselves which their aggressive acts create. Mr. Dulles has announced that if war starts in the Middle East that American troops will certainly be sent to halt it.

The point I make is this, Mr. Chairman, I can see nothing in this bill which provides for the building up of Israel militarily with defensive arms. That concerns me greatly. But I do see funds flowing to Egypt which permit diversion of other Egyptian funds to wartime use. I am gravely afraid, Mr. Chairman, that unless we use our wisdom and send to Israel the defensive weapons which she needs, that there will be war in that area, and American boys will be sent in to another holocaust. To make that unpleasant situation still worse, there is a very strong possibility that our troops, on entry into such a conflict, will find Israel America's only real friend in the area overrun and a smoking ruin before rescue can arrive.

Egypt has not renounced its earlier threats to destroy Israel. Indeed we still hear threats from Egypt. Nasser is only biding his time. There are still great quantities of Soviet arms flowing into Egypt and that country is now using over one quarter of its national budget for arms. A figure which is far too high for a backward undeveloped country whose people are hungry and disease ridden and which we are told is looking for peace.

I will say that situation is being aggravated by the aid which we are sending into Egypt because our economic aid

makes it possible for other funds to be diverted into warlike uses.

Mr. Chairman, I hope the administration will heed my voice and those of the other Members who have so often urged defensive arms for our tiny sister democracy and a vigorous, wise American policy in the Middle East to prevent war now, before it starts.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MILLS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 583, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. HAND. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HAND moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 284, nays 120, not voting 28, as follows:

[Roll No 98]

YEAS—284

Addonizio	Blatnik	Carrigg
Albert	Boggs	Cederberg
Allen, Calif.	Boland	Celler
Allen, Ill.	Bolling	Chatham
Andresen,	Boitton,	Chelf
August H.	Frances, P.	Chenoweth
Anfuso	Bolton,	Chiperfield
Arends	Oliver, P.	Christopher
Ashley	Bowler	Chudoff
Aspinall	Boykin	Clark
Auchincloss	Boyle	Cole
Avery	Brown, Ga.	Cooper
Ayres	Broyhill	Corbett
Baker	Buckley	Coudert
Baldwin	Burnside	Cramer
Barrett	Bush	Cretella
Bass, N. H.	Byrd	Cunningham
Bates	Byrne, Pa.	Curtis, Mass.
Becker	Byrnes, Wis.	Curtis, Mo.
Bennett, Fla.	Canfield	Dague
Bentley	Cannon	Davidson

Davis, Ga.
Dawson, Ill.
Dawson, Utah
Deane
Delaney
Denton
Derounian
Devereux
Diggs
Dingell
Dixon
Dodd
Dollinger
Dolliver
Donohue
Donovan
Dorn, N. Y.
Doyle
Durham
Edmondson
Elliott
Ellsworth
Engle
Evins
Fallon
Fascell
Feighan
Fenton
Fernandez
Fino
Flood
Fogarty
Forand
Ford
Forrester
Frazier
Friedel
Fulton
Gamble
Garmatz
Gary
Gathings
George
Gordon
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Gregory
Griffiths
Gubser
Hagen
Hale
Halleck
Harden
Hardy
Harris
Hays, Ark.
Hays, Ohio
Hayworth
Healey
Hébert
Heseltan
Hess
Hill
Hillings
Hinshaw
Hollifield
Holland
Holmes
Holt
Holtzman
Hope
Horan
Hosmer
Huddleston
Hull

Hyde
Ikard
Jackson
James
Jarman
Jenkins
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Wis.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Judd
Karsten
Kean
Kearney
Kearns
Keating
Kee
Kelly, N. Y.
Keogh
Kilburn
Kilday
King, Calif.
Kilwan
Klein
Knutson
Lanham
Lankford
Latham
LeCompte
Lesinski
Lipscomb
McCarthy
McCormack
McDonough
McDowell
Macdonald
Machrowicz
Mack, Ill.
Magnuson
Mahon
Maillard
Marshall
Martin
Matthews
Meador
Morrow
Metcalf
Miller, Calif.
Miller, Md.
Miller, N. Y.
Minshall
Mollohan
Morano
Morrison
Moss
Muller
Mumma
Murray, Ill.
Natcher
Norblad
O'Brien, Ill.
O'Brien, N. Y.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Neill
Osmer
Ostertag
Passman
Patterson
Pelly
Perkins
Pfost
Philbin
Pilcher
Pillion
Poff

NAYS—120

Abblitt
Abernethy
Adair
Alexander
Alger
Andersen,
H. Carl
Andrews
Ashmore
Bailey
Baumhart
Beamer
Belcher
Bennett, Mich.
Betts
Bitch
Bonner
Bosch
Bow
Bray
Brown, Ohio
Brownson
Budge
Burdick
Carlyle
Chase
Church

Clevenger
Colmer
Cooley
Coon
Crumpacker
Dempsey
Dies
Dondero
Dorn, S. C.
Dowdy
Fisher
Fjare
Flynt
Fountain
Gavin
Gentry
Grant
Gray
Gross
Gwinn
Haley
Hand
Harrison, Nebr.
Harrison, Va.
Harvey
Henderson
Herlong

Powell
Preston
Price
Prouty
Quigley
Rabaut
Radwan
Rains
Ray
Rees, Kans.
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Richards
Riehlman
Riley
Roberts
Robison, Ky.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Mass.
Rooney
Roosevelt
Sadlak
St. George
Schenck
Schwengel
Scott
Seely-Brown
Selden
Shelley
Sheppard
Sieminski
Simpson, Ill.
Simpson, Pa.
Sisk
Smith, Miss.
Spence
Springer
Staggers
Steed
Sullivan
Taber
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Thompson, N. J.
Thompson, Tex.
Tollefson
Trimble
Trumulty
Udall
Vanik
Van Zandt
Velde
Vinson
Vorys
Vursell
Wainwright
Walter
Watts
Westland
Widnall
Wier
Wigglesworth
Williams, N. J.
Williams, N. Y.
Wilson, Calif.
Wolcott
Wolverton
Wright
Yates
Younger
Zablocki
Zelenko

Norrell
O'Konski
Phillips
Poage
Polk
Reece, Tenn.
Reed, N. Y.
Rivers
Robeson, Va.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Rutherford
Saylor
Scherer

NOT VOTING—28

Barden
Bass, Tenn.
Bell
Berry
Brooks, La.
Brooks, Tex.
Burleson
Carnahan
Davis, Tenn.
Davis, Wis.

Serlyner
Sheehan
Short
Shuford
Sikes
Siler
Smith, Kans.
Smith, Va.
Smith, Wis.
Talle
Teague, Tex.
Thomas
Thompson,
Mich.

Thomson, Wyo.
Tuck
Utt
Van Pelt
Weaver
Wharton
Whitten
Williams, Miss.
Willis
Wilson, Ind.
Winstead
Withrow
Young

So, the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Priest for, with Mr. Bell against.
Mr. Morgan for, with Mr. Barden against.
Mr. Eberharter for, with Mr. Brooks of Louisiana against.
Mr. Frellinghuysen for, with Mr. Berry against.

Mr. Madden for, with Mr. Lovre against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Carnahan with Mr. McConnell.
Mr. Patman with Mr. Davis of Wisconsin.
Mr. Kelley of Pennsylvania with Mr. O'Hara of Minnesota.
Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Nelson.
Mr. Thompson of Louisiana with Mr. Scudder.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the clerk of the committee may have permission to correct section numbers.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND ON THE MUTUAL SECURITY BILL

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who spoke on the mutual security appropriation bill may have permission to revise and extend their remarks and that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES CARRIED ON UNDER PUBLIC LAW 480, 83D CONGRESS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 447)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States which was read, and together with the accompany-

ing papers, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and ordered printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the fourth semiannual report on activities carried on under Public Law 480, 83d Congress, as amended, outlining operations under the act during the period January 1 through June 30, 1956.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 11, 1956.

HOUR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, are we going to abolish all committee meetings or abbreviate all committee meetings from here on out?

Mr. McCORMACK. All I can say is that we have a program and that there is certain legislation that must be disposed of. This we are trying to arrange for with the least interference possible with the convenience of the committees and the Members. If we can meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow it will be very helpful. I have never criticized any Member for exercising his rights under the rules of the House.

As majority leader, I am asking after consultation with the leadership on the gentleman's side and with the Speaker that we meet at 11 o'clock. That is all I can say. And if my friend should object he is within his rights. We are trying to work out the program as best we can. We are getting near the end of the session and it is very difficult. I have submitted the consent request that in the judgment of the leadership was deemed advisable so far as tomorrow is concerned.

Mr. GROSS. I shall not object at this time, but unless some legislation starts moving in the committee of which I am a member I shall have to do something to get some action on certain legislation.

Mr. McCORMACK. I know. The gentleman has spoken to me about the retirement bill. I am very much interested in it, and I hope the bill comes out. The gentleman has spoken to me on two or three occasions, and I want to state that fact publicly. I hope the bill will come out of the committee. The leadership will cooperate in every way to bring it up as soon as possible after it is reported out.

Mr. GROSS. I appreciate the gentleman's statement and withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be granted a 5-day leave of absence to attend to

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 12, 1956

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal
5 year ending June 30, 1957, namely:

6 MUTUAL SECURITY

7 For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry
8 out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as
9 amended, as follows:

10 Military assistance: For assistance authorized by sec-
11 tion 103 (a) (3), including not to exceed \$23,000,000 for

1 administrative expenses to carry out the purposes of title I,
2 chapter 1, and section 124, \$1,735,000,000 of which \$60,-
3 000,000 shall be available for infrastructure as authorized
4 by section 104 (a) ; and in addition not to exceed \$195,500,-
5 000 of unobligated and unreserved funds heretofore appro-
6 priated under authority of section 103 (a) (2) and sec-
7 tion 124 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended,
8 are continued available until June 30, 1957, for the pur-
9 poses of sections 103 (a) (3) and 104;

10 Defense support: For assistance authorized by section
11 131 (c), for Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey),
12 \$63,700,000; for the Near East (including Greece and
13 Turkey) and Africa, \$165,000,000; for Asia, \$865,000,000;
14 and for Latin America, \$35,000,000, of which not less than
15 \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala;

16 Development assistance: For assistance authorized by
17 section 201 (c), for the Near East and Africa in accordance
18 with section 201 (a) (1), \$60,000,000; and for Asia in
19 accordance with section 201 (a) (2), \$70,000,000;

20 Technical cooperation, general authorization: For assist-
21 ance authorized by section 304 (b), \$135,000,000;

22 United Nations expanded program of technical assist-
23 ance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a),
24 which shall constitute the total United States contribution
25 through December 31, 1957, \$10,000,000;

1 Technical cooperation programs of the Organization of
2 American States: For contributions authorized by section
3 306 (b), \$1,500,000;

4 Special Presidential Fund: For assistance authorized by
5 section 401 (b), \$100,000,000;

6 Special assistance in joint control areas in Europe: For
7 assistance authorized by section 403 (b), \$12,200,000;

8 Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration:
9 For contributions authorized by section 405 (a), \$12,500,-
10 000: *Provided*, That no funds appropriated in this Act shall
11 be used to assist directly in the migration to any nation in
12 the Western Hemisphere of any person not having a security
13 clearance based on reasonable standards to insure against
14 Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere;

15 United Nations Refugee Fund: For contributions author-
16 ized by section 405 (c), which shall constitute the total
17 United States contribution through June 30, 1957,
18 \$2,000,000;

19 Escapee program: For assistance authorized by section
20 405 (d), \$6,000,000;

21 United Nations Children's Fund: For contributions
22 authorized by section 406 (b), which shall constitute the
23 total United States contribution through December 31, 1957,
24 \$10,000,000;

25 United Nations Relief and Works Agency: For con-

1 tributions authorized by section 407 (b), \$45,300,000 of
2 unobligated balances of funds appropriated under this head
3 in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956, are con-
4 tinued available through June 30, 1957, for the purposes
5 authorized by section 407;

6 Ocean freight charges, United States voluntary relief
7 agencies: For payments authorized by section 409 (c),
8 \$1,400,000;

9 Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of
10 the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as
11 authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000;

12 Administrative expenses: For expenses authorized by
13 section 411 (b), \$34,145,000;

14 Special authorization for the Middle East and Africa:
15 For assistance authorized by section 420, \$100,000,000;

16 Foreign research reactor projects: For expenses neces-
17 sary to enable the President to carry out foreign research
18 reactor projects authorized by section 10 of the Mutual
19 Security Act of 1956, \$5,500,000;

20 Funds appropriated under each paragraph of this Act
21 (other than appropriations under the head of military assist-
22 ance), including specified amounts of unobligated balances,
23 and amounts certified pursuant to section 1311 of the Supple-
24 mental Appropriation Act, 1955, as having been obligated
25 against appropriations heretofore made for the same general

1 purpose as such paragraph, which amounts are hereby con-
2 tinued available during the fiscal year 1957, may be consoli-
3 dated in one account for each paragraph.

4 GENERAL PROVISIONS

5 SEC. 102. Payments made from funds appropriated
6 herein for engineering fees and services to any individual
7 engineering firm on any one project in excess of \$25,000
8 shall be reported to the Committees on Appropriations of
9 the Senate and House of Representatives at least twice
10 annually.

11 SEC. 103. Pursuant to section 1415 of the Supple-
12 mental Appropriation Act, 1953, and in addition to other
13 amounts made available pursuant to said section, not to
14 exceed the equivalent of \$2,000,000 of foreign currencies
15 or credits owed to or owned by the United States shall
16 remain available until expended, without reimbursement
17 to the Treasury, for liquidation of obligations incurred against
18 such currencies or credits prior to July 1, 1953, pursuant
19 to authority contained in the Mutual Security Act of 1951,
20 as amended, and Acts for which funds were authorized by
21 that Act and, hereafter, foreign currencies generated under
22 the provisions of this Act shall be utilized only for the
23 purposes for which the funds providing the commodities
24 which generated the currency were appropriated.

25 SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this Act

1 nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result
2 of assistance under this or any other Act shall be used to
3 make payments on account of the principal or interest on
4 any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to
5 such government by any other foreign government; nor
6 shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for
7 which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country
8 to make payment on such debts: *Provided, however, That*
9 to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign
10 government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and
11 such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required
12 to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section
13 142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended,
14 such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed
15 purpose consistent with the provisions of such Act.

16 SEC. 105. Not more than 20 per centum of any appro-
17 priation item made available by this Act shall be obligated
18 and/or reserved during the last two months of the fiscal
19 year.

20 SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Appro-
21 priation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Congress), is
22 hereby amended by substituting "during the two succeeding
23 fiscal years" for "until June 30, 1958" in the third sentence
24 thereof, and by substituting "under the authority of the

1 Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended” for “in this Act”
2 in the fifth proviso thereof.

3 SEC. 107. None of the funds contained in this Act shall
4 be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the
5 Mutual Security Act of 1956.

6 SEC. 108. This Act may be cited as the “Mutual Secu-
7 rity Appropriation Act, 1957”.

Passed the House of Representatives July 11, 1956.

Attest:

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

Clerk.

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

JULY 12, 1956

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

July 13, 1956

SENATE

14. COTTON FUTURES. Passed without amendment H. R. 9333, to give to certain consuming processors of cotton the privilege of buying cotton futures contracts in certain cases. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 11439
15. RESEARCH. Passed as reported S. 3832, to provide for the disposal of the Government-owned synthetic rubber research laboratories at Akron, Ohio. p. 11439
16. EXPORT-IMPORT BANK. Passed as reported S. 3868, to extend until June 30, 1963, the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945. p. 11439
17. MARKETING. Passed as reported H. R. 5337, to broaden the provisions of law relating to practices in the marketing of perishable agricultural commodities, p. 11440
18. WATERSHEDS. Passed without amendment H. R. 11873, to decrease the Congressional review period of projects under the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act from 45 to 15 days. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 11440
19. MINING. Passed as reported S. 3941, relating to certain mining claims which were eligible for validation under the act of August 12, 1953, but which were not validated solely because of the failure of the owners to take certain action to protect their claims within the prescribed period. p. 11440
Passed without amendment H. R. 6501, to permit the disposal of certain reserve mineral deposits under the mining laws of the U. S. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 11442
20. LEGAL OFFICERS. Passed as reported S. 4076, to provide for the appointment of the chief legal officers of certain departments (including this Department) in the executive branch by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. p. 11442
21. SECURITY. Passed without amendment S. J. Res. 182, to extend the time for filing the report of the Commission on Government Security to June 30, 1957. p. 11442
22. WHEAT. Both Houses received from this Department proposed legislation to amend the International Wheat Agreement Act of 1949, so as to extend the authority contained in that act for the purpose of implementing the Agreement of 1956; to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and House Banking and Currency Committee. pp. 11427, 11595
23. POTATOES. Sen. Langer inserted a Potato Growers Assoc. resolution favoring legislation for the grading and inspection of potatoes entering market channels. p. 11427
24. PERSONNEL. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported with amendments S. 3465, relating to effective dates of increases in compensation granted to wage board employees (S. Rept. 2573). p. 11429
25. THE AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY COMMITTEE reported the following bills:
S. 4058, without amendment, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to extend and renew to Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Co. for the term of 10 years a lease of a tract of land in the USDA Range Livestock Experiment Station in Mont. (S. Rept. 2575). p. 11429

- H. R. 11375, without amendment, to further extend the special school milk program to certain institutions for the care and training of children whether or not underprivileged (S. Rept. 2576). p. 11429
- S. J. Res. 179, without amendment, to authorize and direct the Secretary of Agriculture to quitclaim certain property in Coahoma Co., Miss., to the Home Demonstration Club, of Rena Lara, Miss., Inc. (S. Rept. 2574). p. 11430
26. LIVESTOCK SLAUGHTER. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee ordered reported with amendment S. 1636, to require the use of humane methods in the slaughter of livestock and poultry in interstate or foreign commerce. The "Daily Digest" states that it was "amended so that the bill would provide only for establishment of an advisory committee on humane slaughtering which would report to the Congress within 2 years". p. D796
27. APPROPRIATIONS; MUTUAL SECURITY. The Appropriations Committee/ordered reported with amendment H. R. 12130, the Mutual Security appropriation bill for 1957. The "Daily Digest" states that "as approved, the bill would provide a total of \$4,105,420,000, an increase of \$680,300,000 over the House-passed figure of \$3,425,120,000". p. D796
28. LIVESTOCK. Sen. Johnson spoke on the continuing/drought situation, and urged this Department to make feed available at cost to livestock producers. p. 11434
29. EXECUTIVE PAY. Sen. Smith, N. J., inserted a newspaper editorial supporting Hoover Commission recommendations for an increase in the pay of Federal executives. p. 11434
30. ROADS. Sen. Johnson commented on the effects of the road building program on the Nation's economy. p. 11473
31. RECLAMATION. Agreed to the conference report on S. 1622, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make payments for certain improvements located on public lands in the Rapid Valley unit, S. Dak., of the Missouri River Basin project (House agreed to the report on July 12, 1956). This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 11474
32. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Sen. Humphrey discussed various aspects of our foreign policy and foreign aid programs. p. 11478
33. COTTON. Sen. Payne inserted a release of this Department stating that cotton products export aid will be extended through equalization payments. p. 11494
34. ELECTRIFICATION. Sen. Neuberger and others discussed the construction of the Hells Canyon dam. p. 11501
Sen. Watkins and others spoke on the Federal contribution to water resource development in the Pacific Northwest. p. 11508
35. CREDIT. Sen. Humphrey criticized the Administration's credit policies. p. 11512
36. THE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ordered the following bill reported:
H. R. 8226, without amendment, to reserve certain lands in Alaska for public-school purposes. p. D796
H. R. 7887, without amendment, to authorize the Commissioner of Public Lands to sell public lands under certain circumstances without public auction. p. D796

July 14, 1956

World Trade Fair to be held in New York from April 14-27, 1957. p. 11726

14. MILK IMPORTS. Passed as reported H. R. 609, to extend the provisions of the Federal Import Milk Act to Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. p. 11728
15. FOOD AND DRUG. Passed as reported H. R. 9547, to amend and simplify certain procedures in hearings relative to the administration of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. p. 11739
16. FLOOD CONTROL. Passed without amendment S. 1358, to authorize modifications of the flood-control project for the Missouri River Agricultural Levee Unit 513-512-R, Richardson County, Neb. p. 11743
Received from the Budget Bureau a letter transmitting certain plans for works of improvement pursuant to Sec. 5 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act; to the Agriculture Committee. p. 11795
17. WATER SUPPLY. Passed over, at the request of Rep. Dondero, S. 2374, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to enter into contracts to furnish water for municipal water supplies from flood control and river and harbor projects. p. 11743
18. LANDS. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee ordered reported H. R. 12185, to provide that withdrawals or reservations of more than 5,000 acres of public lands of the U. S. for certain purposes shall not become effective until approved by act of Congress. p. D810
Passed without amendment H. R. 11696, to authorize the conveyance of homestead allotments to Indians, Aleuts, or Eskimos in Alaska. p. 11728
Passed without amendment S. 1384, to provide for the reconveyance of all mineral interests in lands acquired by the U. S. for certain reservoir projects to former owners. This bill is now ready for the President. A similar bill, H. R. 11879, was laid on the table. p. 11731
19. ATOMIC ENERGY. As reported from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, S. 4203 and H. R. 12215 contain the following items of particular interest to this Department: Provide that the AEC may make grants to colleges and universities for reactors, including food sterilization reactors, and provide for the transfer of administrative control over certain lands in the Santa Fe National Forest from the Forest Service to the AEC.

SENATE

20. APPROPRIATIONS. The Appropriations Committee reported with amendments: H.R. 12130, the mutual security appropriation bill for 1957 (S. Rept. 2579); and H.R. 12138, the supplemental appropriation bill for 1957 (S. Rept. 2580). p. 11597
Passed with amendments H. R. 12138, the supplemental appropriation bill for 1957 (p. 11633). Agreed to amendments by Sen. Hayden, on behalf of the Committee, to provide 2,500,000 for eradication of the Mediterranean fruitfly (P. 11637); and by Sen. Johnson to provide \$50,000 to install an elevator in a Government building in Anderson, S. C. (P. 11638). Conferees were appointed (P. 11638). (For other items of interest see Digest 119).
Received from the President a supplemental appropriation estimate for the fiscal year 1957 (S. Doc. 140) in the amount of \$2,500,000 for "Salaries and expenses, Agricultural Research Service" to provide additional funds to finance the Mediterranean fruitfly eradication program (see Hayden amendment above). As submitted to Congress, the language would have provided authority for the Secretary to transfer to this appropriation from other appropriations or funds available to the Department such sums as he may deem necessary for the eradication of the Mediterranean fruitfly. p. 11598

21. WATERSHEDS. The Public Works Committee reported with amendment H. R. 8750, to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (S. Rept. 2585). p. 11598
22. VETERANS; FARM LOANS. Passed as reported H. R. 9260, to extend the provisions of title III of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 for 1 year until July 25, 1958. p. 11618
23. FORESTRY. Passed without amendment H. R. 9339, to authorize the exchange of certain lands of the U. S. in Union Co., Ga., for lands within the Chattahoochee National Forest, Ga. This bill is now ready for the President. p. 11619
Passed as reported S. 2216, to amend the act of March 4, 1915, to permit the use and occupancy of national forest lands for industrial and commercial purposes, and by States or political subdivisions for constructing facilities for education or other public uses. p. 11619
Passed as reported S. 3133, to provide for the transfer of a Forest Service lot and building to the city of Boise, Idaho. p. 11619
Agreed to the conference report on H. R. 6376, to provide for the hospitalization and care of the mentally ill in Alaska, including a grant of not to exceed 1 million acres of public lands (includes lands eliminated from the national forests). p. 11640
Passed without amendment H. R. 9451, to provide that certain lands shall be held in trust for the Seminole Indians and to provide that certain lands shall be designated as a reservation for these Indians (these lands were formerly USDA submarginal lands transferred to Interior). This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 11625
The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported with amendment S. 3787 relating to the management of the Red Lake Indian Forest and sawmill (S. Rept. 2584). p. 11598
Passed over at the request of Sen. Purtell S. 4059, providing for a forest products price reporting and research program. p. 11619
24. PROPERTY; LANDS. Passed with amendment H. R. 7723, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to convey certain lands in Phillips Co., Mo., to the Chamber of Commerce of Rolla, Mo. p. 11620
Passed without amendment S. 4058, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to extend and renew to the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Co. for the term of 10 years a lease of a tract of land in the Livestock Experiment Station in Mont. p. 11631
Passed with amendment H. R. 5712, to transfer certain title III Bankhead-Jones lands to the Indians of the Zia and Jemez pueblos in N. Mex. S. 1907, a similar bill was indefinitely postponed. p. 11638
25. INFORMATION. Passed without amendment H. R. 10368, to amend the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883, so as to require that certain reports and other communications of the executive branch to Congress contain information pertaining to the number of civilian officers and employees required to carry out additional or expanded functions. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 11625
26. FOOD; POSTAL RATES. Passed as reported S. 3500, to reduce postage rates on parcels pertaining only to food, clothing, medicines, or drugs sent abroad by mail for relief purposes. p. 11625
Passed without amendment S. 3619, to provide for reimbursing the District of Columbia for food served under the National School Lunch Act. p. 11628

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

JULY 14, 1956.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Appropriations, under authority of the order of the Senate of July 13, 1956, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H. R. 12130]

The Committee on Appropriations, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, report the same to the Senate with various amendments and present herewith information relative to the changes made.

Amount of bill as passed House.....	\$3, 425, 120, 000
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Amount of increase by Senate.....	680, 300, 000
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Amount of bill as reported to the Senate....	4, 105, 420, 000
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Amount of estimates, 1957.....	4, 859, 975, 000
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Amount of appropriations, 1956.....	2, 703, 341, 750
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The bill as reported to the Senate:

Under the estimates for 1957.....	754, 555, 000
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Over the appropriations for 1956.....	1, 402, 078, 250
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SUMMARY OF BILL

The total of the budget estimates as contained in House Document No. 360, dated March 20, 1956, is \$4,859,975,000. In addition to the request for \$4,859,975,000 in new appropriations, it was requested that unobligated balances totaling \$211,900,000 be reappropriated. The sum of \$90,000,000 remaining unobligated in the President's fund for Asian economic development automatically remains available by the terms of last year's Act until June 30, 1958. Thus the total obligational authority proposed for fiscal year 1957 is \$5,161,-875,000.

In order to reconcile the appropriation request of \$4,859,975,000 with the authorization request of \$4,672,475,000, it is to be noted that the appropriation request of \$75,000,000 for infrastructure, the request of \$100,000,000 for the President's fund for Asian economic development and the request of \$12,500,000 for the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration were all authorized under prior legislation. The amount of the authorization request plus the three items previously authorized total the sum of the appropriation request.

The committee recommends appropriations totaling \$4,105,420,000 which is an increase of \$680,300,000 over the House bill and a decrease of \$754,555,000 under the budget estimate of \$4,859,975,000. In addition the committee recommends the reappropriation of \$240,-800,000 of unobligated balances which makes a total of \$4,346,220,000 available for obligation in fiscal year 1957 exclusive of the \$90,000,000 already available and unobligated in the President's Asian fund. Thus the total of obligational authority proposed for fiscal year 1957 is \$4,436,220,000.

The following tabulation summarizes the appropriation by major program.

	Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	Recommended in House bill, 1957	Recommended by Senate committee, 1957	Senate bill compared with—		House bill, 1957
					Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	
Military assistance:							
Appropriation.....	\$1,022,200,000	\$3,000,000,000	\$1,735,000,000	\$2,300,000,000	+\$1,277,800,000	-\$700,000,000	+\$565,000,000
Unobligated and unreserved.....	33,900,000	166,600,000	195,500,000	195,500,000	+161,600,000	+28,900,000	-----
Total.....	1,056,100,000	3,166,600,000	1,930,500,000	2,495,500,000	+1,439,400,000	-671,100,000	+565,000,000
Defense support:							
Appropriation.....	999,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	1,175,200,000	+176,000,000	+44,500,000	+46,500,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000	-----	-----	-----	-25,000,000	-----	-----
Total.....	1,024,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	1,175,200,000	+151,000,000	+44,500,000	+46,500,000
Development assistance.....	162,000,000	170,000,000	130,000,000	293,000,000	+131,000,000	+123,000,000	+163,000,000
Technical cooperation.....	153,000,000	157,500,000	146,500,000	152,000,000	-1,000,000	-5,500,000	+5,500,000
Other programs:							
Appropriation.....	366,941,750	401,775,000	284,920,000	185,220,000	-181,721,750	-216,555,000	-99,700,000
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	+41,666,750	-----	-----
Total.....	370,575,000	447,075,000	330,220,000	230,520,000	-140,055,000	-216,555,000	-99,700,000
Total, Mutual Security:							
Appropriation.....	2,703,341,750	4,859,975,000	3,425,120,000	4,105,420,000	+1,402,078,250	-754,555,000	+680,300,000
Unobligated balance.....	62,533,250	211,900,000	240,800,000	240,800,000	+178,266,750	+28,900,000	-----
Total.....	2,765,875,000	5,071,875,000	3,665,920,000	4,346,220,000	+1,580,345,000	-725,655,000	+680,300,000

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Programs included under this general head are designed to provide the military equipment, training, and direct forces support for 36 nations to develop or maintain specific military and related units at a given level of effectiveness.

The budget request for military assistance is \$3,000,000,000. The following tables show the amount requested for fiscal year 1957 by region and service:

Region:	<i>Amount requested for fiscal year 1957</i>
Europe-----	\$760, 471, 000
Near East and Africa-----	471, 918, 000
Asia-----	1, 166, 813, 000
Latin America-----	35, 546, 000
Nonregional program-----	565, 252, 000
Total-----	<u>3, 000, 000, 000</u>
Service:	
Army-----	1, 432, 200, 000
Navy-----	385, 767, 000
Air Force-----	616, 780, 000
Nonregional program-----	565, 253, 000
Total-----	<u>3, 000, 000, 000</u>

The House allowed \$1,735,000,000 in new funds and specifically reappropriated \$195,500,000 of unobligated prior year funds. The authorizing legislation included authority for the appropriation of \$2,225,000,000 for military assistance which together with \$75,000,000 previously authorized for infrastructure totals \$2,300,000,000.

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$2,300,000,000, the full amount of the authorization and in addition the committee recommends language included by the House continuing \$195,500,000 of unobligated balances from prior years. The amount of new funds recommended by the committee is \$565,000,000 in excess of the House bill and \$700,000,000 under the budget estimate.

Language has been included in the bill making the funds for military assistance available until June 30, 1958.

DEFENSE SUPPORT

Programs within this classification are designed primarily to support the military efforts of certain countries which are receiving military assistance. Such support involves the provision of general supplemental resources which a recipient country requires if its economy is to support a defense program of the size which United States policy regards as necessary and if, at the same time, it is to maintain or attain that minimum level of economic strength or growth which is consistent with the United States national interest. The Committee was advised that thirteen countries, exclusive of Latin America, aligned with us do not have the resources to maintain defense forces at necessary levels and simultaneously to develop and stabilize their own economies.

The budget estimates for this item total \$1,130,700,000 distributed as follows:

Europe (2 nations):		Asia (8 nations):	
Spain-----	\$45, 000, 000	Pakistan-----	(¹)
Yugoslavia-----	30, 000, 000	Cambodia-----	(¹)
Interregional ex-		Korea-----	\$300, 000, 000
penses-----	1, 200, 000	Laos-----	(¹)
Western Europe tech-		Philippines-----	25, 000, 000
nical exchange----	2, 500, 000	Taiwan-----	86, 000, 000
		Thailand-----	30, 000, 000
Subtotal-----	78, 700, 000	Viet Nam-----	(¹)
Near East and Africa (3		Subtotal-----	882, 000, 000
nations):		Grand total-----	1, 130, 700, 000
Greece-----	(¹)		
Iran-----	(¹)		
Turkey-----	(¹)		
Subtotal-----	170, 000, 000		

¹ Amount is classified.

The authorizing legislation transferred the authority requested for "Development assistance for Latin America" to "Defense support" and increased the amount authorized from \$27,000,000 as originally requested to \$52,000,000 including \$15,000,000 to remain available until expended for projects in the fields of health, sanitation, and education.

The amounts authorized in the authorization act are as follows:

Europe-----	\$71, 200, 000
Near East and Africa-----	170, 000, 000
Asia-----	882, 000, 000
Latin America-----	52, 000, 000
Total-----	1, 175, 200, 000

The House recommended an appropriation of \$1,128,700,000 or an amount of \$46,500,000 under the authorization act. The committee recommends the full amount authorized in the recent authorizing legislation. The Senate increase of \$46,500,000 consists of \$7,500,000 for Europe, \$5,000,000 for the Near East and Africa, \$17,000,000 for Asia, and \$17,000,000 for Latin America.

The committee recommends that language be included in the bill providing that at least \$50,000,000 of the funds provided for "Defense support, Europe," be available for Spain and that at least one-half of this sum shall be for agricultural commodities. Language has also been included in the bill providing that \$15,000,000 of the sum for Latin America shall be available until June 30, 1958. An amendment added to the bill in the House earmarking at least \$15,000,000 for Guatemala has been deleted by the committee.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Development assistance is economic aid supplied to certain nations not receiving significant military assistance from the United States and is provided because of United States and Free World interest in maintaining economic and political stability in the recipient country.

The budget request for this item totals \$170,000,000 distributed as follows:

Near East and Africa:		Asia—Continued	
Egypt-----	(1)	Nepal-----	\$1, 000, 000
Israel-----	(1)		
Jordan-----	(1)	Subtotal-----	80, 000, 000
Lebanon-----	(1)		
Libya-----	(1)	Latin America:	
		Bolivia-----	(1)
Subtotal-----	\$63, 000, 000	Guatemala-----	(1)
Asia:		Subtotal-----	27, 000, 000
India-----	70, 000, 000		
Ceylon-----	5, 000, 000	Grand total-----	170, 000, 000
Indonesia-----	4, 000, 000		

¹ Amount is classified.

As previously indicated the authorizing legislation transferred the Latin American item to "Defense support." The authorizing legislation also consolidated the \$63,000,000 for the Near East and the \$80,000,000 for Asia with the \$100,000,000 special authorization for the Middle East and Africa and the second \$100,000,000 request for the President's fund for Asian economic development into one account. The sum of the items requested was \$343,000,000 and the total authorization granted was \$293,000,000. The sum of the House allowances for this item was \$230,000,000.

The committee recommends that the full amount of the authorization of \$293,000,000 be provided and has also included language authorizing these funds to be continued available until June 30, 1958. The amount recommended by the committee is \$63,000,000 over the House bill. The House allowed an appropriation of \$100,000,000 for the Special Authorization for the Middle East and Africa. This paragraph has been deleted from the House bill since the sum has been transferred to this paragraph.

ASWAN HIGH DAM, EGYPT

The committee directs that none of the funds provided in this act shall be used for assistance in connection with the construction of the Aswan Dam, nor shall any of the funds heretofore provided under the Mutual Security Act as amended be used on this dam without prior approval of the Committee on Appropriations.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Technical cooperation—known also as point 4—involves the sharing of skills, knowledge, and techniques with people of the underdeveloped areas of the world. Such programs are carried out at the request of foreign governments to supplement their own efforts to increase their levels of technical competence, to further their economic development, and to improve the standard of living of their people. Technical cooperation is extended by sending technicians to participating countries to advise and teach, and by bringing selected foreign technicians to the United States or other countries for advanced training.

Technical cooperation, general authorization.—The budget request and the amount recommended by the Committee for this purpose

totals \$140,500,000. This is an increase of \$5,500,000 over the House bill. This is broken down by country and area as follows:

Near East and Africa:

Egypt	\$3, 800, 000
Ethiopia	3, 000, 000
Greece	1, 000, 000
Iran	8, 000, 000
Iraq	2, 300, 000
Israel	2, 000, 000
Jordan	2, 700, 000
Lebanon	2, 100, 000
Liberia	1, 800, 000
Libya	2, 000, 000
Turkey	2, 000, 000
Overseas Territories	1, 200, 000
Regional and undistributed	2, 200, 000

Total \$34, 100, 000

Asia:

South Asia:

Afghanistan	\$3, 000, 000
Ceylon	1, 000, 000
India	10, 000, 000
Nepal	1, 000, 000
Pakistan	9, 000, 000

Far East:

Cambodia	2, 500, 000
Indonesia	8, 000, 000
Japan	2, 850, 000
Korea	5, 500, 000
Laos	1, 500, 000
Philippines	5, 900, 000
Taiwan	3, 400, 000
Thailand	4, 600, 000
Vietnam	5, 000, 000

Total 63, 250, 000

Latin America:

Argentina	\$50, 000
Bolivia	3, 195, 000
Brazil	4, 739, 000
Chile	2, 521, 000
Colombia	1, 536, 000
Costa Rica	1, 026, 000
Cuba	690, 000
Dominican Republic	330, 000
Ecuador	1, 993, 000
El Salvador	1, 005, 000
Guatemala	1, 730, 000
Haiti	1, 152, 000
Honduras	1, 290, 000
Mexico	1, 185, 000
Nicaragua	919, 000
Panama	1, 195, 000
Paraguay	1, 684, 000
Peru	2, 996, 000
Uruguay	619, 000
Venezuela	225, 000
Overseas territories	812, 000
Regional and undistributed	1, 458, 000

Total 32, 350, 000

Interregional expenses 10, 800, 000

Total 140, 500, 000

United Nations technical assistance.—An appropriation of \$15,500,000 is requested to meet the United States contribution to this activity for the calendar year 1957. The estimated program for the various agencies participating in this program in 1957 totals \$31,000,000.

The House recommended an appropriation of \$10,000,000 and the committee concurs in the action of the House. This sum will be approximately one-third of the 1957 calendar-year program.

Organization of American States.—The full budget estimate of \$1,500,000 is recommended for the calendar year 1957. This is the same amount as was provided in the House bill and for 1956.

OTHER PROGRAMS

Special Presidential fund.—This fund which was established by the Mutual Security Act of 1954 is intended to cover program requirements in any part of the world which may become important subsequent to passage of the appropriation bill. The enabling legislation includes authority for the budget request of \$100,000,000. It also permits the President to transfer to the fund up to \$150,000,000 of amounts appropriated to other items in the bill.

The committee recommends the full budget estimate of \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 1957 which is the same amount provided in the House bill.

Special assistance, joint control areas.—This program provides for financial assistance to West Berlin and technical exchange projects in Berlin and Austria. The budget estimate for this purpose, which conforms to the authorizing legislation, includes \$12,000,000 for Berlin and \$200,000 for Austria.

The full budget estimate is recommended by the committee for fiscal year 1957 in view of the continued strategic importance of these areas to the Western World. This is the same amount that was recommended by the House.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.—This program is intended to assist the movement of persons from overpopulated countries of Europe to countries such as Canada, Australia, and various Latin American countries, which can use additional manpower. The Committee, which is composed of 26 governments, was organized in 1951. It is estimated that about 500,000 people have been relocated to date and an additional 145,000 refugees will be moved during the calendar year 1957.

The budget request for 1957 is \$12,500,000 which is the same amount as was appropriated for 1956 and the amount recommended in the House bill.

The full budget estimate is approved by the committee.

United Nations refugee fund.—This is a voluntary United Nations program established in 1954 (1) to assist refugees in establishing themselves as self-supporting members of the free world, (2) to find institutions which will accept difficult cases for lifetime care and maintenance, and (3) to provide emergency assistance for refugees who are destitute and can obtain assistance from no other source.

The budget request of \$2,300,000 for fiscal year 1957 is an increase of \$1,100,000 over funds appropriated for fiscal year 1956. The amount requested covers 18 months—the calendar year 1956 plus

the first 6 months of calendar year 1957. This represents an effort to move part way in the direction of placing the financing of this program on a calendar year basis similar to that for other United Nations activities.

The House has included the sum of \$2,000,000 in the bill. The appropriation for the 12-month period of fiscal year 1956 is in the amount of \$1,200,000. The committee recommends an appropriation of \$1,800,000 which is for an 18-month period and is comparable to the appropriation for the fiscal year 1956. This represents a reduction of \$200,000 in the House bill and a reduction of \$500,000 under the budget estimate.

Escapee program.—The purpose of this United States program is to provide reception, interim care and maintenance, and resettlement assistance to Soviet and satellite escapees in Europe and to undertake special assistance projects in behalf of selected escapee groups or individuals in all areas of the world. It is used to supplement the care and help extended by the countries of asylum to such escapees.

Between March 1952, the date on which this program was started, and January 1956, a total of 80,600 persons in Europe and the Middle East had been registered. Of these, 26,900 had been resettled in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Latin America, or had been locally integrated in Europe.

The House allowed \$6,000,000 and the committee concurs in this recommendation.

United Nations children's fund.—This fund supports programs for the health and welfare of mothers and children in the newly developing areas of the world. In the calendar year 1955, the fund aided 264 projects in 92 countries and territories which benefited an estimated 32 million children and mothers.

As is the case with other United Nations programs, this activity is operated on a calendar-year basis. Last year the Congress appropriated \$14,500,000 to cover a full 18 months' period, July 1955 through December 1956, so as to place the financial support on a calendar-year basis. The House included \$10,000,000 in the bill for next year which amount represents the United States contribution for 12 months, the calendar year 1957. The committee concurs in the action of the House.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency.—This organization is concerned with relief and rehabilitation of the Arab refugees from Palestine. As of June 30, 1955, there were nearly one million such refugees located in the Middle East, including 499,606 in Jordan, 214,601 in the Gaza strip, 103,600 in Lebanon, and 88,179 in Syria.

The 1956 appropriation bill provided \$62,000,000 for this program, \$58,366,750 by new appropriation and \$3,633,250 by reauthorizing the use of unobligated balances of prior year funds. It is estimated that \$16,700,000 of this amount will be used in fiscal year 1956, leaving \$45,300,000 unobligated as of June 30, 1956. The large unobligated balance is due to the fact that the resettlement projects included in the 1956 program have not proceeded according to plans outlined a year ago.

The committee concurs in the action of the House in including language in the bill continuing the unused balance available through June 30, 1957.

Ocean freight, voluntary relief shipments.—This appropriation is used to pay costs of ocean freight on shipments of relief supplies collected by United States voluntary agencies from their members for distribution overseas to those in need.

The appropriation request for fiscal year 1957 is \$1,400,000, a decrease of \$600,000 below 1956. The authorization act authorized an appropriation of \$3,000,000 for fiscal year 1957 and the committee recommends that this full amount be provided.

Ocean freight, surplus agricultural commodities.—This appropriation has been used to pay costs of ocean freight on shipments of United States surplus agricultural commodities made available by the United States Department of Agriculture to United States voluntary agencies for distribution overseas.

An appropriation of \$13,000,000 was made for the fiscal year 1956 for this purpose. The budget estimate for fiscal year 1957 included \$14,000,000, an increase of \$1,000,000. The enabling legislation eliminated this authorization from the bill in view of the fact that Public Law 540, the Agricultural Act of 1956, authorizes the Commodity Credit Corporation to take over the cost of transportation on these commodities.

No funds have been included in the bill for this purpose in view of the change in basic authorization included in the Agricultural Act of 1956.

Control Act expenses.—The Director of the International Cooperation Administration is responsible for the administration of the Battle Act program (the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951) for controlling exports of strategic materials to the countries behind the Iron Curtain by countries which receive United States aid.

The sum of \$1,175,000 was provided for administration of this program during the fiscal year 1956. The authorizing legislation, the budget estimate, and the House bill provide for the same amount for the fiscal year 1957. The committee has included this amount in the bill for the fiscal year 1957.

Administrative expenses.—The House recommended an appropriation of \$34,145,000 for administrative expenses for the nonmilitary programs.

The committee recommends that this sum be decreased by \$1,100,000 and recommends an appropriation of \$33,045,000.

Foreign research reactor projects.—The House bill includes \$5,500,000 for expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out foreign research reactor projects as authorized by section 10 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956 to help other nations acquire the basic equipment knowledge and skills required for widespread peaceful use of atomic energy. The United States contribution to any one reactor project is limited to \$350,000. The committee was informed that the average cost of a project is \$700,000. The committee concurs in the action of the House.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Special provision on 15 months' availability of certain funds.—The committee has included language in the bill authorizing an amount equal to 25 percent of the funds appropriated for defense support, technical cooperation, and special assistance to joint control areas to

be available for a 15-month period rather than the usual 12-month period.

Obligations during last 2 months of fiscal year.—The committee concurs in the action of the House in restricting obligations during the last 2 months of the fiscal year to 20 percent of the funds made available. The committee has amended the House language however, to exempt the special Presidential fund from this restriction.

International Education Exchange activities.—An amendment in the House bill prohibiting the use of the funds to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956 has been deleted by the committee. This provision deals with the transfer of funds to the Department of State to carry out international educational exchange activities.

Opposition to seating in United Nations of Communist China.—Language has been included in the bill reiterating the position of the committee and the Congress to the seating of Red China in the United Nations.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1956, ESTIMATES FOR 1957, AND AMOUNTS
RECOMMENDED IN BILL FOR 1957

Items	Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	Recommended in House bill, 1957	Recommended by Senate committee, 1957	Senate bill compared with—		House bill, 1957
					Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	
MILITARY ASSISTANCE ¹							
Appropriation.....	\$1,022,200,000	\$3,000,000,000	\$1,735,000,000	\$2,300,000,000	+\$1,277,800,000	-\$700,000,000	+\$565,000,000
Unobligated and unreserved balance.....	33,900,000	166,600,000	195,500,000	195,500,000	+161,600,000	+28,900,000	
Total, military assistance.....	1,056,100,000	3,166,600,000	1,930,500,000	2,495,500,000	+1,439,400,000	-671,100,000	+565,000,000
DEFENSE SUPPORT							
Europe.....	\$5,500,000	78,700,000	63,700,000	71,200,000	-14,300,000	-7,500,000	+7,500,000
Near East and Africa.....	113,700,000	170,000,000	165,000,000	170,000,000	+56,300,000		+5,000,000
Asia:							
Appropriation.....	800,000,000	882,000,000	865,000,000	882,000,000	+82,000,000		+17,000,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000				-25,000,000		
Subtotal, Asia.....	825,000,000	882,000,000	865,000,000	882,000,000	+57,000,000		+17,000,000
Latin America.....	(2)	(2)	235,000,000	252,000,000	+52,000,000	+52,000,000	+17,000,000
Total, defense support:							
Appropriation.....	999,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	1,175,200,000	+176,000,000	+44,500,000	+46,500,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000				-25,000,000		
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	1,024,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	1,175,200,000	+151,000,000	+44,500,000	+46,500,000
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE							
Near East and Africa.....	73,000,000	63,000,000	60,000,000	293,000,000	+131,000,000	+123,000,000	+163,000,000
Asia.....	51,000,000	80,000,000	70,000,000				
Latin America.....	38,000,000	27,000,000	(2)				
Total, development assistance.....	162,000,000	170,000,000	130,000,000				

TECHNICAL COOPERATION									
General authorization.....	127,500,000	140,500,000	135,000,000	140,500,000	+13,000,000	-----	-----	-----	+5,500,000
United Nations program.....	24,000,000	15,500,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Organization of American States.....	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total, technical cooperation.....	153,000,000	157,500,000	146,500,000	152,000,000	-1,000,000	-----	-----	-----	+5,500,000
OTHER PROGRAMS									
Special assistance, joint control areas.....	21,000,000	12,200,000	12,200,000	12,200,000	-8,800,000	-----	-----	-----	-----
Special Presidential fund.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.....	12,500,000	12,500,000	12,500,000	12,500,000	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
United Nations refugee fund.....	1,200,000	2,300,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	+600,000	-----	-----	-----	-200,000
Escapee program.....	6,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
United Nations children's fund.....	14,500,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	-4,500,000	-----	-----	-----	-----
United Nations Relief and Works Agency:									
Appropriation.....	58,366,750				-58,366,750	-----	-----	-----	-----
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	+41,666,750	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	62,000,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	-16,700,000	-----	-----	-----	-----
North Atlantic Treaty Organization.....	3,700,000	(3)			-3,700,000	-----	-----	-----	-----
Ocean freight, voluntary relief shipments.....	2,000,000	1,400,000	1,400,000	3,000,000	+1,600,000	-----	-----	-----	+1,600,000
Ocean freight, surplus agricultural commodities.....	13,000,000	14,000,000			-13,000,000	-----	-----	-----	-----
Control act expenses.....	1,175,000	1,175,000	1,175,000	1,175,000	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Administrative expenses.....	33,500,000	35,250,000	34,145,000	33,045,000	-455,000	-----	-----	-----	-1,100,000
President's fund for Asian development.....	100,000,000	100,000,000			-100,000,000	-----	-----	-----	-----

¹ Combines funds for "Military assistance" and "Direct forces support."

² Activity transferred from "Development assistance" to "Defense support" by authorizing legislation.

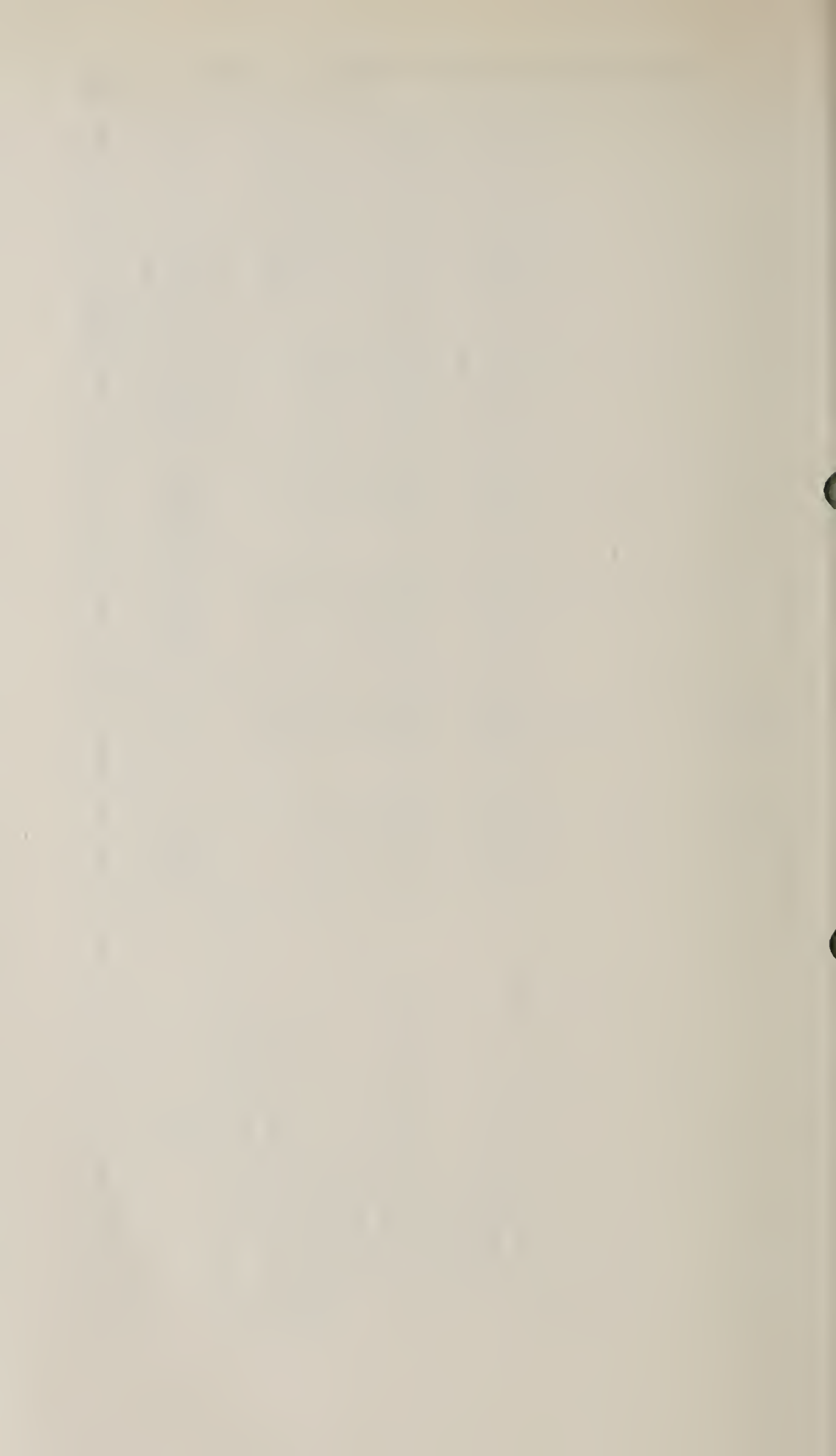
³ Transferred to State Department appropriation bill for 1957.

Comparative statement of appropriations for 1956, estimates for 1957, and amounts recommended in bill for 1957—Con.

Items	Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	Recommended in House bill, 1957	Recommended by Senate committee, 1957	Senate bill compared with—		House bill, 1957
					Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	
OTHER PROGRAMS—continued							
Special authorization for Middle East and Africa.....		\$100,000,000	\$100,000,000			—\$100,000,000	—\$100,000,000
Foreign reactor projects.....		5,950,000	5,500,000	\$5,500,000	+\$5,500,000	—450,000	
Total, other programs:							
Appropriation.....	\$366,941,750	401,775,000	284,920,000	185,220,000	—181,721,750	—216,555,000	—99,700,000
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	+41,666,750		
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	370,575,000	447,075,000	330,220,000	230,520,000	—140,055,000	—216,555,000	—99,700,000
Total, mutual security:							
Appropriation.....	2,703,341,750	4,859,975,000	3,425,120,000	4,105,420,000	+1,402,078,250	—754,555,000	+680,300,000
Unobligated balance.....	62,533,250	211,900,000	240,800,000	240,800,000	+178,266,750	+28,900,000	
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	2,765,875,000	5,071,875,000	3,665,920,000	4,346,220,000	+1,580,345,000	—725,655,000	+680,300,000

○

1875



Calendar No. 2619

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

[Report No. 2579]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 12, 1956

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Appropriations

JULY 14, 1956

Reported, under authority of the order of the Senate of July 13, 1956, by Mr.
HAYDEN, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year
ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal
5 year ending June 30, 1957, namely:

6 MUTUAL SECURITY

7 For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry
8 out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as
9 amended, as follows:

1 Military assistance: For assistance authorized by sec-
 2 tion 103 (a) (3), including not to exceed \$23,000,000 for
 3 administrative expenses to carry out the purposes of title I,
 4 chapter 1, and section 124, *to remain available until June*
 5 *30, 1958, \$1,735,000,000 \$2,300,000,000* of which ~~\$60,-~~
 6 ~~000,000~~ *\$75,000,000* shall be available for infrastructure as
 7 authorized by section 104 (a) ; and in addition not to exceed
 8 \$195,500,000 of unobligated and unreserved funds hereto-
 9 fore appropriated under authority of section 103 (a) ~~(2)~~,
 10 *section 104* and section 124 of the Mutual Security Act of
 11 1954, as amended, are continued available until ~~June 30,~~
 12 ~~1957~~ *June 30, 1958*, for the purposes of sections 103 (a)
 13 (3) and 104;

14 Defense support: For assistance authorized by section
 15 131 (c), for Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey),
 16 ~~\$63,700,000~~ *\$71,200,000: Provided, That at least \$50,-*
 17 *000,000 on a grant basis shall be available for Spain, ex-*
 18 *clusive of inter-regional expenses: Provided further, That*
 19 *not less than one-half of the amount available for Spain shall*
 20 *be used for agricultural commodities; for the Near East (in-*
 21 *cluding Greece and Turkey), and Africa, \$165,000,000*
 22 *\$170,000,000; for Asia, \$865,000,000 \$882,000,000;*
 23 *and for Latin America, \$35,000,000 \$52,000,000, of which*
 24 *\$15,000,000 shall remain available until June 30, 1958*

1 of which not less than \$15,000,000 shall be used for assist-
 2 ance to Guatemala;

3 Development assistance: For assistance authorized by
 4 section 201 (c), for the Near East and Africa in accordance
 5 with section 201 (a) (1), \$60,000,000, and for Asia in
 6 accordance with section 201 (a) (2), \$70,000,000 \$293,-
 7 000,000, to remain available until June 30, 1958;

8 Technical cooperation, general authorization: For assist-
 9 ance authorized by section 304 (b), \$135,000,000 \$140,-
 10 500,000;

11 United Nations expanded program of technical assist-
 12 ance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a),
 13 which shall constitute the total United States contribution
 14 through December 31, 1957, \$10,000,000;

15 Technical cooperation programs of the Organization of
 16 American States: For contributions authorized by section
 17 306 (b), \$1,500,000;

18 Special Presidential Fund: For assistance authorized by
 19 section 401 (b), \$100,000,000;

20 Special assistance in joint control areas in Europe: For
 21 assistance authorized by section 403 (b), \$12,200,000;

22 Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration:
 23 For contributions authorized by section 405 (a), \$12,500,-
 24 000: *Provided*, That no funds appropriated in this Act shall

1 be used to assist directly in the migration to any nation in
2 the Western Hemisphere of any person not having a security
3 clearance based on reasonable standards to insure against
4 Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere;

5 United Nations Refugee Fund: For contributions author-
6 ized by section 405 (c), which shall constitute the total
7 United States contribution through June 30, 1957,
8 ~~\$2,000,000~~ \$1,800,000;

9 Escapee program: For assistance authorized by section
10 405 (d), \$6,000,000;

11 United Nations Children's Fund: For contributions
12 authorized by section 406 (b), which shall constitute the
13 total United States contribution through December 31, 1957,
14 \$10,000,000;

15 United Nations Relief and Works Agency: For con-
16 tributions authorized by section 407 (b), \$45,300,000 of
17 unobligated balances of funds appropriated under this head
18 in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956, are con-
19 tinued available through June 30, 1957, for the purposes
20 authorized by section 407;

21 Ocean freight charges, United States voluntary relief
22 agencies: For payments authorized by section 409 (c),
23 ~~\$1,400,000~~ \$3,000,000;

1 Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of
 2 the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as
 3 authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000;

4 Administrative expenses: For expenses authorized by
 5 section 411 (b), ~~\$34,145,000~~ \$33,045,000;

6 ~~Special authorization for the Middle East and Africa:~~
 7 ~~For assistance authorized by section 420, \$100,000,000;~~

8 Foreign research reactor projects: For expenses neces-
 9 sary to enable the President to carry out foreign research
 10 reactor projects authorized by section 10 of the Mutual
 11 Security Act of 1956, \$5,500,000;

12 Funds appropriated under each paragraph of this Act
 13 (other than appropriations under the head of military assist-
 14 ance), including specified amounts of unobligated balances,
 15 and amounts certified pursuant to section 1311 of the Supple-
 16 mental Appropriation Act, 1955, as having been obligated
 17 against appropriations heretofore made for the same general
 18 purpose as such paragraph, which amounts are hereby con-
 19 tinued available during the fiscal year 1957, may be consoli-
 20 dated in one account for each paragraph.

21 *An amount equal to 25 per centum of the funds appro-*
 22 *priated for the fiscal year 1957 for purposes of title I*

1 *(chapter 3), title III, and section 403 of the Mutual Security*
2 *Act of 1954, as amended, shall remain available until Sep-*
3 *tember 30, 1957.*

4 GENERAL PROVISIONS

5 SEC. 102. Payments made from funds appropriated
6 herein for engineering fees and services to any individual
7 engineering firm on any one project in excess of \$25,000
8 shall be reported to the Committees on Appropriations of
9 the Senate and House of Representatives at least twice
10 annually.

11 SEC. 103. Pursuant to section 1415 of the Supple-
12 mental Appropriation Act, 1953, and in addition to other
13 amounts made available pursuant to said section, not to
14 exceed the equivalent of \$2,000,000 of foreign currencies
15 or credits owed to or owned by the United States shall
16 remain available until expended, without reimbursement
17 to the Treasury, for liquidation of obligations incurred against
18 such currencies or credits prior to July 1, 1953, pursuant
19 to authority contained in the Mutual Security Act of 1951,
20 as amended, and Acts for which funds were authorized by
21 that Act and, hereafter, foreign currencies generated under
22 the provisions of this Act shall be utilized only for the
23 purposes for which the funds providing the commodities
24 which generated the currency were appropriated.

25 SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this Act

1 nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result
2 of assistance under this or any other Act shall be used to
3 make payments on account of the principal or interest on
4 any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to
5 such government by any other foreign government; nor
6 shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for
7 which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country
8 to make payment on such debts: *Provided, however, That*
9 to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign
10 government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and
11 such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required
12 to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section
13 142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended,
14 such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed
15 purpose consistent with the provisions of such Act.

16 SEC. 105. ~~Not~~ *Except for the appropriation entitled*
17 *"Special Presidential Fund"*, not more than 20 per centum
18 of any appropriation item made available by this Act shall
19 be obligated and/or reserved during the last two months of
20 the fiscal year.

21 SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Approp-
22 riation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Congress), is
23 hereby amended by substituting "during the two succeeding
24 fiscal years" for "until June 30, 1958" in the third sentence
25 thereof, and by substituting "under the authority of the

1 Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended” for “in this Act”
2 in the fifth proviso thereof.

3 ~~SEC. 107. None of the funds contained in this Act shall~~
4 ~~be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the~~
5 ~~Mutual Security Act of 1956.~~

6 *SEC. 107. The Congress hereby reiterates its opposition*
7 *to the seating in the United Nations of the Communist China*
8 *regime as the representative of China, and it is hereby de-*
9 *clared to be the continuing sense of the Congress that the*
10 *Communist regime in China has not demonstrated its willing-*
11 *ness to fulfill the obligations contained in the Charter of*
12 *the United Nations and should not be recognized to represent*
13 *China in the United Nations. In the event of the seating*
14 *of representatives of the Chinese Communist regime in the*
15 *Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations,*
16 *the President is requested to inform the Congress insofar*
17 *as is compatible with the requirements of national security,*
18 *of the implications of this action upon the foreign policy of*
19 *the United States and our foreign relationships, including*
20 *that created by membership in the United Nations, together*
21 *with any recommendations which he may have with respect*
22 *to the matter.*

1 SEC. 108. This Act may be cited as the “Mutual Secu-
2 rity Appropriation Act, 1957”.

Passed the House of Representatives July 11, 1956.

Attest: RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk.

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

[Report No. 2579]

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for
the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for
other purposes.

JULY 12, 1956

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Appropriations

JULY 14, 1956

Reported with amendments

Calendar No. 2619

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 16, 1956

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MANSFIELD to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, viz:

- 1 On page 3, line 14, strike out "\$10,000,000" and in-
- 2 sert in lieu thereof "\$15,500,000".

7-16-56—B

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MANSFIELD to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

JULY 16, 1956

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

July 20, 1956

14. NATURAL RESOURCES. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and the Public Works Committee reported with amendments S. Res. 281, expressing the sense of the Senate regarding executive policy in connection with water resources development, etc. (S. Rept. 2686). p. 12403

15. MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957. Began debate on this bill, H. R. 12130. p. 12471

16. FOREIGN AID; IMPORTS. Sen. Malone claimed that foreign aid has been used to foster production, particularly agricultural production, which is competitive with U. S. products. p. 12490

17. RECLAMATION; FARM LOANS. Agreed to the conference report on H. R. 5881, to supplement the Federal reclamation laws by providing for Federal cooperation in non-Federal projects and for participation by non-Federal agencies in Federal projects. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 12445

18. EXECUTIVE PAY; RETIREMENT. Passed with amendments H. R. 7619, the executive pay bill, with additional provisions regarding retirement, etc. (pp. 12438, 12447). Rejected an amendment by Sen. Morse to make the executive pay provisions retroactive to Jan. 1, 1956 (p. 12465). Agreed to an amendment by Sen. Russell to decrease from 275 to 145 the additional major positions in the Defense Department, etc. (p. 12460). Senate conferees were appointed (p. 12469).

As passed, the bill includes executive pay items for this Department as follows: Secretary, \$25,000; Under Secretary, \$21,000; Assistant Secretaries, Administrator of CSS, Administrator of RFA, and General Counsel, \$20,000; heads of ARS, SCS, FFA, FS, and FCI, \$17,500; certain scientists on foot-and-mouth disease work, \$19,000 (now \$15,000); all GS-18 positions, \$16,000; and all GS-17 positions, an additional step at \$14,835. Allocates the positions of 7 directors of CSS commodity offices at GS-16. Authorizes allocation of 3 positions as Deputy ARS Administrator at GS-18. Provides for Presidential appointment and Senate confirmation of the General Counsel, with a provision that the existing position shall be abolished effective upon appointment and qualification of a General Counsel or Apr. 1, 1957, whichever is earlier.

The bill provides for certain positions of particular interest to this Department as follows: Budget Bureau Director, Comptroller General, ODM Director, \$22,500; Civil Defense Administrator, GSA Administrator, FCA Governor, \$21,000; Chairman of Civil Service Commission, Chairman of Council of Economic Advisers, \$20,500; Deputy Director of Budget Bureau, \$20,500; Assistant Directors of Budget Bureau, Archivist, Director of National Science Foundation, members of CSC, \$20,000.

Title II of the bill provides that the term of office of each Civil Service Commissioner shall be 6 years, on a staggered-term basis, and that one of the commission members (instead of the Executive Director) shall be responsible for administration, if present during the absence of the Chairman.

Title IV is a revision of the Civil Service Retirement Act. It is a modification of S. 2875, the Johnston retirement bill which was recently passed by the Senate.

19. APPROPRIATIONS. Received from the President various supplemental appropriation estimates for 1957 (S. Doc. 143); to Appropriations Committee. p. 12402 (For items of interest to USDA, see item 66, this Digest.)

20. RECLAMATION. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported with amendment S. 3957, to amend the act authorizing exchange and amendment of certain farm units on Federal irrigation projects in order to limit the time during which applications may be made (S. Rept. 2685). p. 12403

Passed without amendment S. 3728, to authorize the San Angelo Federal reclamation project, Tex. p. 12420

21. TRANSPORTATION. The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee reported without amendment S. J. Res. 197, authorizing the President to proclaim the week of Oct. 22, 1956, as National Transportation Week (S. Rept. 2698) p. 12403
The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee agreed to recommend that the Senate accept the House amendments to S. 898, the truck trip leasing bill. p. D846
22. WORLD TRADE FAIR. Passed without amendment H. J. Res. 604, authorizing the President to invite the States and foreign countries to participate in the U. S. World Trade Fair. This measure will now be sent to the President. p. 12422
23. FARM-CITY WEEK. The Judiciary Committee reported without amendment H. J. Res. 317, designating the week of Nov. 16, 1956, as National Farm-City Week (S. Rept. 2702) p. 12504
24. PATENTS. The Judiciary Committee reported without amendment H. R. 2128, to authorize the extension of patents covering inventions whose practice was prevented or curtailed during certain emergency periods by service of the patent owner in the armed forces or by production controls (S. Rept. 2704) p. 12504
25. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. It was agreed that the calendar will be called Mon., and it was announced that the second supplemental appropriation bill will be considered when reported. pp. 12424, D851

BILLS INTRODUCED - July 20

26. BUDGET BUREAU. S. J. Res. 199, by Sen. Knowland, to authorize an additional position of Assistant Director of the Budget Bureau; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee.
27. ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES. S. 4262, by Sen. Wiley, to make it a Federal offense to attack, etc., certain HEW personnel engaged in enforcing food and drug and public health laws; to Judiciary Committee. Remarks of author. p. 12406
28. CONTRACTS. S. 4260, by Sen. Kennedy, to make various changes in the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act; to Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Remarks of author. p. 12405
29. LIBRARIES; PUBLICATIONS. H. R. 12325, by Rep. Hays, Ohio, "to constitute certain libraries as designated depositories of Government publications"; to House Administration Committee.
30. TEXTILES. H. R. 12332, by Rep. Smith, Miss., to protect producers and consumers against misbranding and false advertising of the fiber content of textile fiber products; to Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX - July 20

31. FLOOD CONTROL. Rep. Weaver inserted a Saturday Evening Post article describing a flood control project at Lincoln, Nebr. p. A5715
32. FARM HOUSING LOANS; Extension of remarks of Rep. Hays, Ohio, commending the farm housing provisions of the omnibus housing bill and criticizing the.

Indian Hills addition (abstract 1045), said point being the southwest corner of lot 22, block U, of the said Indian Hills addition; and thence north along the west line of said Indian Hills addition (abstract 1045) 2,117.6 feet to the point of beginning.

Second tract: All that land lying and being in Dallas County, Tex., and embracing all of blocks Y, 86, 87 and 88 of Dalworth Park and roadways and alleyways within and adjacent thereto, as filed for record in volume 1, pages 546 and 547 of the plat records of Dallas County, Tex., and more particularly described as follows:

Beginning at the southeast corner of block 87 of Dalworth Park, said point being designated on the ground by a one inch iron pipe, from whence a one-half inch pipe bears south 0 degree 22 minutes 30 seconds west 60 feet; thence north 89 degrees 37 minutes 30 seconds west along the north line of Galveston Street 600 feet to the southwest corner of block 88 of Dalworth Park; said point being designated on the ground by one inch iron pipe from whence a three-fourth inch iron rod bears south 0 degree 22 minutes 30 seconds west 60 feet; thence north 0 degree 22 minutes 30 seconds east along the east line of Fourteenth Street 424 feet to the northwest corner of block Y of Dalworth Park, said point being designated on the ground by a one inch iron pipe; thence north 81 degrees 28 minutes 30 seconds east along the south line of Jefferson Avenue and being also the north line of blocks Y and 86 of Dalworth Park, 668.04 feet to a point in the west line of the 273.8 acre tract of land acquired by the United States Navy from Lou Foote, et ux., by declaration of taking August 4, 1942; thence south 0 degree 22 minutes 30 seconds west along the west line of the present Grand Prairie Field (Lou Foote tract) 527.36 feet to a point for a corner; thence north 89 degrees 37 minutes 30 seconds west along the extension of the north line of Galveston Street 60 feet to the place of beginning, containing 7.21 acres, more or less.

SEC. 2. The conveyance of the above-described two hundred forty and fifty-five one-hundredths acre tract of land shall be subject to all outstanding easements and rights-of-way for public roads and highways, railroads, water lines, sewer lines, telephone and telegraph lines, power lines, and such other utilities which now exist.

SEC. 3. All mineral rights, including oil and gas, in the lands authorized to be conveyed by this act shall be reserved to the United States.

SEC. 4. The conveyance of the property authorized by this act shall be upon condition that such property shall be used primarily for training of the National Guard and the Air National Guard and for other military purposes, and that if the State of Texas shall cease to use the property so conveyed for the purposes intended, then title thereto shall immediately revert to the United States, and in addition, all improvements made by the State of Texas during its occupancy shall vest in the United States without payment of compensation therefor.

SEC. 5. Nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent the State of Texas from leasing or otherwise permitting to the Civil Air Patrol (CAP), an auxiliary of the United States Air Force, the use of a portion of said premises conveyed to the State.

SEC. 6. The conveyance of the property authorized by this act shall be upon the further provision that whenever the Congress of the United States declares a state of war or other national emergency, or the President declares a state of emergency, and upon the determination by the Secretary of Defense that the property conveyed under this act is useful or necessary for military, air, or naval purposes, or in the interest of national defense, the United States shall have the right, without obligation to make pay-

ment of any kind, to reenter upon the property and use the same or any part thereof, including any and all improvements made thereon by the State of Texas, for the duration of such state of war or such emergency. Upon the termination of such state of war or such emergency plus 6 months such property shall revert to the State of Texas, together with all appurtenances and utilities belonging or appertaining thereto.

SEC. 7. In executing the deed of conveyance authorized by this act, the Secretary of the Navy or his designee shall include specific provisions covering the reservations and conditions contained in sections 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of this act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

EXCHANGE OF CERTAIN LAND BETWEEN THE CITY OF EL PASO, TEX., AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 2692, House bill 5519.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 5519) to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Army to convey certain tracts of land in El Paso County, Tex., to the city of El Paso, Tex., in exchange for certain lands to be conveyed by the city of El Paso, Tex., to the United States Government.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this is a bill which involves the transfer of property. In my opinion, the Federal Government is really making a good bargain not only because the properties exchanged are of equal value, but because the airport which will result will be of great advantage to the Federal Government in terms of national security. The airport will receive military planes which will use the airport when they need to use it. Judging from the accidents which are occurring lately, because of the lack of adequate maintenance, we should have more airports at which planes can land in an emergency.

Mr. President, I have no objection.

There being no objection, the bill (H. R. 5519) was considered, ordering to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CONVEYANCE OF CERTAIN LAND TO THE STATE OF TEXAS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 2694, House bill 9081.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 9081) to direct the Secretary of the Army to convey 3 acres of land to the State of Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, this is another National Guard transfer which I think completely complies with the Morse formula, and I have no objection.

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

CITY OF ELKINS, W. VA.—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 2182) for the relief of the city of Elkins, W. Va. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report. (For conference report, see House proceedings of July 18, 1956, p. 12146, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the bill passed the Senate and the House amended it. In conference the House withdrew its objection to the Senate bill and agreed to the Senate measure. The conference report has been approved in the House, and we are approving what we have already done for the relief of the city of Elkins, W. Va.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consideration of Calendar No. 2619, House bill 12130.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations with amendments.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, we are operating under a unanimous-consent agreement, providing for

1 hour on amendments and 6 hours on the bill. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] may offer his amendment to the pending bill notwithstanding the fact that the committee amendments have not been acted on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from Montana will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 14, it is proposed to strike out "\$10,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$15,500,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator yield himself?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator has 30 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield myself 5 minutes.

First, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN] may be associated with me in offering the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the amendment seeks to raise the amount in the United Nations Technical Assistance Fund from \$10 million, as allowed by the Appropriations Committee, to \$15,500,000, as requested by the administration and authorized by both the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This is the same amount as was appropriated for contributions for the U. N. calendar year 1956. There was no controversy regarding the U. N. technical assistance program in either the authorized committee reports, discussions, or the floor debate. Both the authorizing committee reports strongly supported the program.

The proposed U. N. calendar year 1957 contributions to the central UNTA fund, as in 1956, is 50 percent of the total contributions. If contributions of host countries to local projects are counted, the United States contribution is 16 percent of the calendar year 1957 program. The United States percentage of the central fund used to be 60 percent in 1950, and has dropped during the years to 50 percent. The current program employs 1,360 experts in 92 countries. Since the beginning of the program, more than 5,000 experts from 77 countries have work in the program.

It is my understanding, on the basis of some research, that four citizens of the Soviet Union are working in the United Nations Technical Assistance Program. I might add this is the first program in which the Soviet Union itself has made any contribution of any significance.

So I hope the Senate in its wisdom would see fit to agree to the restoration of the fund, which was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and about which there was no objection at the time the mutual security bill was being considered on the floor.

Mr. President, I shall withhold the remainder of my time.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield to the minority leader.

Mr. KNOWLAND. For the sake of the RECORD, I think it should be pointed out why the Appropriations Committee did not restore the \$5 million which had been requested by the administration. It certainly was not because the Appropriations Committee is opposed to technical assistance, because, as the distinguished Senator from Montana knows, in the mutual-aid bill for our own technical assistance, the so-called point 4 program, there are substantial sums provided, and we have, over a period of years, in our bilateral agreements, provided for technical assistance. It is not because there is opposition to technical assistance for the United Nations fund; and it is certainly not because of such a sum as \$5 million in the bill approximating \$4 billion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Montana has expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I shall protect the Senator if he runs out of time, by yielding him time.

The basic reason is that the Senate of the United States, on occasion after occasion, has established the policy that we believe the agencies of the United Nations should not be calling upon the United States to provide more than 33 1/3 percent of the cost of these activities.

Even the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], and other Senators who have been staunch supporters of the United Nations, and who have been supporters of the various activities of that organization, have felt that we should be directing the attention and the efforts of the executive branch of the Government toward bringing the contributions by the United States down to the 33 1/3-percent level.

So I think that, for the RECORD at least, and for our associates both in that organization and abroad, and for the people of the United States, it should be realized that we are merely trying to have the Appropriations Committee bring the item in conformity with what had been demonstrated to be the policy and the sentiment of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I want to support wholeheartedly what the distinguished minority leader has said, because every statement he has uttered is based on fact. It has been the thesis in Congress that, so far as the U. N. and its affiliated and its subsidiary organizations are concerned, the United States contribution should get down to the one-third limita-

tion as quickly as possible. It just happened that on yesterday the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, was asked by the press about his position so far as the restoration of funds was concerned. As I recall the transcript of testimony, as it appeared in the New York Times, he expressed the hope that the Senate would restore the fund to \$15.5 million, an increase of \$5.5 million over the Appropriations Committee figure; and he also said that we should work toward what the distinguished minority leader has brought out—a gradual decline in the amount appropriated by the Government to the United Nations technical-assistance program, and other programs, to the extent of 33 1/3 percent. I would hope that the distinguished minority leader, with his great influence, would see fit to use it to help increase to \$15,500,000 the amount provided by us this year for the technical-assistance program. And I hope that action will be taken, as a result of representations already made in the Appropriations Committee and as a result of the vigorous representations which all of us hope will be made this year in the General Assembly of the United Nations, where the distinguished minority leader will, along with the distinguished Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], represent this country. Mr. President, I think that when two men of such outstanding caliber are connected, are joined, in this matter as delegates to the U. N., much can be done to achieve the objective which all of us desire to have achieved. So I sincerely hope that the distinguished Senator from California, with his great influence, will do what he can this year to give this proposal a chance.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, if the Senator from Montana will yield to me, I shall yield myself 5 minutes from the time available to our side, so the time I use will not be taken out of the time available to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, it seems to me that this matter should be thoroughly understood.

In the first place, the United States has carried very heavy burdens since the close of World War II. As the distinguished Senator from Montana is well aware, by means of various forms of mutual aid, we have provided—and it has been in the interest of our own country, as well as in the interest of the countries we have been trying to help—an estimated \$50 billion or more. The pending bill calls for approximately \$4 billion. In large part, this has been made necessary by the fact that we have attempted to build in the world a system of collective security. We have attempted to rehabilitate the war-torn world, and we have made very great contributions.

We are one of the 70 member nations of the United Nations. In view of the fact that 95 percent of the burden of the Korean war, in terms of resources support, was provided by the United States; and in view of the further fact that of the

United Nations members who supplied armed forces during the Korean war, the United States supplied 90 percent of the manpower; and in view of the further fact that we have carried very heavy burdens, it seems to me that in this one field of technical assistance the other 69 member nations of the United Nations should be able to contribute sufficient funds so that the United States, in turn, in conformity with the policy established by the Congress, might keep its contribution to this agency at the 33 1/2-percent level, which under all the circumstances it seems to me the other nations should not expect us to exceed. As a matter of fact, I think that in the course of years we should even be able to reduce our contribution below 33 1/2 percent; and I think that opinion has been expressed by other Members of this body.

But for the present, it seems to me to be a reasonable objective not to have the United States contribute, in connection with subordinate agencies of the United Nations, 50 percent of the cost of the total program. I do not think we should expect the United States to contribute 50 percent of the total.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. There is little fault that I can find with what the distinguished Senator from California has said, although I do not agree with him entirely.

I should like to point out that we should consider the United Nations technical assistance program in a somewhat different light from the programs of the other subsidiary organizations of the United Nations.

As I understand, in 1950, the United States contribution, percentagewise, to the United Nations technical assistance program was 60 percent. Since that time it has dropped to 50 percent.

Mr. KNOWLAND. In how many years?

Mr. MANSFIELD. In 6 years it has dropped to 50 percent.

If local contributions are considered, the United States percentage would be approximately 16 percent. I believe that the contribution of 50 percent—without taking into account local contributions—by the United States is justified, because the program supplements the United States bilateral programs having the same objectives. However, we should keep in mind that in the case of this particular subsidiary organization, if we consider what the host governments contribute, then we find that the United States contribution, instead of being 50 percent, amounts, I repeat, to approximately 16 percent.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, in what the Senator from Montana has said, so far as he has gone, of course he is quite correct. However, I think there is an additional factor which both the Senate and the country should understand, namely, that United States dollars are convertible everywhere in the world, whereas in many cases the contributions made by the other nations, which are "picking up part of the check," are not convertible—even though, as in

the case of the Soviet Union, many such countries are reputed to have large stocks of gold. So, Mr. President, in the case of the Iron Curtain countries their contributions can be spent only within the Iron Curtain. In the case of the technical assistance they render—for instance, the training of technicians—instead of having them trained where they can best be trained, there exists a pressure or leverage to have them sent into the Soviet Union for training, and there they can be indoctrinated by the Soviets. That situation exists because the Soviet Union will not allow such currencies to be convertible, whereas in the case of the coin of the realm which can be expended anywhere in the world, there are very few nations which are making a contribution comparable to that being made by the United States.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I cannot disagree with the Senator from California. What he has said only proves that both of us are correct.

AUTHORIZATION FOR SENATOR KNOWLAND TO ACCEPT THE AWARD OF THE CROSS OF GRAND COMMANDER, ROYAL ORDER OF THE PHOENIX

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I wish to ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding the unanimous-consent agreement which has been entered into, I may now introduce a bill and request its immediate consideration.

Will the Senator from California yield to me for that purpose?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Then, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce the bill which I send to the desk; and I wish to request its immediate consideration, notwithstanding the unanimous-consent agreement presently in effect.

Mr. President, for the benefit of the Senator from California, whom I have not consulted about this matter—although I always consult him about matters of this kind—let me say that my request is not made for the purpose of immobilizing him; but I must leave the Chamber, and I wish to have action taken on this bill very promptly, just as we have taken very prompt action on other measures of a similar nature.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Texas?

There being no objection, the bill (S. 4255) to authorize the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, United States Senator from the State of California, to accept and wear the award of the Cross of Grand Commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix, tendered by the government of the Kingdom of Greece, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, United States Senator from the State of California, is author-

ized to accept the award of the Cross of Grand Commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix, together with any decorations and documents evidencing such award. The Department of State is authorized to deliver to the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND any such decorations and documents evidencing such award.

SEC. 2. Notwithstanding section 2 of the act of January 31, 1881 (ch. 32, 21 Stat. 604; 5 U. S. C. 114), or other provision of law to the contrary, the named recipient may wear and display the aforementioned decoration after acceptance thereof.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I am informed by the authorities of the State Department that this is the usual measure in a situation of this kind.

Earlier in the year the Senate passed a very similar measure in the case of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. RAYBURN, of Texas.

I am told that the bill is drawn in accordance with the precedents in like matters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DOUGLAS in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Texas for the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill (S. 4256) was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill has been passed; and the Senator from California may wear about his neck the Cross of the Grand Commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix—which, like the proverbial bird, will enable him to rise from the ashes. [Laughter.] The Chair prays that it may not be an alb-tross.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield to me?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I rise to speak in favor of an amendment which I am cosponsoring along with my distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD]. This amendment is to increase the amount of the appropriation to the United Nations technical aid program to \$15,500,000.

I wish to emphasize, Mr. President, that the amount we are asking the Senate to appropriate is the amount that was authorized by Congress. It is the amount the administration requested. It is the amount that both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee reported. Again, it is the amount that both Houses of Congress authorized a few short weeks ago.

The amount may seem small to some of us, after voting billions of dollars for some programs. But the effect of this cut is enormous. The decrease of \$5,500,000 is one-third of the total authorization. It means a 20 percent cut in the whole program. Since the money

contributed by the United States is matched by the other participating nations, the loss to the program is doubled. This means that the loss in operating funds to the program will be \$11 million.

I am aware, Mr. President, that the basis on which this cut was made was the so-called principle that the United States will not contribute more than one-third to any United Nations' program. The \$10 million recommended by the Appropriations Committee does in fact represent that fraction of the total United Nations budget for this purpose.

But, Mr. President, should we gouge out our eyes with this rule of thumb? Should we cripple a vital program which is so very much in our own interests in order to give emphasis to a statistical ratio? Shall we let a rule be our master, or shall we be the master of the rule?

I think it is a good idea for the United States to insist on greater contributions by other countries to United Nations programs. But we are not dealing with a theory, but with a fact. This coming year's technical aid program is already budgeted. Our Government committed us to contribute \$15,500,000 to the technical aid program. This was done, as I understand, when the United Nations budget was made up some months ago. Our Government, of course, makes its commitments subject to the action of Congress in appropriating the necessary funds. Nevertheless there is a moral obligation on our part to support our Government's commitments. There is no program that, costing so little, means so much in the eyes of the world as this particular program—and no commitment which in the eyes of the world is a more significant one than the commitment to contribute to the United Nations technical aid program.

If we cut this figure by \$5,500,000 we shall be cutting one-third out of our contribution and one-fifth out of the whole program. It will cripple the program. It will expose us to great criticism in the chancelleries of free nations and it will furnish grist to the Soviet propaganda mill. Above all, it will slow down a very vital program which is helping to build conditions of peace and stability in the world.

Mr. President, the United Nations organization was in the beginning an American idea. It is today an American ideal. The \$5 million that we propose to save by cutting back on our Government's commitment to the United Nations will, I believe, be the most costly \$5 million we ever saved. It will be at the expense of our professed devotion to the United Nations. Our fine words of brief in the U. N. will be measured against our act of parsimony in crippling this vital U. N. program.

Some of my colleagues may want to know why we have to give funds to the United Nations when we have our own technical aid program. The report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee answers that question. It says that the two programs supplement, rather than duplicate, each other.

For my friends on the other side of the aisle who may not wish to take the word

of the committee report, I only have to point to the hearings. There the representative of the administration's State Department told how important the U. N. program was to the United States. Before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Mr. Francis Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State, said that "every effort has been made to avoid any duplication or overlapping." The two programs are very carefully coordinated in the field and in the headquarters at New York.

Among the advantages of the U. N. program to the United States is that some nations do not want to accept bilateral aid but are willing to take advice and assistance from the United Nations. Because of that, the U. N. can often bring about results which are in the United States' national interest but which the United States cannot bring about alone. Also, our participation in the multilateral U. N. program has important political advantages to the United States. It shows the world that we are willing to work together with other nations to improve the standard of living in the underdeveloped nations.

Mr. President, I have received many communications from citizens and organizations in my State in favor of the pending amendment. I have heard from high-ranking officials in the State Department. This is not a partisan matter, of course. I am here appealing for support of the administration's position on this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 5 minutes of the Senator from New York have expired.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Montana yield me 2 additional minutes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. I would like to see us contribute more rather than less to the United Nations technical aid program. I think it might be an excellent idea for us to give greater emphasis to the UN technical aid program and perhaps somewhat less to our bilateral technical aid program. But that question is not before us. The question here is merely the maintenance of the present program at its presently scheduled level.

Therefore, Mr. President, I urge all my colleagues to support the pending amendment to the mutual security appropriations bill. For the good of the Nation's foreign policy, I ask Senators to give the U. N. technical aid program the full authorization of \$15,500,000. This may be the cheapest bit of good will we have purchased all session.

Mr. President, yesterday the New York Times printed an editorial which strongly urged the restoration of this cut. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOREIGN AID'S STEPCHILD

When the clock ticks off adjournment for this election-year session of Congress there may be time for sober afterthoughts about the erratic handling of appropriations for

the United Nations technical assistance program over the last 3 years. The pattern is one which would induce nervous prostration in any businessman devoted to sound principles of operation and planning. Unfortunately, what is affected in this instance is the day-to-day lives of millions of the world's ill-nourished, ill-clothed and poorly sheltered.

In 1954 the Administration's request for funds for the program was obliterated. Months passed and a new Congress met before public disapproval and official embarrassment brought remedial action. Meanwhile, cutbacks made imperative on operations already in progress entailed dismissals of personnel, abandonment of urgently necessary plans and indefinite delays on commitments made to governments.

Last year false hopes burgeoned that a new era of steadfast support was at hand. Congress approved without incident the figure of \$24,000,000 stipulated by the administration—for a period of 18 months. It included \$15,500,000 for the 1956 calendar year.

The woefully inadequate program seemed at last to be picking up momentum, inspiring dreams of the possibility of long-term planning. Of 76 participating governments, 32 increased their 1956 pledges over 1955, and 6 others pledged for the first time. The budget reached an all-time high of \$28,940,563.

This past week, as the deadline for action neared, these happy prospects appeared to be shattered. House and Senate concurred in cutting to \$10,000,000 the \$15,500,000 request submitted. Since other nations normally merely match United States contributions, the loss to the program will actually be \$11,000,000.

Whether the cut stands or is restored by last-minute adoption of the Mansfield amendment offered on Monday, the psychological impact will remain. So will the fact that legislative capriciousness makes an unsteady platform from which to preach international goodwill.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, when this question was before the Appropriations Committee, and when the bill was before us for markup, there was actually no formal action by way of a rollcall on this proposal. I am quite sure that, along with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], I reserved the right to take individual action with respect to this item, because I was very much interested in it.

The program was established through the leadership of this country back in 1950. I think its accomplishments have been rather impressive.

At one time or another some 5,000 technical experts have been provided, from at least 77 countries. As I recall, there are at present 1,360 technicians on the multilateral program. Ten thousand fellowships for study abroad have been awarded. Of course, that is in the interest of good public relations and good foreign relations.

I wish to emphasize what the distinguished Senator from Montana has said. To be sure, at one time we did contribute 60 percent of the amount pledged. Our contribution had dropped to 50 percent, and I utter the hope now that we can bring it in line with the formula we sought to work out in the Appropriations Committee several years ago.

If we reduce it summarily at this time, there will be some dismay in foreign

quarters. There will be some misunderstanding, and certainly we shall weaken the negotiatory powers and the negotiating hands of our people in the subsidiary organizations meeting in Geneva at the present time. If this cut is permitted to stand, it will be equivalent to taking 550 experts off the rolls for a year. It would be equal to the entire amount which has been budgeted for the Middle East. The amount involved here is nearly 70 percent of the entire amount which has been allocated to the Food and Agricultural Organization.

The projects which have been carried on under this program are rather technical in nature; and it is my information that at least 80 percent of the projects are in that category. The net result will be that we shall diminish, in some degree, these technical projects, but along with that, we shall probably chop off every new project which may be underway.

At the outset, some years ago, I was not too happy about this program, but after getting around the world a few times I discovered some circumstances and conditions which brought me into line. I find that there are sensitive countries which are a little alarmed about taking aid directly from the United States technical program. The reason is this: They are within the orbit or the periphery of the Soviet Union. In some cases they have a common border with Red China. So they are afraid to accept aid from us directly, but they would accept it from the United Nations, because the Soviet Union is a component member, and it has been making contributions, even though they have been small.

It is because of the countries which must be sensitive about their integrity and well-being, and which must be thinking constantly about their self-defense, that the aid in this category must be multilateral. Those countries cannot easily accept aid on a bilateral basis. I should be reluctant, indeed, to see those countries cut off, when there is an opportunity to keep them in the orbit of the free world, and particularly in the orbit of the United States.

If this reduction stands, it will be a propaganda weapon, I am sure, in the hands of the Soviet Union. If it must be related over at Geneva that the Congress of the United States has, by its final action, reduced this appropriation by \$5,500,000, I do not quite know in what persuasive light our own delegates and representatives can present the situation to the entourage which has been assembled from all parts of the world. There will be some explaining to do, of course.

Coming in the middle of these programs, such a cut would not put our country in too good a light. If the amount involved were of astronomical proportions, the situation might be different, but today we are dealing with \$5,500,000. That was the original request. That was the authorization carried in the bill which had the approval of both the House and Senate.

To be sure, an authorization does not mean that the Congress must appropriate up to the authorization. How-

ever, because of the peculiar circumstances in this particular kind of operation, I believe that the cut should be restored. I hope that the amendment offered by my distinguished colleague from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] will receive the approbation of the Senate.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I rise to speak on this amendment because I have had some experience with the subject, having been a delegate to the United Nations Assembly from the United States 2 years ago.

I agree with everything the Senator from California has said about the strenuous efforts which should be made to reduce our percentage participation in the various United Nations programs to one-third. Strenuous efforts were being made in that direction when I was a delegate. The Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] will be our two representatives during the coming year. They will have the same problem before them.

Mr. President we have two kinds of technical assistance programs. We have the bilateral program, which is costing us in the neighborhood of \$140 million a year. We also have the multilateral program, which we instigated because we felt the program would be sounder if we could so operate it that all the nations in the United Nations could participate in helping underdeveloped countries.

Mr. President, I have made quite a thorough study of the subject of economic and technical assistance and I believe it is one of the most important parts of our foreign policy. It is vitally important that all of us gain an understanding of the underdeveloped nations and of their aspirations for freedom, independence, and self-determination.

It has been and continues to be my opinion that we should continue to move toward the one-third participation, but that it would be too fast to do it all at once. At the beginning our contribution was about 60 percent. We have moved our contribution down to around 50 percent. In other words, we are moving toward our objective.

With new nations having been admitted last year, and as more nations come in, there will be more than ever a chance for increased participation by other nations and in that way our percentage contribution will be reduced.

I have made a study also of what the percentage actually would be, if we considered what the recipient countries are contributing themselves. I find that if we considered their participation in their own welfare, and considered all the contributions made to this U. N. program our share would be somewhere around 17 percent. It would be as low as that.

The same problem came up with the children's fund, where the contributing countries, whom we are trying to get to contribute to the fund, came in and participated, and in that way made our percentage very much less.

Therefore I feel that in cases like this we are justified in going slowly in arriving at the 33 1/3 percent, which we all

desire. In this instance, when we are concerned with only \$5,500,000, it seems to me, in light of the shock that this proposed cut would cause in the other nations who are participating with us, that it will not pay for us to cut this amount so drastically, particularly from a psychological standpoint.

If the United States is to continue to develop a program designed to assist the underdeveloped countries toward a better standard of living and toward fulfillment of their aspirations, we cannot afford, in any way, to recede from our wholehearted support and backing of this United Nations technical assistance program.

Any failure by the United States to encourage and embrace the potentialities of this program will be most disillusioning and discouraging to the peoples of the world, who have so enthusiastically embraced it.

I am told by our representatives at the UN, that these countries are already very much discouraged, not because of the amount involved, but because of the fact that we seem to be receding from the enthusiastic support we have given to the multilateral approach.

Let me add this further word. The way for us to contribute less and less of the total is for us to get more and more nations into this operation. The multilateral approach is making it more and more important for all the nations of the world to work together on these matters, and in that way get away from the idea that Uncle Sam is doing all of it. I believe it is very important that we restore the amount, and I support wholeheartedly the amendment of the Senator from Montana.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I fully share the sentiments expressed by the able Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. He has made a very splendid statement, with which I should like to be associated. I realize that our contribution has been a higher percentage of the whole than we would like to have it. However, we have made progress in reducing that percentage, and I have every reason to believe that we will make even greater progress in that direction in the weeks ahead.

I think that this is very important work. The money is a very small amount, but I hope that the Senate will go along with the amendment of the Senator from Montana, so ably supported by one of the ranking members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I thank the majority leader for his kind words.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BRIDGES. I have listened very attentively to the statements of my colleagues in urging the Senate to appropriate more money for this item. In years past I have been one of those who have supported the item of technical assistance. I have supported it in the past, and I support it again this year.

However, I point out that we have been engaged in trying to bring the United States contribution to U. N. activities down to 33⅓ percent. It seems to me that when we contribute 33⅓ percent, we are certainly contributing our bit to a mutual project to which most of the nations belong.

That has nothing to do with whether we approve the project. Of course we are in favor of it. We have been in it for some time. It is accomplishing results.

However, each time when anything like this happens, as the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], knows, we hear it said, "Well, let us bring the contribution down to 33⅓ percent on the other items, but let us exempt this one."

At other times the argument is made—and this is an even more frequent one; I have heard it made time and time again—"Let the item go through as it is this year, in the hope that next year we may be able to bring it down to the lower figure." Those are the two lines of argument which are put forward every time an attempt is made to cut the amount.

I grant that those who are favorable to this item are very sincere, and I grant that the work that is done is worth while. I have supported it in the past, and I shall continue to support it. However, we are confronted with the question of whether we will exempt this item and apply a reduction to other items, and then express the wishful hope that it will be reduced next year.

It has been said that the amount has been reduced from 60 to 50 percent. That is very slow progress, Mr. President. That is a reduction of 10 percent in 6 years.

I believe we should let the amount stand as provided by the House. That is a fair amount.

Let us see what Russia contributes. The U. S. S. R. contributes 3.7 percent against a 50-percent contribution by the United States.

Let us see what Great Britain contributes. She contributes 8.3 percent.

Let us see what some of the other nations contribute. Red Poland contributes not 1 percent, but six one-hundredths of 1 percent.

What about Bulgaria? She contributes five one-hundredths of 1 percent.

Let us see what some of the other countries contribute. Some of them contribute one-hundredth of 1 percent. I am not going to pursue this argument any further. Apparently the Senate is drifting in one direction. However, I will say very frankly that we must make a stand somewhere. I hope the Senate will retain the House figure, and that we will not indulge in the wishful and hopeful thinking that a reduction will be made during the next 12 months. On that basis, if we have been able to reduce the amount by only 10 percent in 6 years, the reduction next year will be so small that it will take the next quarter of a century to get our contribution down to 33⅓ percent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DOUGLAS in the chair). The Chair re-

grets to inform the Senator from New Hampshire that his time has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BRIDGES. The only thing I wish to say further is that we must consider our fiscal problems. In committee we have weighed the matter, and I believe the committee recommendation should be backed up. If we make an exception in this case, we might well make it in other cases also. The adoption of this amendment will certainly open the door.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my time to the Senator from Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, the arguments on this very needed and well-deserved appropriation have been made rather conclusively. I believe we ought to keep in mind one very critical situation in our foreign policy. The Soviet Union has shifted to an economic penetration of the world with its experts and technicians and scientists and by means of cultural exchanges. Their efforts are backed up, of course, by powerful military forces.

We in the United States have attempted to build a strong defense system, through mutual assistance and through our military defenses. We have also created a splendid program of technical and scientific assistance throughout the world. It is a program which is rather indigenous to our way of life. The county agent and the home demonstrator and other men like that are a part of our American way of life and familiar to all of us. Their work has been extended throughout the world by the point 4 program, in which the United States is cooperating with the recipient nations.

As was pointed out earlier, the technical assistance program was authored by the United States, and sponsored by the United States, and inspired by our leadership.

Last year we contributed to this program \$15½ million. Of course, Mr. President, I recognize the logic of the argument made by the minority leader a while ago, that this is a contribution which is disproportionate as compared with that of other nations, and that we should get it reasonably balanced, at say 33 or 35 percent. But every project which would be stopped by this cut in the appropriation would be a project planned by some country in the backward and underprivileged areas of the world, where the aid is most urgently needed. Some of those countries are on the border of the Soviet, and the Soviet is constantly trying to move in with its economic penetration.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will take the time out of that remaining to my side.

The distinguished Senator from Minnesota is making a very fine argument

on the merits of technical assistance. I do not differ with him on that question at all. I think it is a good program, and I should like to see it expanded, but I should like to see all the member nations of the United Nations carry a little more of the burden. However, considering the fact that we have before us a bill which provides for an appropriation of \$4 billion, primarily devoted to helping other nations defend themselves or to rehabilitate themselves economically, or to help with technical assistance on a bilateral basis, and a very large part of our national defense is in helping to defend the free world, would it seem unreasonable to the Senator from Minnesota that the other 69 member nations of the United Nations might be called upon to increase their contributions to make up this large sum? I do not think we differ as to the merits of the work, but we have had testimony that the economic recovery of Europe has been such that it is in a better condition than it was prior to World War II. So, with the heavy burdens we carried in Korea and the heavy burdens we are carrying now—is it asking too much that, among them, they dig up this money?

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I think there is much merit in the Senator's argument, but I wish to say, with equal candor, that at this particular time, when the program of technical assistance has been already completed and the projects are outlined for next year, this cut should not be made at this time. The appropriation for mutual security contains \$3 billion for military assistance, at the very time that we hear from the Pentagon, the White House, and the State Department that there may be some rather drastic cuts in our manpower, and possibly some changes in terms of our command in the Pacific, and some reductions in our commitments to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I wonder if the Senator feels that there is a psychological value in showing that this country is not picking this particular item for a cut. Speaking for myself alone, I would be prepared to vote for an amendment restoring \$5,500,000 to the technical assistance fund, with the proviso that of that amount the contribution by the United States would not be more than 33⅓ percent. That would provide encouragement; there would be no cut in the dollar amount, but it would be noted that Congress was reaffirming its prior statement, which I think is reasonable. It would show that we are not being pennywise and pound foolish, but that we expect that our contribution will not exceed 33⅓ percent. It might give a little incentive for the other nations to make up the difference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Minnesota yield?

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is it not true that when we take into consideration the efforts of other nations, the participation of the United States is actually cut to 19 percent?

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. To about 16 percent, as the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] pointed out.

Nothing would please me more than to see an expansion of the technical-assistance program. Every time the Soviet Union makes one of its grandstand plays we should call her bluff.

I know what the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] is going to say. He will say that for every dollar they put up we put up \$5 or \$6.

Mr. BRIDGES. More than that, I think.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I do not care to emulate the Soviet Union. I want to see our own American standards maintained.

I would say, in conclusion, that the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund has done more good in terms of building a solid basis of a stable society than has almost any other program I can think of. We are talking about winning the great struggle against world communism. World communism in many areas is being fought by employing means to eradicate poverty and disease, to improve technical knowledge, and improve economic conditions.

I think it can be fairly said that never did so much come from so little as has come from this program. Never did so many countries benefit from such a small fund. More than 31 territories and countries have had the benefits of the program. There have been benefits in improved standards of living and improved economic conditions. I think it is more important that those things happen than that we receive credit for them. We should try to persuade other nations to step up their contributions. We should ask them to do better.

I trust that my friend from New Hampshire is not encouraging the Soviet to contribute more. I like it better the way it is, where the vast majority of technicians are Americans and the emphasis is on our own foreign policy.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I listened to the amendment suggested by the Senator from California. It is my understanding that the United Nations program is made up on a calendar year basis. What I would suggest would be to go along with the Senator 100 percent, if he would modify his amendment to provide that in making up the 1957 program the United States share shall not be more than one-third. That would give the United Nations time in which to prepare their 1957 program, and would not handicap the activities which are now in progress.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I shall be glad to modify my suggested amendment, because in the memorandum of amendments which the Committee on Appropriations prepared, on page 40 there is this statement:

That the calendar year 1957 program will not be approved until late in 1956. It is estimated that the justification of the 1957 program should be similar to that shown in 1956.

So what I would propose would be an amendment to the amendment offered by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], in which he raises the amount to \$15,500,000. I would suggest language as follows:

Provided, That for the 1957 program and thereafter, the contribution of the United States shall not exceed 33 1/3 percent.

That would not bring about a reduction in the current program, as to which the United Nations says it has made some commitments, although I do not believe commitments should be made until they have the approval of Congress. But if our negotiators at Geneva would be embarrassed, I think this would solve the problem. It would restore the entire amount for this year; but certainly in advance of the calendar year 1957 Congress would again be reiterating a policy which has been adopted by substantial votes in the Senate year after year, namely, that the other nations should bring their contributions into adjustment with the 33 1/3 percent contribution of the United States. Mr. President, I offer this proposal as an amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I must regretfully oppose the amendment of the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. How much time does the Senator from Montana desire?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Two minutes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do not oppose the amendment because I think the idea behind it is not sound; it is sound. But it is very hard to imagine that some of the programs which have been underway for some weeks, months, and even years can now be reoriented and revamped in time to meet a situation of this kind.

If the Senator wants to press that particular amendment to the one I originally offered, I should like to have him add something to this effect: *Provided, That the base to be determined as the percentage shall include all Government contributions to the technical-assistance program, including those made by the host governments locally in their support of the technical-assistance projects, as well as those made to the central fund.*

If the Senator would agree to accept that addition to his amendment, then, of course, there would be a contribution on the part of this Government of something approximating 16 percent.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I can only reiterate what I said earlier. I think we are prepared to go a substantial distance of the way. The Committee on Appropriations, after consideration of the matter, and for the reasons previously stated, cut the amount to \$10 million. I am proposing that it be increased to \$15 million. I am proposing that there be no dislocation of the commitments which are presently being undertaken for the current calendar year.

But we are also proposing that the other nations be served notice now, so that there will be no further commitments made, that we shall not exceed 33 1/3 percent from 1957 on. There is ample time for the other nations to start picking up a fair share of the burden.

As I pointed out before, I do not think the picture is quite correct, because when we speak of what their contributions are within their own countries, it should be remembered that they have a primary responsibility to their own people to do the things which it is for the benefit of their own people they should do.

Furthermore, the contributions which the United States makes in currency which is negotiable all around the world, while the contributions of most of the other countries, particularly the Iron Curtain countries, is not negotiable in our areas.

I shall be prepared not only to support the amendment I have suggested, but also to make every effort to support it in conference, because I think the amendment is within the policy of Congress. Otherwise, I should like to have at least a vote on the amendment which I have proposed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I think the Senator from California is perhaps drawing the line too fine, because we are dealing with a fiscal year beginning July 1, 1956, so far as our appropriation is concerned, and are contemplating the placing of our fiscal year in relation to the calendar year 1956, which is the fiscal year for the United Nations.

I seriously hope that the Senator will not press his amendment at this time but would consider placing strong enough language in the conference report to indicate that if at this time next year something has not been done, then Congress intends to take drastic action, and to take it immediately.

Only yesterday the Secretary of State, who is the mouthpiece for the administration in the field of foreign policy, expressed the hope that Congress would restore the funds from \$10 million to \$15,500,000.

Mr. KNOWLAND. That will be done under the amendment I have suggested.

Mr. MANSFIELD. He also expressed his hope and anticipation that it would not be long before Congress would reduce the contributions of the United States to all of the subsidiary organizations of the United Nations to 33 1/3 percent.

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is what would be done under the amendment I am proposing.

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is true; but it is being done too abruptly and sharply. Why not do it next year? Let us state our policy in black and white; and then next year, if it has not been complied with, let us do something about it.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Frankly, I do not go along with the manana doctrine. Year after year I have heard the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] rise in the Senate and make a plea to bring this amount down to a least 33 1/3 percent. I have heard the distinguished Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT]—and

there is no Senator who is more interested in international affairs and in the exchange of students, I think, than the Senator from Arkansas—argue in favor of cutting the amount down to 33⅓ percent. I have heard other Senators on both sides of the aisle make the same plea.

Year after year we have established the policy; year after year it has been urged. It seems to me that it is now time for action. It is for us to reestablish our policy. It can be done by the amendment I have offered.

The amendment would restore the entire amount which was requested of the committees by the administration. We are not proposing to embarrass the United Nations by having the cut applied this year, while the meetings are in progress in Geneva; but we are again serving notice that in 1957 they should bring themselves into conformity. We are merely asking the other members of the United Nations Organization, comprised of 70 members, to be prepared to pick up their fair share of the check. I do not think that is an unreasonable request on the part of the American Congress or on the part of the American people.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I wonder if the Senator from California would be suggestive to the idea that what might be done this fiscal year would be to cut the contribution from 50 percent to 45 percent. Then next year, if no indication is shown on the part of the United Nations to conform, the amount will be cut down 33⅓ percent, or approximately that amount. Then we could step in.

Why not make the reduction a little less sharp this time and allow 45 percent, thereby acting on our own initiative and reducing the amount, during the period of 1 year, by 5 percent.

Mr. KNOWLAND. They say they have made some commitments. I do not believe anyone in the executive branch, in the light of what Congress has defined time and time again shall be the policy, should have made another 50 percent commitment. But they say they have done so. By restoring \$5,500,000, we will let them keep that commitment, if indeed that commitment has been made, despite the warnings by Congress to the contrary.

Mr. MANSFIELD. For fiscal 1957?

Mr. KNOWLAND. For fiscal 1956. They have said in their own report to the committee that the program for their fiscal 1957 will not be made until late in 1956. So we shall be serving notice on them now, before they make up their succeeding calendar of arrangements, that they shall not exceed a program costing more than 33⅓ percent.

I think that is a reasonable request, and I think it can be taken to conference on that basis. We will have both protected our present commitments and also the dignity of the Senate and of Congress. Time and time again Congress has fixed the policy which it has desired these organizations to follow, so far as the contributions of the United States are concerned.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Am I to understand that on the basis of the amendment proposed by the distinguished minority leader for 1957, the sum would be

restored to the original amount authorized by both the House and the Senate when the authorization bill was considered this year?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Fifteen million and five hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. For fiscal 1957 so far as we are concerned, or calendar 1957 so far as the UNTA is concerned. In other words, then, they will have to come before Congress a year from now, and to justify a continuation of the program, they will have to cut the figure from 50 percent down to approximately 33⅓ percent.

Mr. KNOWLAND. They will have to cut the United States contribution down. They do not have to reduce the program. All they have to do is sell the very good program to the other 69 members of the United Nations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Montana will accept the modification of the amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Speaking personally, I shall be glad to accept the modification of the amendment.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I have listened to the Senator from Montana. I hope we are not misunderstanding each other. The Senator from Montana said there would be \$15,500,000 for fiscal 1957. That is correct. But if I understand the amendment of the Senator from California to the Senator from Montana's amendment, the program for the United Nations is made on a calendar year basis and so from now until December 31 they have time to get up their proposal for the calendar year 1957.

Mr. MANSFIELD. All I wanted to say is that the minority whip has stated far better than I could what I intended to state—that there is that distinction between the United States fiscal year and the United Nations calendar year, which is their fiscal year, too.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The fact of the matter is that, of course, we are dealing with our own appropriation bill, which we are now considering, in 1956, but on the so-called 1957 appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1957. The bill will cover the current program, on which commitments have been made. We shall be able to fully live up to our commitments. The Department has said that it will not be until late this year that they will make up the calendar 1957 program for the United Nations. It will not affect the one presently under consideration.

Mr. MANSFIELD. But, to repeat and nail this discussion down, if I may, this appropriation, so far as we are concerned, applies from July 1, 1956 to June 30, 1957, inclusive.

Mr. KNOWLAND. So far as the appropriation bill is concerned.

Mr. MANSFIELD. So far as the United Nations Technical Assistance Program is concerned, it is from January 1, to December 31, 1957—the calendar year, which is their fiscal year.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Their fiscal year and their calendar year run simultaneously. They are the same.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Do I understand it is the purpose of the Senator's amendment to propose \$15,500,000 appropriations for the United Nations Technical Assistance Fund for fiscal 1957, with the understanding that in the future appropriations shall not exceed 33⅓ percent of the total contributions?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct, and to serve notice now that that is our policy.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I think that is good.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. How much time does the Senator from Louisiana desire?

Mr. ELLENDER. Three or four minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield three minutes to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. I believe the distinguished Senator from California is being very liberal, indeed, in the amendment he has offered. This matter has been before our committee every year since I have been on the committee, or since the program has started.

We started out furnishing more than 65 percent of the total cost of the program. Today the contribution has been reduced to 50 percent. We gave warning 2 years ago that the United States contribution should be reduced to one-third.

The Senate well remembers that a few months ago efforts were made to increase the contribution for the Food and Agricultural Organization and the International Labor Organization. The Senate went on record as being in favor of providing more funds, but percentage-wise our contribution would remain as it presently is. In other words, as I recall the figures, the International Labor Organization desired \$1½ million more than they had, and at that time we were contributing 21 percent of the amount. The Senate wrote into the bill that an increase in funds would be made available, but our contribution would remain the same percentage-wise. In other words, we invited other countries to support the program.

We have been dealing with this matter for the past 4 or 5 years. We have reduced United States contributions from 65 to 50 percent. We have warned other nations time and again that we expected to bring the United States contribution down to 33⅓ percent.

As I have said, I believe the suggestion made by the Senator from California is liberal, indeed.

I should like to suggest that, in addition to the technical assistance program, to which the United States is furnishing at the moment 50 percent of the cost, we have our own technical aid program we are providing for in the bill. I think we are going haywire. I think we ought to act with reason, and get our friends in the United Nations to provide their just share of the contribution.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I have sent to the desk my amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Montana. I ask that it be stated. I think it is in conformity with the understanding I had with the Senator from Montana and other Senators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the Senator from California to the amendment of the Senator from Montana will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 14, it is proposed to strike out the semicolon, and add a colon and the following: "Provided, That the United States contribution to the 1958 calendar year program shall not exceed 33.33 per centums of the United Nations program."

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time on the amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Montana, on page 3, line 14, as modified by the amendment of the Senator from California.

The amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. As I understand, no action has been taken on the committee amendments, and the bill will be read for committee amendments. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendments to the mutual security appropriation bill for 1957 be considered and agreed to en bloc, and that the bill as thus amended be considered as original text for the purpose of amendment; provided, that no point of order against an amendment shall be considered to have been waived by reason of this agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I regret very much feeling restrained to object to any request of the Senator from Arizona, but, in my opinion, the Senate should have a record vote on each item of increase recommended by the Committee on Appropriations. Therefore, I object.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield for a question?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wish to ask the Senator from Arizona a question, in order to clear up a matter. There is one item in the bill that pertains to ocean freight. The House allowed \$1,400,000, and the Senate allowed \$3 million which is in keeping with the authorization bill, as reported by the Foreign Relations Committee and as passed by the Senate.

Some question has been raised, as a result of the statement made in the Foreign Relations Committee report, on

this item. The Senator may remember we considered a \$14 million item dealing with ocean freight, and a \$3 million item in the same paragraph, and we removed the \$14 million item because it related to the shipment of surplus commodities, which were being taken care of in the agricultural appropriation bill. But then we changed the \$1,400,000 to \$3 million, and in explanation it was said there would be an increase in surplus commodities which would be made available to the various voluntary agencies, and therefore we were increasing the item.

Some persons have received from that the idea that we intended the increase to be limited to use for the shipment of surplus agricultural commodities. Of course, that was not the intention, I am sure, of either the Foreign Relations Committee or of the Senate when it authorized it.

I wish to ask the Senator from Arizona if that is his interpretation—namely, that the full \$3 million can be used for all shipments of that nature?

Mr. HAYDEN. Probably the best way to answer the question is to read from page 10 of the report of the Senate committee:

Ocean freight, voluntary relief shipments: This appropriation is used to pay costs of ocean freight on shipments of relief supplies collected by United States voluntary agencies from their members for distribution overseas to those in need.

The appropriation request for fiscal year 1957 is \$1,400,000, a decrease of \$600,000 below 1956. The authorization act authorized an appropriation of \$3 million for fiscal year 1957 and the committee recommends that this full amount be provided.

There is no earmarking.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the surplus commodities constitute only one of many factors in that connection; do they not?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes, one of many; that is all there is to it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I thank the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I move that the bill be read for amendment, and that the committee amendments be first considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Arizona.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the first amendment of the committee.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, in line 4, after the numerals "124", it is proposed to insert "to remain available until June 30, 1958"; and in line 5, after the amendment just above stated, it is proposed to strike out "\$1,735,000,000" and insert "\$2,300,000,000."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, to the committee amendment, I submit the amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. In the committee amendment on page 2, in line 5, it is proposed to strike out "\$2,300,000,000," and to insert in lieu thereof "\$1,735,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. How much time does the Senator from Louisiana yield to himself?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, a moment ago the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] attempted to have all the committee amendments agreed to en bloc, with the understanding that the bill as thus amended would be considered as the original text, for the purpose of amendment.

However, since there was objection, and since many of us desire to at least attempt to have a vote taken on the amounts voted by the House of Representatives, I have offered an amendment which would strike out the amount recommended by the Senate committee and insert the amount voted by the House, plus \$1. If my amendment is rejected, then, as I understand the parliamentary situation, it will be in order for me to submit another amendment proposing a smaller cut in the amount recommended by the Senate committee.

Mr. President, I shall not discuss the issues involved at great length. When the authorization bill was before the Senate, I pointed out in great detail the reasons why I believe the amounts then proposed to be authorized, and now the amounts proposed to be appropriated, for military assistance should be reduced.

The House committee studied in detail the needs of the military-assistance program. I have before me figures which show that the amount of money on hand, unexpended, and available for use, in connection with the Military Assistance Program, is \$4,992,900,000. That was the unexpended balance as of July 1 this year. Mr. President, of that huge sum of money, over \$2,500,000,000 is the unexpended balance available for the NATO countries in Europe; an unexpended balance of one-half billion dollars is available for other countries of Europe, and for countries of Africa; \$1,162,000,000 is the unexpended balance available for Asia; in the case of Latin America, the unexpended balance is \$38,600,000; in addition, an unexpended balance of \$604 million which has not yet been allotted on a by-country basis, is available for military aid.

That money is left over from earlier appropriations; it is available for expenditure. I have already stated for the RECORD what was said with respect to the transferability of these funds. The administrators of this program said that until the military hardware is actually delivered if it is found necessary to change the designation of recipient countries, so as to allocate to other areas the hardware or the money previously destined for the countries of Europe, that can be done.

Mr. President, as I pointed out during the debate on the authorization bill, the industrial progress made in the countries of western Europe is far beyond the expectations, I am sure, of any of us when we originally voted for the Marshall plan. I am satisfied that if when

this program began, we had stated to our friends across the seas: "We are going to assist you to the extent necessary in order to increase your industrial production to 25 percent or 26 percent above that prior to World War II," they would have been more than satisfied. Mr. Paul Hoffman—the original ECA Administrator—stated, when the Marshall plan was before the Appropriations Committee in 1951—and he said it unequivocally—that if we could increase the industrial production of the countries of western Europe by 25 percent, we could halt our flood of assistance.

Let me state to my friends what the situation is today. For the countries of western Europe, the 1955 index of industrial production averaged 164 percent of prewar. In other words, the NATO countries of western Europe, whom we have been assisting so nobly and so liberally have increased their industrial production 64 percent, when measured by the 1938 yardstick. Mr. President, it is my contention that those countries are now well able to help share this burden of preserving the freedom of the free world.

My amendment would simply restore the amount voted by the House of Representatives, plus \$1; that is all it would do. I think that amount should be more than ample. With the amount proposed by my amendment—in other words, the amount voted by the House, plus \$1—the administrators of the military assistance program will have in their hands almost \$7 billion available for expenditure this year.

Mr. President, in the light of past events, in the light of the great progress which has been made by the countries of Western Europe, it is my considered judgment that the amount I am suggesting is ample.

Let me go through the list of some of the Western European countries to show the increase in industrial production which some of these nations have achieved. Take Italy, which is included among the European countries which will receive some of the military aid carried in this bill. Industrial progress in Italy had advanced to 176 percent of prewar in 1955; Turkey's had increased to 253 percent of prewar; Greece, 179 percent, and Austria 193 percent. Of course, Austria would not receive any of the military assistance this bill proposes but Austria has received a great deal of economic aid. Like the other countries which received this aid, her recovery is virtually complete.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have a great respect for the knowledge of the Senator from Louisiana on the subject of appropriations. I think he has a better grasp of that subject than almost any other Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator for the compliment.

Mr. McCARTHY. I listen with a great deal of interest to what he says. I wonder if the Senator has consulted Mr. Dulles and asked for an explanation as to why the Department wants a much

larger appropriation, even though there is still \$5 billion available.

Mr. ELLENDER. Of course, I have my own ideas on that subject. The Senator knows that for the past 2 years we have refused to extend further economic aid to Western European countries, particularly France, England, and others. But, this economic aid has been continued in a different form through the military program—under the offshore procurement program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield myself 5 more minutes.

The only difference between the offshore procurement program and the original economic aid program is that no counterpart funds are generated via offshore procurement. But American dollars are used to assist industry in France, in England, and even Canada. Imagine that, Mr. President. Offshore procurement—economic aid—to Canada.

Mr. McCARTHY. In other words, even though the Congress has voted to cut economic aid to certain areas, it is being continued by subterfuge.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator is exactly correct.

Since industrial production has increased to record levels in those countries, despite the fact that we have still on hand and unspent, almost a third of the amount appropriated to date, I think it must be obvious that things have certainly been made better in those areas, and that further aid—economic or pseudoeconomic, military or civil—can be terminated. Further, as I have already indicated, inasmuch as the administrators of the program can transfer undelivered equipment from one area to another, it strikes me that they can well afford to lop off four or five hundred million dollars, which is the reduction I am seeking, and make up any deficiency in Asia by transfers from the equipment now earmarked for Europe.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I think the Senator's speech is of sufficient importance that many more Senators should be present. Will the Senator from Louisiana yield to me so that I may ask unanimous consent to suggest the absence of a quorum without the time being charged to the Senator from Louisiana?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield for that purpose?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum without the time being charged to the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I did not hear the request.

Mr. McCARTHY. I asked unanimous consent that the Senator from Louisiana might yield to me in order that I might suggest the absence of a quorum, without the time being charged to him.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Let us not start that practice. I have time in op-

position to the amendment. Let us share equally the time required for a quorum call. In all likelihood fewer Senators would be present after the quorum call than are present now. There is a pretty good attendance of Senators at this time.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the distinguished majority leader thinks that a quorum call would not increase the attendance of Senators I shall be glad to withdraw my request.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I have quite a few amendments to offer. I could speak until 12 o'clock tonight, if I wished to do so, but I do not care to do so. I am well aware that the Senate is in the last days of the session.

I shall continue—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator has ample time on the bill. There are 6 hours on the bill, and the time required for the quorum call could be charged equally to both sides.

Mr. ELLENDER. It is not merely a question of talking. If Senators could be present to listen and understand, they might vote the way I shall vote. I know that there is no possibility of compelling Senators to remain in the Chamber. I appreciate the suggestion of my good friend, the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. If the Senator from Louisiana will permit it, we can at least make an attempt to see if a quorum call will result in increased attendance of Senators.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to suggest the absence of a quorum, the time to be charged equally to both sides.

Mr. ELLENDER. Does the Senator mean from time on the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. From time on the bill.

Mr. McCARTHY. The reason I suggested the absence of a quorum was that I have heard the Senator from Louisiana in the Appropriations Committee, and have been impressed by the fact that he has a great grasp of this particular problem, and I thought other Senators should be present to hear him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Texas? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NEUBERGER in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana has 17 minutes remaining.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield myself 5 more minutes.

I hope that the Senators present will take cognizance of what I have heretofore stated. I have pointed out that the industrial production of the countries of Western Europe is in excess of 160 percent of prewar. This has come about through the various programs that we have undertaken with our taxpayers' money.

I do not regret that we took that course in 1948. I am sure that any Senator who cast his vote in favor of assistance to our friends across the seas, particularly in Western Europe, did so in the hope that by increasing the industrial and agricultural capacity of those countries, they would be in a position where they could not only carry their own loads but assist us in other areas as well.

But, it has not worked out that way. We are not only carrying our own load at home, in Southeast Asia, and practically throughout the Near East, but we are also burdened with about 40 percent of the NATO obligations of the countries of Western Europe as well. Still, we are being asked to do more—we are being asked to increase this program.

Senators may have noticed in recent weeks that efforts are being made by our allies to reduce their budgets for military expenditures, particularly in Britain. I understand that British arms cuts may ultimately total as much as a billion and a half dollars. France has done likewise. Italy is following the same path, yet we are being asked, notwithstanding the position taken by those countries, to increase our foreign-aid military appropriations by a billion and a quarter dollars—over and above the amounts appropriated last year—in order, I assume, to pay for these arms cuts in European budgets by filling the gap with American dollars.

I repeat that we have on hand and unspent now \$5 billion in arms aid money which can be used wherever it may be necessary. The two-billion-plus dollars in unexpended funds which are presently earmarked for Europe need not be used in that area. Part of that amount can be used in the Near East, in Africa, in Asia, or elsewhere, if the administrators of the program so desire. The countries that we have so liberally assisted and which have fared so well industrially, should be willing at least to carry a little more of their load.

I have already given the figures on industrial increases. They average 164 percent of prewar, with respect to Western Europe.

Belgium—which is included in this program—is better off than we are. That country has increased its agricultural production by 150 percent of prewar. In our own country, agricultural production has increased over prewar by only 127 percent.

It is true that the debts of those countries have increased, but, Mr. President, so has ours. Actually, they are now better off than they have ever been, and certainly as well off as we are.

Mr. President, I feel that my time is about to expire. However, for the benefit of Senators who may not have been here at the beginning of my remarks, let me indicate what my amendment would do. As Senators know, the executive branch request for authorization for military assistance was \$3 billion. It was cut to \$2,300,000,000 in the authorizing legislation. The House has appropriated \$1,735,000,000. That is the figure I am asking the Senate to appropriate.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I am glad to yield for a question.

Mr. DWORSHAK. The Senator has been consistent in his opposition to the wasteful expenditure of much of the \$60 billion which have been expended by our Government since the end of World War II on military and economic aid. The Senator from Louisiana has made several trips to all sections of the globe and has made personal checks and investigations of many of the programs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield myself 5 more minutes.

Mr. DWORSHAK. In the light of that extensive experience and in the light of his contacts with this program for several years, both under a Democratic administration and a Republican administration, I should like to ask the Senator if it is not true that if this misnamed mutual aid program has been successful—and it has been to a large extent in rehabilitating the economies of the nations receiving the aid—it would seem unnecessary and indefensible at this time to increase the appropriations for military aid, because in the light of the alleged success of the program, should it not necessarily be true that the countries we have aided should be in a strong position now to assume a greater share of the responsibility of maintaining a defense against Communist aggression?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is the real burden of my argument. The reason why we made such extensive and costly efforts to assist them in the dark days following World War II was to put them in a position where they could carry their own load.

As I said, we are carrying not only 40 percent of their NATO obligations, plus all of our own global defense program, but we are carrying the whole load in southeast Asia.

When I make that statement, I do not mean to imply that the South Koreans are not carrying their share of the defense program in Korea; neither am I charging that on Formosa the Nationalist Chinese people are not carrying their fair share of the burden. The point I am trying to drive home is that those people whom we have assisted in Western Europe and in other parts of the world, and who have, with our help, bettered their economic status to the extent that I have indicated, have as much at stake as we have.

It will be to their ultimate benefit and advantage for them to assist us in this military and economic aid program, because if we continue spending at our present rate, Mr. President, we are going to bring to our own shores the very thing we are fighting against. If initiative in this country is destroyed, the light of freedom inevitably will be extinguished not only in our country, but throughout the world.

Mr. President, I feel every Senator should know that for every \$100 million we add to the foreign-aid appropriation

for fiscal year 1957 the income tax payments of 250,000 average American families will be required in order to pay the cost. I have used an average of 3½ persons per family, and an average income per family of \$4,173, which would result in a tax of \$390 per family.

Mr. President, if the amendment which I am proposing should prevail the resultant saving will be equal to the income-tax payments of more than a million and a half families in this country whose income averages \$4,173 and whose annual Federal income tax amounts to \$390.

What I am trying to do is to save a few hundred million dollars, all of which will eventually be reflected in reduced tax payments by our people.

How much more time do I have remaining, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana has 7 minutes remaining.

Mr. ELLENDER. I shall reserve that time, Mr. President.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

What this bill does has been very well expressed by the committee in its report, an excerpt from which I wish to read into the RECORD:

The House allowed \$1,735,000,000 in new funds and specifically reappropriated \$195,500,000 of unobligated prior year funds. The authorizing legislation included authority for the appropriation of \$2,225,000,000 for military assistance which together with \$75 million previously authorized for infrastructure totals \$2,300,000,000.

The committee recommends an appropriation of \$2,300,000,000, the full amount of the authorization and in addition the committee recommends language included by the House continuing \$195,500,000 of unobligated balances from prior years. The amount of new funds recommended by the committee is \$565 million in excess of the House bill and \$700 million under the budget estimate.

Language has been included in the bill making the funds for military assistance available until June 30, 1958.

The reasons for making this kind of an appropriation were very well stated by Admiral Radford in his testimony before the Appropriations Committee when he said:

This military-aid program is designed to generate and maintain forces to add to the security of the United States. In other words, this is a self-serving program all around the world. We are not helping people just for the pleasure of helping them. We are helping them because we need their military strength just as they need ours.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield at that point?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee has very clearly outlined specifically what is in this mutual security bill. We are getting more for dollars appropriated for this program because of the cheaper manpower, for instance, in Korea, which has an excellent army, as well as the manpower which has been developed in the European armies allied with us under the

Mutual Security Act. For that reason we must bear in mind that what we are endeavoring to do is to maintain military strength in the cold-war period which we are standing as a free people allied with other free peoples in resisting Communist efforts, whether through ideology or by infiltration, to undermine and destroy the Nation.

Through our mutual security program we have obtained strength from the support we have received from other nations allied with us, which most certainly helps us to maintain bases in foreign countries without which, if war should come, we would be too far distant from the heart of the enemy country.

Mr. HAYDEN. The bases which the Senator mentions are surrounded by friendly people. They are primarily defended by the men of those nations. In other words, if we should get into trouble it would not be American soldiers only who would be fighting and dying, but soldiers of other countries as well.

I should like to bring out one other point. The United States military expenditures for all forms of national defense, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, during the past 2½ years, have been as follows:

We have spent on our own Armed Forces \$93,500,000,000. For North Atlantic Treaty forces, where most of our military assistance money has gone, we have spent \$5,900,000,000. If we put the two sums together, we find we have spent 94 percent on our own forces, and 6 percent on our allies.

On the other hand, what have they done?

The expenditures derived from the budgets of the North Atlantic Treaty nations amounts to \$30,300,000,000. Our foreign military assistance, as I stated before, amounts to \$5,900,000,000, which means that the other nations have put up \$6 out of their treasuries to \$1 put up by the United States. Any businessman who could get 2 for 1 for his money would be happy. We are getting 6 to 1 for our own national defense.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Arizona yield 5 minutes to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I should like to make a very brief statement in connection with what the chairman of the committee has said.

The Senator from Louisiana seeks to reduce military assistance by \$565 million.

The Senate committee has recommended \$2,300 million. The House figure was \$1,735 million. The amendment of the Senator from Louisiana would reduce the Senate Committee figure to the House amount, with the exception of one dollar.

If Senators will refer to page 4 of the committee report, they will note that the largest proportion of the money goes to Asia. The next largest proportion goes to Europe; then to the Near East and Africa, and finally to a nonregional program, with a small amount for Latin America.

If the cut recommended by the Senator from Louisiana should prevail it would mean that no money would be available for the NATO organization and NATO countries. Programs planned for Korea, Turkey, Taiwan, Pakistan, Japan, Greece, Iran, and Vietnam total approximately \$1,500 million. Other costs which must first be met total an additional \$255 million. Therefore, if the amendment should prevail, nothing would be available for Europe.

The argument is made that all this money cannot be used in a year, and that a very substantial amount of unexpended balances remains. I call attention to the fact that the unexpended balances in 1956 were reduced by \$400 million, and that the unexpended balances have been taken into consideration in the proposed program for 1957.

The program for 1957 contemplates expenditures of \$2,900 million. As Mr. Hollister pointed out, actions already taken and to be taken will bring the expenditures substantially above the \$2,500 million estimate. Therefore, if the appropriation is reduced, it will be necessary to give up or substantially curtail our programs in NATO countries, or to cut down programs in the Far East.

We rely on what we have done to help Turkey and South Vietnam to enable them to help us. The same is true of Formosa, or Taiwan, as it is called, of Japan, and of Korea. If we cut down on those programs as substantially as the proposed reduction would require, then all we have done in the past will, to a great extent, have been wasted, because, while we are furnishing arms, we are also training men. So, for the time being, we must continue to furnish arms if the people in those countries are to be of assistance to us.

I hope the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana will not prevail.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. If I have time, I yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. Does the Senator believe the United States should continue to supply military aid to Yugoslavia, after Tito has said, "We will march arm in arm with Russia in war and in peace"?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I believe we have left that decision to the discretion of the President. I think the amendment concerning Yugoslavia will be called up shortly. I shall be glad to join in debate with the Senator from Wisconsin on that question based on the provisions in the authorization bill which leave the matter to the President's discretion and require the making of a report to Congress. Under the provisions in the authorization bill, I think it is safe for us to give aid to Yugoslavia.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Certainly.

Mr. McCARTHY. I know the Senator from Massachusetts has much confidence in the President. I have a great deal of confidence in the Senate at times. When the Senator urges that money be appropriated for Yugoslavia, I simply wonder whether he himself

wants to notify those who administer the bill that the United States should not give aid to a country whose dictator says, "We are in favor of Leninism. We will march arm in arm with Communist Russia in war and in peace."

I simply wonder what the Senator's attitude is. I do not believe that question should be ducked by saying, "We will let someone else decide the question." Each Senator represents in part a sovereign State. We are spending the money of the people. I think the people of my State and the people of the Senator's State of Massachusetts should know how we feel about spending money for the benefit of a Communist country.

I think the Senator from Massachusetts should answer my question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. May I have 30 seconds in which to answer the question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. As I said a moment ago, I expect that subject to be debated. I am perfectly willing, as one Senator, to give all the money which is provided in the bill into the hands of the President and to let him send some to Yugoslavia under the conditions expressed in the authorization bill.

I know the Senator from Wisconsin does not agree with me in that view; so we must agree to disagree.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield 1 minute to me?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. THYE. I associate myself with the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. In order to save time, I shall not endeavor to say what my impressions are, because the Senator from Massachusetts, relative to the appropriations to Asia for military assistance, so ably stated them that I could not state them any better myself. Therefore, I wish to be associated with the Senator from Massachusetts in his remarks relative to the military assistance which we are granting, not only to Korea, but also to Vietnam, Thailand, and the other countries in the Indochina area.

SAM H. RAY—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Wyoming as much time as he may need in which to submit a conference report.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 1637) for the relief of Sam H. Ray. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the

amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 1637) for the relief of Sam H. Ray, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Strike out the figures "\$5,000", and insert in lieu thereof "\$7,500", and the Senate agree to the same.

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
OLIN D. JOHNSTON,
ARTHUR V. WATKINS,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

HAROLD D. DONOHUE,
E. L. FORRESTER,
WILLIAM E. MILLER,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the Senate amended a House-passed bill by reducing the amount from \$10,000 to \$5,000. In conference, both sides agreed upon the amount of \$7,500. It is a minor matter.

I move that the conference report be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUMPHREYS of Kentucky in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE— ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore.

S. 3073. An act to grant a franchise to D. C. Transit System, Inc. and for other purposes; and

H. A. 5337. An act to amend the provisions of the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act, 1930, relating to practices in the marketing of perishable agricultural commodities.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I think I understand the pending amendment. It is virtually the House figure of \$1,735,000,000, on page 2 of the bill.

I rise in support of the amendment and I desire to make my position clear. I understand—I am so advised by the sponsor of the amendment, and I think it is beyond question—that there is provided in this item of the bill, money for Yugoslavia and other countries that are not at the present time showing, in my judgment, friendliness and the right attitude toward the free world. I cannot vote to give money to such countries, I cannot tax our people, and to spend indiscriminately, as I regard it, the money thus raised to supply arms to countries which are not, in truth and in spirit, our allies, and which would not be on our side, fighting with us, if the chips were down.

They have not only indicated that by their action; they have repeatedly stated their neutralism, and one of them, Yugoslavia, has gone so far as to say recently that she will march arm in arm or shoulder to shoulder with the Communists both in war and in peace.

I cannot vote to contribute a dollar of the taxpayers' money to any nation or government which, at this hour, takes such an attitude. I do not know what attitude other nations may take 10 years from now, or at some other time; but so long as we do not have reasonable assurance that a country is with us against a potential enemy, I cannot vote to strengthen that country's military power, at the risk of fighting the very force we create or help create—a force to be used against us if a real crisis should come.

I wish to thank the distinguished Senator for yielding me this time, and I sincerely compliment him upon offering the amendment.

While I have the floor, I may state further that I cannot support the bill so long as it indiscriminately provides money to those countries as to which we do not know whether they are on our side, or as to which we have no assurances, or as to which there is no reason apparent at this time why we could expect them to be allied with us in the event of another world struggle.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I believe I have been recognized for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am quite sensible of the controversial nature of the whole foreign-aid program. It is evident in the press, it is evident over the radio, and it is also evident in letters which come to the desks of Members of the House and Senate. I feel, however, that in approaching this question I do have the responsibility of exercising an independent judgment; and that I seek to do, in the face of a highly controversial issue.

I am of the opinion that the greatest duty any administration has, indeed, I regard it as a sacred duty, is to keep the

country at peace. This afternoon I had occasion to examine a few figures which indicate that, even as of now, there are 130,000 veterans in our hospitals, there are 3½ million veterans and their dependents on the Nation's compensation rolls; we have hospitals scattered all over the country, and they are manned by 178,000 civilian workers.

I think back, and, by interpolation, conclude that in the wars which have confronted this country, more than 600,000 young Americans have lost their lives. I think of the million and a half or more who were wounded. Then I think of the immeasurable concomitants—the agony, the bruised hearts, and the dislocation of our economy.

All these considerations fortify the conclusion that the foremost and the prime consideration of any administration is to keep the country at peace.

That presupposes the question, From what source may danger come? I think Admiral Radford summed it up very well in committee: "Whether it is immediate or remote, you have a global danger on the one hand and, on the other hand, a peripheral danger." The global danger is the Sino-Soviet bloc operating not only in the Pacific and Europe, but doing their best, by economic penetration and infiltration, to further the doctrine of Leninism and to destroy the free capitalistic system of this country, if they can. That is what is referred to as the global danger.

When we consider the question from the standpoint of manpower and material resources, certainly they have those on their side. I saw a figure recently indicating there were in the whole Pacific orbit on the Communist side probably 175 million able-bodied men between the ages of 14 and 50, as against some 49 million on the side of the free world. So the manpower balance is on the other side.

The essential military and critical material reservoirs are outside the domain of our own country. So, in case of a global war, we must necessarily depend upon the Armed Forces of this country, and particularly on our Strategic Air Command.

It is not my intention, however, today to talk about global conflict. I desire to talk about the other matter, namely, the danger of being sucked into global war through a peripheral conflict.

I remember very well, as a student, the headlines which appeared in June, 1914, when a very obscure student by the name of Princip murdered the Archduke of Austria as he was coming down the mountainside in his carriage at Sarajevo. That was only a small beginning, but before the end, we were drawn into a world conflict, and the cost was enormous.

I think it can be said that World War II began as a peripheral struggle, because, first of all, of certain meetings at Munich. There was the hope that, at long last, peace had been achieved. Then there were declarations of war, one way and another, and in a short time the Panzers and Stukas were going across the boundaries of Poland; and in a little while we were in that gigantic conflict.

Then, in our generation, came Korea. I recall the headlines when General Hodge and his troops were withdrawn from Korea. The story was that 500 officers and men were to be left there. It was only a year later that we found ourselves sending troops to Korea, and before we got through that sanguinary struggle, more than 33,000 men came back to this country in wooden boxes, and 107,000 carried the marks of that conflict on their bodies. That came about as a result of a peripheral struggle. Not too much attention was paid to it; but, little by little, we were sucked into that conflict.

So the program that is before the Senate today does not deal essentially with global war. That is the business of grand strategy. That is the business of the Army, the Navy, the Air Corps, and the Marine Corps. But in this case we are dealing with the avoidance of peripheral conflict which could very well draw us into global conflict. That is the essential reason for the mutual security program and for the bill presently before us.

Mr. President, during the course of the hearings I took special pains to ascertain how the program is set up.

In the first place, there is a meeting of all the military leaders, to see what must be done in the interest of the security of our country. That matter is also refined by the National Security Council. Then our so-called military assistance groups go into the field; they go to the various countries and ask the leaders there to evaluate the situation and ascertain what is needed in order to bring those countries effectively into the orbit of the free world, what is needed to help build up their defensive forces for the very purpose of avoiding peripheral struggles and for the purpose of energizing initial resistance. I think the program in its outlines is quite that simple.

So a tremendous amount of effort and a tremendous amount of refining go into the figures and the distribution of the funds and the functions which are included in the pending bill.

Now my friend, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], wishes to cut back to the amount voted by the House of Representatives, plus \$1, the amount the Senate Appropriations Committee has voted.

I think I should point out that, in the first instance, this amount was rather materially cut. The President requested \$3 billion. In the authorization bill, that was cut to \$2,225,000,000. That means that the Congress, in making the authorization, reduced by \$775 million the ceiling for these funds. But that was not the end of the story. The House of Representatives reduced the appropriation for this purpose to \$1,735,000,000; in other words, a cut of another \$490 million.

So in the Senate Appropriations Committee, we were dealing with a reduction from \$3 billion to \$1,735,000,000, or a cut of \$1,265,000,000. I would defy the most astute and capable administrator—whether civilian or military—to distribute such a cut and still preserve an efficient and effective program in the

interest of the defense of the United States of America.

The fact of the matter is that \$1,500,000,000 of this money will go to Korea, Vietnam, Turkey, the Philippines, Pakistan, Greece, and Iran. If that part of the program were kept intact, there would not be a dollar for advanced weapons; and there would not be a dollar for the European program; and there would scarcely be any money for the fixed charges, which amount to approximately \$250 million.

Regardless of the number of troops we may have abroad or the number of civilians we may have abroad, when we operate on the basis of lead time and on the basis of a pipeline, there are certain fixed charges which go with the program; and they are rather close to one-quarter of a billion dollars.

I could think of nothing more wasteful than such a cut as that proposed, which is made on the basis of sheer guesswork.

Following the careful study and the carefully prepared figures which have been submitted by those who have been dealing for a long time with this matter and those who are trained in military tactics in global terms, I submit that such a reduction certainly would not be conducive to the defense of the United States of America.

Mr. President, today the picture is not a very happy one. I suppose there are several hundred thousand ROK troops in Korea. They must be supported; they must have weapons and supplies and defense support. I am delighted that they can be kept in uniform and kept intact, and that their training can continue, in an area where there is an armistice, although at the present time it is rather slender and rather tenuous.

I had a chance to observe it when I was there a few years ago. I also had a chance to observe the situation in Taiwan. I know something about the airfields that are being built up and down the coast of mainland China. I saw all the photographs which had been taken by the reconnaissance details. I was on Quemoy very soon after it was shelled. The shelling is constantly in progress. I have taken note of the efforts being made by Chou En-lai and his advisers to capture Formosa, whether or no. Of course, today Formosa is one of our defensive bastions in the Pacific. The people there are confined to a very small area, but they are definitely on our side. I can think of nothing better for our country and its security than to embrace the opportunity to use the troops of another country, troops already organized. However, they must be supplied. Those countries are not industrial countries. They have never been schooled or skilled in the business of manufacturing industrial supplies. So, Mr. President, weapons must be placed in the hands of those troops, and those countries must receive the kind of defense support which will enable them to support and maintain their own defense.

I remember my visit with the Prime Minister of Vietnam, now the head of state of that country. I went out to inspect the troops. I was there when the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] was

there. In my judgment he did a superb job. They are trying to provide a defense establishment against the Red horde above the 17th parallel, against the forces which obtain their supplies from Red China and from the Soviet Union. The least we can do in connection with our defensive periphery in the Pacific is to help those troops stand on the side of the free world. Proportionately, those countries ask very little from us, because their own contributions are sizable, indeed, not only in terms of manpower, but also in terms of the percentage of their total budgets which they devote to their defensive budgets.

Mr. President, what would be the effect of a very substantial cut in the military assistance program funds? First, it would have a very bad tactical effect. Either certain parts of the program would have to be eliminated entirely, or the program would have to be reduced all along the line. I have no doubt that in that event, the military leaders would have to go into the field and obtain new advice from their leaders there. To reduce the program in line with the cut proposed by my very genial friend, the Senator from Louisiana—a cut from \$2,300,000,000 to the amount the Senator from Louisiana has proposed—is no easy undertaking. Furthermore, a very substantial study would be involved before such a reduction could be applied to the program.

I think that such a cut, if made, would have a tremendously unfavorable psychological effect on the world. Such a cut, if made, would indicate that, at long last, the United States was relaxing in a very big way, almost to the point of threatening the defensive establishments and the security of the other countries that have contributed to our security. In my judgment, the psychological impact would be enormous; and the other countries would be fully justified in saying, "If the United States makes this cut when it is in an almost excellent position"—as we seek to interpret the ferment behind the Iron Curtain—"and if the United States is going to relax, why should we take the stand on freedom's defensive line?"

Another effect might be to eliminate almost entirely the advanced weapons program. Recently we have seen in the newspapers some items regarding an estimate, as made by Admiral Radford—an estimate which he said was speculative and in the advanced stage—about a substantial reduction in the manpower strength of our armed forces. Of course, the whole idea behind it is that it would be offset by the very best of weapons. In this program it was hoped to go ahead with some of the best scientific talent in the world, to go forward with an advanced weapons program. Must it be eliminated? That would almost be the effect of the amendment before us at the present time.

I do not know how effectively to distribute this cut. It seems to me that this kind of curtailment would be more wasteful than anything else, because of the fixed charges inevitably involved in a program of this kind, quite aside from its dimensions.

In this whole program we, of course, have been making an effort to secure strategic bases everywhere in the world. An airplane is as good as nothing, no matter what its speed, no matter what its bomb load, unless there is a base from which it can operate. There must be a place for one of these corsairs of the sky to start, and there must be a place to which it can repair, not only for fuel, but for additional bomb loads. We have procured effective bases in many areas of the world as a result of this program. Are we now to relax, when we are in this position, and more advantageously situated than we have been for a long time? I think to do so would be pennywise and pound-foolish.

I conclude this brief observation by saying that, after listening to high level testimony day after day for a long time, from men who have been trained in the business for a lifetime, I prefer to take their evaluation and their judgment in this respect.

One thing further, and then I shall conclude. Some months ago I asked Admiral Radford to give me a letter with respect to what he thought would be the impact of a very substantial cut upon our own military program. He said in writing, to be quoted anywhere—and I think his letter is in the file somewhere—that if we were to undertake to pursue that course, it could mean only that we would have to augment our own military establishment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Illinois has expired.

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield 1 additional minute to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I read from the letter from Admiral Radford, dated February 7, 1956. He says:

My answer is as follows: The military aid program is part and parcel of the United States Defense Department program. This fact may not have been too apparent when the program of furnishing military supplies and training to our allies was in its infancy. Now, however, it is clear that the expenditures abroad in support of our alliances do not differ in purpose, scope, or objective from our own military expenditures. I can assure you that were it not for the strength which has been generated in the past 5 years by our allies—and in most instances made possible by our military aid programs—the requirements of our own defense program would be much larger.

I prefer to stand by this program. I think it has been expertly and skillfully handled. I think it receives its military direction from the best military minds at the command of our country today. So I trust that the amendment offered by my distinguished friend from Louisiana will be voted down.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 30 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL].

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I do not think I shall consume that much time, but such time as I do not consume may be yielded back.

I fail to find any justification anywhere in the proposal to start increasing foreign aid appropriations, after they reached a leveling-off period in 1953, and have come down from that year until this.

The arguments which are made each year in favor of these appropriations, and of the increases which are requested this year, might well have been played from a phonograph record of the arguments in connection with the first program which was ever submitted to the Congress. We were told then that this program was necessary in order to mobilize allies who would fight by our side. There was painted the same gruesome picture of the sickness and suffering which have been brought to America through our participation in two great World Wars and in the Korean war. If I had had the slightest opinion that increasing these appropriations would enable us to avoid war, there would be no ceiling to which I would not go in the appropriation of funds, if such appropriations would really contribute to the prevention of war and the preservation of world peace. There is nothing in the history of any of these appropriations, or in the bill before us today, that would justify such a conclusion.

This program originated as an economic aid program, to rehabilitate the countries of Europe which were so badly damaged by World War II. We finally rehabilitated those countries. We have exceeded the objective we sought, that of bringing their economies up to their pre-war level. We have now embarked upon this military-aid program.

I favor a military-aid program of reasonable proportions. I would even vote for a military-aid program of the same size as that provided by the Congress for the fiscal year 1956. In the face of the facts of life as we know them today, every argument in favor of increasing these appropriations fails.

Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has been cited as an authority for the reasons for increasing these appropriations, to increase the military strength of the free world. Yet when the story was published that he favored decreasing the Armed Forces of the United States by some 800,000 men, Admiral Radford did not deny it. He says that the changes in warfare and nuclear weapons make such large forces unnecessary. But I assert today that practically all the appropriations which have been made heretofore, and those included in this bill for military assistance, are for weapons which are only a slight improvement over those used in World War II.

Why is it a good thing from the standpoint of the national defense to reduce American military strength because of new weapons, but at the same time to increase the military assistance we extend to those who are associated with us?

I point out further that this program tends more and more to be a continuation of economic aid. Congress has said, "We are going to cut down on economic aid." Therefore, it has been given some new names. In this bill it is called development assistance. The item for development assistance has been increased by the Senate Appropriations Committee from \$70 million to \$293 million, for economic aid. Wrapped up in

every line of the military program there are items which are really economic aid. What is offshore procurement, which costs millions of dollars, other than economic aid? When we give a contract to one of our associates to build ships which are not suited to atomic warfare, and which cost vast sums of money, that is a form of economic aid, although it is called military aid. We have contracts with at least three of the countries associated with us in NATO, for the construction of large numbers of airplanes with American dollars, to be constructed abroad. It is called purely military aid, but it is a form of economic aid. Those countries vie with one another in their effort to secure such contracts.

Mr. President, we are gradually weakening the military strength of the free world by continuing to increase the military appropriations. Why do I say that? There are countries in the world with a proud record of military history. They are nations like France and nations like Western Germany. They are failing to rearm because of their dependence upon us. The countries associated with us are becoming more and more dependent upon American dollars and upon American resources.

Mr. President, people who make no effort to help themselves will not help us very much, even if we give them the means to do so, when the hour of crisis comes.

To show the way this program has been conducted until this year, I point out that in the fiscal year 1953, Congress appropriated \$6,011,900,000. In that year, let me say, many of the Senators who sponsor the increases this year were calling it a Democratic giveaway program. They were assailing it as waste by a Democratic administration.

When they assume office, it suddenly becomes the epitome of statesmanship to increase the appropriations by \$2 billion for the fiscal year 1957.

Mr. President, it all goes to show what changes are wrought in the minds of able men by a change in political administrations.

For the fiscal year 1955 Congress appropriated \$2,804,500,000. The trend was down. For the fiscal year 1956 we did not reduce it much. We appropriated \$2,703,500,000, which has a modest reduction from the preceding year.

Mr. President, I had hoped that the proposed appropriation this year might be slightly reduced. Instead of that, the administration requests an increase of \$2 billion. So far as I have been able to ascertain, and in the light of the vast carry-over, such an increase is not justified.

We have neither a legal nor a moral responsibility to continue to increase the program.

We are told that we have been committed to this appropriation, and that it would be a breach of faith and would frighten our allies and associates if we did not allow these vast increases this year. Who is authorized to commit the Congress of the United States to any program of this nature in advance? Where or when has Congress said to anyone, "Go forth and promise all that you

feel you want to promise, and answer every international question that arises by promising American aid; and we will follow along and meekly appropriate the money in order to keep faith with all the promises you make?"

There is nothing in our form of government which permits any official of the executive department, from the President on down, to promise in advance what Congress will do. When we follow that theory with servility, we relinquish the power of the purse, which is one of the proudest possessions any parliamentary body can have.

This year Congress authorized \$4,115,000,000. For the first time that I can recall since this program has come into being, we are asked to appropriate, in the bill reported to the Senate, the full amount of the authorization. Oh, there was a little decrease of some seven or eight million dollars, but that has been made up on the floor.

I was astounded to hear Senators in the Committee on Appropriations saying, "How much can we appropriate for this item? What is the top authorization?" They spoke almost in sorrow because they could not appropriate more than the authorization allowed.

I ask, Mr. President, where is reason in this land of ours? How long is this tremendous burden to be affixed to the backs of the American taxpayers under the guise of military aid? A large proportion of it is really a means of supplementing the treasuries of the nations which are associated with us in the various agreements all over the earth. It can but lead to our eventual destruction.

Mr. President, it is said by some, who say it very frankly, that the purpose of this program is to bring the standard of living of the rest of the world up to the standard we enjoy. I say that that effort can never succeed; but we may succeed in dragging the standard of living of the American people down to the level of the rest of the world.

Mr. President, for my part, I do not propose to participate in such a program.

For several years I have endeavored to reduce the program to proportions which were somewhat reasonable. When we were able to effect a reduction—inasmuch as I favor some kind of program—I would vote for the total authorization or the total appropriation.

I have finally decided that, when I did not believe in a program of that magnitude, I was stultifying myself by voting for the entire amount. Therefore, henceforth, I intend to vote against the entire authorization and against the entire appropriation, unless it is brought down to some kind of reasonable size.

Figures mean very little in this country today. Men speak of billions of dollars as glibly as they speak of millions. In this program, since the end of hostilities in Europe, since Americans had so generously given of their blood and natural resources and dollars and created a debt which is perhaps twice as large as the debts of all the other countries of the world combined we have furnished through appropriations for foreign aid, both expended and unexpended, the sum of \$62,400,000,000.

That is sixty-two thousand million dollars. Perhaps stating it that way will make a little more impression than saying \$62 billion.

How much does that amount to? According to the most recent census figures, there are 167,858,000 people living in the United States today. That means that every person in the United States has contributed \$371 to the program, and that the average family of 5 has had taken from it by the Federal tax collector \$1,855, which has gone into this program.

Oh, it is said that it is only approximately \$4,200,000,000 we are asked to appropriate. That means \$24 for every American, from the babe who is still in its swaddling clothes to the aged man who has one foot in the grave and who is exempt from taxes. That means that \$24 is taken from every American. That is what the bill means. It means \$120 to every family of 5 in this land.

That is what is taken by the tax collector and sent to all parts of the world to pay for the imaginary and visionary schemes which are embraced within this measure.

We have heard talk about reducing taxes. The Senate had a great to-do about the effort to reduce taxes in the amount, I believe, of \$20 for each taxpayer. Here we casually, and with little debate, and with only a handful of Senators on the floor, appropriate a sum that will run as high as \$35 or \$40 for each taxpayer, to go into some of the chimerical schemes which are conceived by those who operate this program.

I would if I could discuss other aspects of the program.

Mr. President, I wish I could give to the Senate full information concerning the American dollars wrung from American taxpayers to pay for arms which are stored in German stocks today awaiting the time when West Germany will keep its commitment to produce an army to provide for its defense. Unfortunately, the sum is classified.

Mr. President, the Senate does know, however, that this year, as a part of this scheme whereby we meet every challenge or demand made upon us by our allies by putting a burden on American taxpayers, we have reduced to almost nothing the amount of deutschemarks which the Germans contribute to us to help maintain our forces in West Germany to defend the people of West Germany. We know that the Russians have armed forces in East Germany that could overrun West Germany more quickly than the North Koreans overran the South Koreans. We maintain armed forces in West Germany to enable West Germany to found a republic which we hope will endure, while our State Department, against the advice of the military, is making it more difficult for us. What have these deutschemarks been used for? They have been used to pay labor for maintaining equipment for the benefit of the German people. That burden is now being transferred to the backs of the American taxpayers.

I often wonder how long, O Lord, how long will the American people consent to seeing this program stepped up by leaps and bounds as a result of our fail-

ure to have a foreign policy worthy of our great Nation. We should be able to give some better answer, somewhere along the line, to the problems that arise over the world than to say, "We promise you two or three hundred million dollars of tax money," and then someone comes before the next Congress and says, "We are committed to this," because some ambassador or the Secretary of State or someone else has promised these dollars before Congress has authorized them. Then the whip is put to our backs and we are told, "The promise has been made. Therefore, you have got to appropriate whatever has been promised."

It makes us a servile group groveling at the feet of the executive branch of the Government.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. CURTIS. The distinguished Senator from Georgia has made some very sound and profound statements about this program, and I commend him for it.

There are some resulting evils which are dangerous to our country. One of them is that so long as we have the program of spending and giving away money abroad there is not much chance to have a program of frugality in the domestic affairs of our Government, because certain groups are going to say, "If such and such a foreign country receives X dollars, why can we not have the difference?" And they usually get it. That is one evil.

Mr. RUSSELL. If the Senator will permit me, I have thought of that a thousand times. We appropriate vast sums of money, and there is not a Member of this body who does not pick up letters saying, "If you appropriate so much for foreign aid, you should do something for the people at home."

Mr. CURTIS. The second point I would suggest is that as this goes on and on, the economy of this country becomes dependent upon it, the economies of the recipient countries become dependent upon it, and the chances of curtailing expenditures become harder and harder each year.

I would not be so foolish as to suggest that the spending of dollars abroad does not do some good. It would be impossible to do it without doing some good. But the point is that if our sole dependence on world leadership is Uncle Sam's checkbook, we had better look at his bankbook.

Mr. RUSSELL. The Senator from Nebraska could not be more correct. The program has proceeded for so long that there are many groups in this country which have a vested interest in it, namely, those who administer it and the bureaucrats who go about trying to expand it. We have even reached the stage where those who are stationed overseas, both in the Army and in the State Department, fight with each other over securing funds, just as the heads of departments in Washington fight with each other to secure funds for the administration of our domestic affairs. It is placing us in a position from which we will never be able to extricate ourselves. If we do not somewhere along the line show the fortitude at least to hold these appro-

priations at a level and not continue to increase them by billions of dollars as lightly as we would take a drink of water, we shall be in a bad situation.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator from Georgia yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. SYMINGTON. How can we face up to the fact this administration has refused to give enough money to our own military services for the proper maintenance and operation of our military forces, to the point where some of the leading military commanders in our Defense Department have testified that, as a result there have been more accidents and more deaths. Why this unwillingness on the part of this administration to give adequate money for the maintenance of our own planes and other equipment, to keep them in proper shape. Now, under those circumstances, can Members of this body vote military aid for countries such as Yugoslavia?

Mr. RUSSELL. I cannot speak for other Senators. I can only say to the Senator from Missouri that I do not propose to do so.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Georgia yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I wish to commend the Senator from Georgia for his terse, clear, factual explanation of the figures with reference to mutual aid spending and his impressions with reference to this military program. I think the Senate ought to be impressed and that the people of the Nation should be impressed with the fact that the Senator from Georgia is very familiar with the program, since he was one of those who helped to start it and one of those who knows what it is doing. He has appraised the program as it is now and has projected it into the future as he sees it. It has been very impressive to me, and I feel that it is impressive to others.

It is not natural for the Senator from Georgia to be an alarmist, and he is not inclined to throw out scare-clouds of any kind, but he feels impelled to give his conclusions to us, and I know it has been unpleasant for him to do so. My feelings coincide with his.

I have reached the conclusion, with all due deference to the other nations involved, that the money is so easy to get from us year after year it is actually causing them to defer their military programs rather than to speed them up. I believe that so long as we continue lavishly to throw out billions of dollars, that will continue to be their attitude and will be the trend of our program.

I believe we must wake up to these facts. We are not realizing the situation. We are postponing every year the time when things will get better. I have voted for these appropriations every year with the expectation that things would be better by the next year.

I have been examining the figures, thinking we were really reducing our military aid from year to year. In 1 year we dropped from \$7.2 billion to \$6.1 billion; in the next year, to \$4.7 billion;

in the next year to \$2.8 billion; and last year to \$2.7 billion.

But when we examine the amount we have spent, we find it has been going up, because we have not used up the reserves in the pipeline.

This makes me realize more and more that we shall have to call a halt. I think, with all deference to other nations, that the power to call a halt rests with those who have the power to appropriate the money. My feelings in this matter are becoming stronger and stronger.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank the Senator from Mississippi. I completely share the views he has expressed.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RUSSELL. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I recall that the junior Senator from Georgia has been a member of the Committee on Appropriations for many years, including the period since 1948, when the Marshall plan was initiated. In the early years of the foreign-aid program, the junior Senator from Georgia vigorously and consistently demand the efficient administration of the program. He criticized the softness which was displayed on many occasions in the administration of the program by a Democratic executive department.

It may be said to the credit of the Senator from Georgia that he has maintained the same consistent position in being critical of the Republican administration, because the record shows that there has been as much inefficiency and waste in the administration of the foreign aid program during the past 3 years as there was under the preceding administration. Is that not true?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, in my opinion, there has been no change in policy; no tightening up of expenditures. I appreciate the Senator's absolving me of partisanship. I should have perhaps pointed out that I have sought to reduce the appropriations to reasonable levels in Democratic administrations, and that I have been highly critical of some types of projects for which American funds were spent. I have before this time, on the Senate floor, been critical of our ambassadors in their foreign policy of pitting themselves one against another to see who could get the most money for himself to be used in the country in which he was located.

Mr. DWORSHAK. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations and as the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, the Senator from Georgia, I feel certain, realizes that increasingly heavy demands have been made for greater appropriations for the administration of the misnamed Mutual Security Program; and that instead of strengthening the countries which have been the recipients of billions of dollars over the past 8 or 9 years, we are witnessing a gradual decline in the ability of many of those nations to contribute militarily to the aid of the free nations of the world.

As a result of this soft policy and our failure to insist upon an equitable participation by those countries in the so-called mutual defense programs against Communist domination, we are now

confronted with the peculiar situation that countries in South America, which were not included in the program in its early years, are now demanding that the United States share its lavish distribution of dollars with those countries, to demonstrate that we are friendly to them, so long as we contribute money to countries like Yugoslavia and India, and other countries throughout the world. So, in fact, we are actually weakening the defense of the free nations, instead of strengthening them.

Mr. RUSSELL. The more we make those countries completely dependent on us, to that extent we weaken their will to resist. That, in my opinion, is largely responsible for the widely discussed increase in neutralism which is sweeping over western Europe and other areas of the world today.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Georgia has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I congratulate the Senator from Georgia for his typically wise and thorough observations on this particular matter. It is one I have tried to study for years, to the best of my ability, and one on which my position is changing at least until we have a long overdue reappraisal.

I received from the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] a letter which I believe he sent to all Senators requesting that this administration bill be supported. In the letter in question, he pointed out, perhaps inadvertently, that \$6,800,000,000, or 17 percent of a 10-year program, was actually, as of now, in the pipeline. Never have I seen such a percentage of a total program in a pipeline, either in private business or in government. It is almost unbelievable.

I ask the distinguished Senator from Georgia, a great authority in this field, if he does not believe that there might be a hiatus for just 1 year, so that this pipeline situation could be straightened out, in order to determine whether the American taxpayer could be helped to the extent of action taken as the result of a businesslike investigation.

Mr. RUSSELL. A hiatus might in some small areas defeat some of the minor purposes of the program; but if Congress did not appropriate one dollar this year, adequate funds already are available and already appropriated to run a successful program for 2 years.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I thank the Senator from Georgia. The point he has expressed so well is the point I was trying to make.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will state it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. How much time remains on the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana has 5 minutes remaining. All time of the opposition has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I sincerely hope the Senate adopt the

amendment I have proposed. I was somewhat amused when the distinguished junior Senator from Illinois was speaking a while ago and said that our allies would be disappointed if we did not continue to give them as much as we have given in the past, or some words to that effect.

If this amendment should be agreed to, the amount of our contribution for military assistance will be almost three-quarters of a billion dollars more than Congress allowed for the same purpose last year. To my mind, this is more ample. Now is the time for us to at least stabilize and gradually reduce this program. We cannot afford to increase it. It seems that whenever we go into a program of this kind, we are always sucked in for more than we have bargained for.

I can well remember how the British, during World War II, were crying aloud: "Give us the tools. We have the men. The tools are all we need."

I shall never forget the statement which Prime Minister Churchill made over the radio when Singapore fell. He said, "Singapore has fallen, but we have America on our side today."

Before that time our allies were crying only for the implements of war. They said tools were all they wanted. But everyone knows that we ended up carrying most of the economic burden, spilling much of the blood, and by occupying, with our own troops, almost two-thirds of the line in Western Europe.

As I pointed out a moment ago, I am sure that all of us originally voted for economic aid in the hope that we could place our Western European friends on their feet and, by so doing, they would be in a position to help us carry this enormous burden.

As I pointed out a moment ago, through our assistance, agricultural production in the countries of Western Europe has increased an average of 126 percent over prewar. In the case of industrial development, as I indicated a while ago, the average for the countries of Western Europe in 1955 was 164 percent of prewar.

Yet, with all of that improvement, Mr. President, we are now being asked today, not to reduce or even continue this program on a stable basis, but increase it. As the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] has just pointed out, it does not make any sense that, when things are so much better in Western European countries, we should continue to increase the amounts of aid over those we provided last year.

Mr. President, even if my amendment is adopted—and its adoption would mean that the amount suggested by the House be adopted—we would still be providing over \$700 million more for military aid than we appropriated last year. In addition, we now have in the pipeline over \$5 billion; and that amount, as I said, can be shifted from one area of the world to another up until the time it is actually delivered.

The fact is that Western Europe is so much better off now than it has ever been. That area has in the pipeline today \$2,687,400,000, and that whole amount could be transferred to south-

east Asia if our planners saw fit to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUMPHREYS of Kentucky in the chair). The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Will the Senator yield me 2 or 3 minutes?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I yield the Senator from Louisiana 2 minutes on the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. I desire to make one final point. If my amendment instead of the Senate committee proposal, is adopted, it will mean a saving to our taxpayers of \$565 million. What does that mean? Let me tell the Senate.

Mr. President, the median income of American families, averaging 3.3 persons, is \$4,173. Considering the usual exemptions and deductions, the average tax on that amount of income amounts to \$390. If we divide \$390 into the \$1½ billion my amendment proposes to save, we have the number of American families whose income tax could be put to more beneficial uses than what appears to be an almost endless attempt on the part of our planners to fill foreign rat-holes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

All time on the amendment has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, on the question of agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana to the committee amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. ELLENDER. I join in the request for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, will the Chair state the pending question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] to the committee amendment, on page 2, in line 5. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the committee amendment on page 2, in line 5, it is proposed to strike out "\$2,300,000,000" and to insert in lieu thereof "\$1,735,000,001."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana will state it.

Mr. ELLENDER. On this question a vote "yea" will be a vote to substitute the amount voted by the House of Representatives, plus 1 dollar; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia will state it.

Mr. RUSSELL. A Senator who is opposed to the figure reported by the Senate committee will vote "yea", in favor of the figure voted by the House of Representatives, plus 1 dollar; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Georgia restate his parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I inquire whether Senators who oppose the large amount of increase reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee, and who desire to retain the figure voted by the House of Representatives, will vote "yea" on this question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California will state it.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Senators who desire to sustain the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee will vote "nay" on this question; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will state it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] has offered to the committee amendment an amendment providing for only \$1 in addition to the amount voted by the House of Representatives; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] to the committee amendment.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] are absent on official business.

On this vote the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "yea" and the Senator from Tennessee would vote "nay."

I further announce that if present and voting, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] would each vote "nay."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate, on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] are necessarily absent.

On this vote the Senator from Idaho, [Mr. WELKER] is paired with the Senator

from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Idaho would vote "yea" and the Senator from Colorado would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 46, as follows:

YEAS—42

Anderson	Gore	McCarthy
Barrett	Hill	McClellan
Bible	Hruska	Monroney
Bricker	Humphreys,	O'Mahoney
Byrd	Ky.	Robertson
Case, S. Dak.	Jackson	Russell
Chavez	Jenner	Scott
Clements	Johnston, S. C.	Smathers
Curtis	Kerr	Stennis
Dworshak	Laird	Symington
Eastland	Langer	Williams
Ellender	Long	Wofford
Ervin	Magnuson	Young
Frear	Malone	
Goldwater	Mansfield	

NAYS—46

Aiken	Fulbright	McNamara
Allott	George	Morse
Beall	Hayden	Mundt
Bender	Hennings	Neuberger
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Pastore
Bridges	Holland	Payne
Bush	Humphrey,	Purtell
Butler	Minn.	Saltonstall
Capehart	Ives	Schoeppel
Carlson	Johnson, Tex.	Smith, Maine
Case, N. J.	Kennedy	Smith, N. J.
Cotton	Knowland	Sparkman
Dirksen	Kuchel	Thye
Douglas	Lehman	Watkins
Duff	Martin, Iowa	Wiley
Flanders	Martin, Pa.	

NOT VOTING—8

Daniel	Millikin	Potter
Green	Murray	Welker
Kefauver	Neely	

So Mr. ELLENDER's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the Ellender amendment was rejected.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. RUSSELL. Would not an amendment which would increase this appropriation by one more dollar be in order?

Mr. ELLENDER. Certainly. I have another amendment to increase it by \$200 million.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Such an amendment would be in order after the disposition of the motion to reconsider.

The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] to lay on the table the motion of the Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON] to reconsider the vote by which the Ellender amendment was rejected.

The motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I offer an amendment which I send to the desk and ask to have stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 5, it is proposed to strike out "\$2,300,000,-

000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$1,925,000,000."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I do not expect to argue this proposal at great length. However, I am hopeful that Senators will remain in the Chamber for a little while.

The purpose of the amendment is to increase for military aid the House figure by \$200 million. The House amount is \$1,735,000,000, and the amendment I propose would increase that sum to \$1,925,000,000. I believe that amount is more than liberal. We would provide by this amendment almost a billion dollars more than was voted for the same item last year.

As I pointed out during debate this afternoon on my amendment which was just defeated by a few votes, last year we voted \$1,022,000,000 for military assistance; this amendment would reduce the amount recommended by the Senate Appropriations Committee, but would still represent an increase of almost three-quarters of a billion dollars more than the amount of money we appropriated for similar aid last year.

For the benefit of Senators who are present, as I pointed out earlier in the debate, at the moment we have, in unexpended funds for this purpose—that is, for military assistance—\$4,992,900,000. That represents materials now in the pipeline—material which can be shifted from one area to another, until such time as actual deliveries are made.

I do not need to review all the various figures, but today the countries of Western Europe are better off than they have ever been. Industrial production in Western Europe for 1955 was at 164 percent of prewar production. As I have indicated, through the aid we have made available to the countries of Western Europe, since 1948, their industrial capacity has increased by 64 percent over the 1938 average. Their agricultural production has increased to 126 percent of prewar. It is my contention that those countries are now well able to help us carry a little bit of the load.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that tables showing the increase in industrial production of Western European countries as a whole, and their agricultural and industrial production individually, be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Index of industrial production—OEEC countries combined

Year	Index 1950=100	Index 1938=100
1938.....	84	100
1948.....	80	95
1949.....	92	110
1950.....	100	119
1951.....	109	130
1952.....	110	131
1953.....	116	138
1954.....	127	151
1955.....	138	164

Comparison of pre- and post-war agricultural and industrial production in selected countries

Country	Industrial production (1938=100)	Agricultural production (Prewar=100)
	1955	1954-55
Italy.....	176	121
Turkey.....	253	156
Greece.....	179	126
Switzerland.....	139	119
Austria.....	193	105
Germany.....	145	123
Denmark.....	170	130
Netherlands.....	175	134
Belgium.....	150	127
France.....	147	125
United Kingdom.....	157	135
Portugal.....	(¹)	126
Spain.....	² 141	104
Egypt.....	(¹)	115
Syria.....	(¹)	203
Lebanon.....	(¹)	175

¹ Not available.

² Based on 1950=100.

Sources: OEEC Statistical Bulletin, November 1955, and January 1956. ICA and Department of Agriculture estimates.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I pointed out also, in the case of Europe, we have \$2,687,400,000 in unexpended balances for military aid as of July 1 of this year. That is material in the pipeline. Until that amount is delivered, it can be shifted from one area of the world to another.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PASTORE in the chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. We have helped them to such an extent until it has really hurt us in the sale of our agricultural products. Is that not correct?

Mr. ELLENDER. Of course. That is on the economic side.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. We have increased their agricultural production to the point where we have lost many of our markets.

However, that deals only with the economic aspect. What I am trying to point out is that we have today, ready for use if necessary in any part of the world, in the pipeline, over \$5 billion, which can be spent for military assistance.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. By giving them the amount that I am now suggesting, it will provide as much military aid as they had last year.

As I pointed out a little while ago, we would still provide by my amendment almost a billion dollars more than was made available last year. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I should like to say, first of all, as one who has served with the distinguished senior Senator from Louisiana on the Committee on Appropriations for many years, that I wish to commend him publicly for his continuing efforts in the direction of economy.

I speak as one who has just voted against an amendment, and as one who has voted against a number of other cuts, because I thought they were too severe. I want our mutual assistance program to have the money it vitally needs to preserve the peace—but I am also one who believes some cuts in the proposed figure are both possible and desirable. However, I do believe there is considerable merit in the argument the Senator makes, that a little tightening of the belt along the line might result in a program that will be equally effective and which can gradually work toward a period when other countries can assume a greater share of their burden.

I am wondering whether the Senator from Louisiana would consider modifying his amendment to call for a cut which would leave the figure at \$2 billion even, in which case I assure him I will support him, and I know of 1 or 2 other Members on my side who will go along with a cut of that size.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, to be frank and candid, it was my original intention to do just that. The reason why I substituted the present figure was to put in the bill the amount the House authorized. That is \$1,925,000,000.

Mr. President, I modify my amendment by striking the figure "\$1,925,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof the figure "\$2,000,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator modifies his amendment accordingly.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. With the amount my modified amendment proposes, the administrators of the program will have in excess of \$7 billion they can spend next year for military aid. The fact that this amount can be transferred from one area to another, in my humble judgment, makes it more than ample.

Mr. President, I am not going to repeat all the arguments which I advanced previously. I do hope the Senate will adopt the amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the amendment. I make a plea to Members on both sides of the aisle to realize fully the implications of the amendment.

The program which has been recommended by the President of the United States—and I emphasize the fact that this deals with the military phase of the program alone—based on the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, called for \$3 billion for the military aspects of the mutual-defense program.

What we would do if we were to adopt the pending amendment in my judgment, would be to undermine the military aspects of the program.

In the Republic of Korea we have a cease-fire arrangement, not peace. On one side of the line of demarcation there are an estimated 650,000 or 700,000 Chinese Communists and North Korean Communist troops, facing on the southern side of that line approximately 450,000 or 500,000 troops of the little Republic of Korea and of the United States and United Nations command.

We have in the program a provision for the support of the Republic of China

on Formosa, facing the mainland of China, where the Chinese Communists during the past few months have been building up jet airfield after jet airfield, extending from Shanghai in the north to Canton in the south, at a time when the representatives of the Chinese Communist Government have been making threats that they will take not only the island of Formosa but the offshore islands as well, by force if necessary.

We have in the bill a program for the Republic of Vietnam, which is the key to southeast Asia, where President Diem has been carrying on his effort to bring freedom to the people of Vietnam.

This covers the military aspect of the program, I remind the Senators.

The distinguished Senator from Louisiana has mentioned the fact that there is material in the pipeline. That is correct. But those allocations have already been programmed, and they are necessary for carrying out the military aspects of the program.

All of this is being done in the interest of mutual security.

In my judgment, we should not provide so much as a penny's worth of this program if it were not mutually beneficial to the United States in the protection of our vital interests. I submit there is a heavy responsibility upon Congress, and upon the Senate this evening, not to undermine a program which might encourage, on the other side of the line, acts of aggression against Korea, against the Republic of China, in southeast Asia, or anywhere else in the world.

The original program recommended by the administration, based upon the unanimous recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are the professional group charged with the military defense of this country, was \$3 billion. That is what they felt was necessary for this program. We have already acted adversely on that recommendation for the Committee on Appropriations has cut the figure down to \$2,300,000,000.

I submit, Mr. President, that in the normal course of events, in the legislative program of the Congress, the bill will have to go to a conference with the House of Representatives, and in the conference a figure will be arrived at which will be somewhere between the Senate figure and the House figure.

I plead with the Senate not to make this reduction from the military aspects of the program, because it would do great damage to our own vital national defense interests.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield time to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield half an hour to the Senator from Nevada.

WORLDWIDE COMPETITION FOR UNITED STATES MARKETS FINANCED THROUGH FOREIGN AID

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, in my remarks of July 18 on the Senate floor I said that we are financing worldwide competition for our own markets and doing it with our own taxpayers' dollars.

If the directors of a private corporation were to use the stockholders' money to finance 47 low-wage competitors, I

think the stockholders would hold a meeting and I doubt if the directors responsible would work there any more.

If the directors also equipped the competitors with the most advanced tools, machinery, and equipment and gave them the money to buy or develop their own raw materials, I think the stockholders probably would bring along a couple of psychiatrists to look the directors over before they were thrown out.

If the directors also had paid out good company money to hire expert engineers and technologists to show the competitors how to out-produce and out-sell the company, the stockholders might also bring along several strong guards and straitjackets.

STOCKHOLDERS' DOLLARS SQUANDERED ABROAD

And if the directors had then sold the company's goods in the markets they had lost at prices far below production cost and at or lower the prices of the competitors they had financed, the stockholders would just give up, say the directors were crazy, and elect a new board of directors.

Mr. President, I might say at this point that that is what I think the Congress of the United States is. It is a board of directors for the people of the United States, and that is what I am talking about.

What I have described above is precisely what has happened to the stockholders of America with respect to foreign aid.

PEACETIME AID NOW EXCEEDS AID TO ALLIES IN TWO WORLD WARS

Mr. President, peacetime aid to foreign countries since World War II has cost the taxpayers more than all our war aid during two world conflicts.

Great Britain and our other World War I allies, which include two that fought against us in World War II, left the stockholders of America holding the sack for \$17 billion. We are still holding it.

Foreign aid in World War II, including \$10.7 billion to Soviet Russia and \$1.3 billion to countries which are now Soviet satellites, set our stockholders back another \$41 billion. That is a total of \$58 billion.

Our peacetime aid, we are told, now totals \$65,172,000,000. Some of it we call economic aid and some of it we call military assistance, but, Mr. President, there is no war on.

MILITARY AID READILY TURNED TO COMPETITIVE PEACETIME USES

A foreign plant that can build war planes can build commercial planes. A factory that can build tanks can readily be converted to produce trucks and automobiles. A manufacturer who can make parts for war equipment can make parts for other machines or the machines themselves. A mine producing metals or a plant producing chemicals for war uses can produce them for peacetime uses. Any going-concern industry is part of the economy.

Most of the war material these foreign plants are producing with American taxpayers' money is obsolete anyway, but the plants are there, the machinery is there, and trained labor is there ready to go to work making goods

to compete against our own industries at any time.

Most of our foreign aid, however, has gone for peaceful uses to begin with. It has gone to finance foreign resource development, irrigation, reclamation and foreign power development; agricultural development and industrial development, in other words to build up competition against us in both our domestic market and in our former foreign markets.

UNITED STATES IS DUMPING GROUND FOR FOREIGN SURPLUSES CREATED BY OUR OWN TAX DOLLARS

We not only provide our potential competitors for our markets with the facilities, raw materials, machinery and equipment, but we supply them with technical assistance and management experts. We even provide them this assistance in several different ways, directly, through the United Nations technical assistance program, through the international food and agricultural organization, the international labor organization and other one-world agencies.

When we have developed production to the point in any country where they have exhausted their own market, created a surplus, and become exporters of a given commodity themselves we do one of two things.

We invite them to dump their surpluses in our own market by lowering or removing the tariffs.

Or we reduce prices on the commodities we wish to export below the prices our own consumers pay, and compel the taxpayers or shareholders in our Nation to make up the difference so that our producers can continue to produce.

BARE SUBSISTENCE WAGE RATES ENABLE FOREIGN COMPETITORS TO UNDERSSELL UNITED STATES

There always is a difference to be made up if we are to meet the world price and sell abroad because these countries we are aiding keep their wage rates at rock bottom levels which may be only 10 percent to 40 percent of ours.

We make up the difference on foreign industrial goods by lowering tariffs, reducing the valuations on their goods exported to the United States or accepting fictitious values, and by foreign aid.

We make up the difference on agricultural products by buying up the bulk of basic farm commodities; paying a parity or support price, and then selling them, or trying to sell them, on the world market at a price far below what our own stockholders and consumers have to pay.

SHIP FARM PRODUCTS TO CUBA AT WORLD PRICES; BUY CUBAN SUGAR AT LOW WORLD PRICE

Mr. President, as a case in point, when the sugar bill was before the Senate Finance Committee, I asked a simple question of a State Department official as to the price we received for agricultural products we sold to Cuba, when he said they wanted to buy more sugar from Cuba so they would buy more grain from us.

I asked him about the trade, whether it was the support price or the world price that Cuba paid for the grain. Of course, it was the world price. I asked what price we paid for sugar when it was sold to us by Cuba, whether it was the world price or the support price, and the answer was that it was the support price.

Of course the world price is always lower than the support price. So we are whipped both ways.

The State Department thought that was profitable foreign trade—it simply divides the wealth.

We have to make up the difference on agricultural products, or our farmers would go broke. They are not in a good position now, and we must maintain our agriculture or face national economic disaster.

FOREIGN AID USED TO INCREASE FOREIGN FARM PRODUCTION

We have to do that because we have built up, through foreign aid, the agricultural resources of foreign nations to the point where they now have substantial surpluses which they must export themselves. And agriculture in foreign countries enjoys lower labor, machinery, fertilizer, and other costs than does any farmer in the United States.

Having used the stockholders' money to build up agriculture in foreign countries, the directors now seek more of their dollars to enable us to meet foreign low-cost competition in the world markets we once enjoyed.

The directors put a tax bite on the farmer for foreign aid and then put a tax bite on him to meet the competition that aid has cost him. It is a vicious circle.

Mr. President, we have been squandering the taxpayers' money around the world to increase foreign production of foods and fibers, to open up new foreign farm acreage through irrigation and reclamation, and to build foreign TVA's.

INDIA, EGYPT, AFRICA BENEFIT FROM UNITED STATES FARMERS TAX DOLLARS

We have spent millions in this endeavor in India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, and other African and mideast areas; in Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam and other east Asia countries; in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the French colonies; and in the mother countries of these colonies themselves, to increase their agricultural production. Now this production is competing against our own, as I shall presently bring out. The chickens are coming home to roost.

In addition to the \$2,525,000,000 authorized by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for military assistance, which was \$400 million under the administration request but \$600 million above the House authorization, the bill would provide \$1,167,700,000 for defense support.

What is defense support?

DEFENSE SUPPORT MERELY ANOTHER NAME FOR ECONOMIC AID

Defense support is economic assistance designed ostensibly to enable a country to support a larger military establishment than would otherwise be possible. Actually it is extended to some countries which receive no military assistance at all.

The Senate report states:

In these countries such as particularly Pakistan and Iran, the purpose is in fact more economic than military.

The report continues:

So far as the practical effect of the assistance is concerned, it does not make very much difference whether it is called defense support or development assistance.

It merely sounds better and makes the aid more palatable to call it military support, than it does to call it economic aid.

INDIA GETS \$80 MILLION JACKPOT IN NEW FOREIGN AID BILL

Next we have development assistance which totaled \$243 million in the authorization bill. This is to aid the Near East, Africa and Asia to develop such projects as irrigation surveys, grain elevators, power developments which can pump water for irrigation or supply energy for industries, and roads to link agricultural producing areas with markets.

Eighty million of this will go to India, and \$63 million to Egypt, Jordan, Libya, and other Near East and African areas, most of which are either neutral or flirting with the Kremlin.

The \$243 million includes \$100 million for the Middle East and Africa, to be expended by the President as he chooses.

UNITED STATES TECHNICIANS TO BOOST FOREIGN FARM PRODUCTION

The authorization bill as reported by the Senate provided another \$157,500,000 for technical cooperation, to be divided between 44 countries and overseas territories of the empire-minded nations. Of this \$31,828,000 is to be spent on expanding agriculture and natural resources, \$15,836,000 on industry and mining, \$7,411,000 on transportation, \$3,233,000 on labor, with health and sanitation, education, public administration, community development, social welfare and housing making up the remainder.

The program provides that we will send 4,389 American technicians abroad and bring 5,731 foreign trainees to the United States to be trained in American skills and methods so they may become as smart as we are and increase the production of agricultural and other commodities in their home countries.

We also are contributing \$15.5 million to the United Nations technical assistance program and \$3 million to the international food and agricultural organization, which has its headquarters in Rome, Italy.

MORE UNITED STATES DOLLARS FOR FOREIGN FARM EXPANSION; FEWER MARKETS FOR UNITED STATES PRODUCTS

Having made these contributions to the economic agricultural development of foreign countries, it is necessary to provide funds to finance the export and sale for foreign currency of surplus agriculture commodities of the United States, which have largely been made surplus by the foreign agricultural production we have built up by previous foreign aid. As we pour more taxpayers' dollars into foreign agricultural expansion, we naturally have fewer and smaller foreign markets for our own farm commodities, and our exports of these commodities has consequently been dropping.

As Senate report 2273 puts it:

The reason for this declining trend lies in the continuing shift in emphasis of the mutual-security program from Europe to Asia. The less developed countries, now recipients of the greater part of United States assistance, are largely agricultural, and some of them are themselves looking for markets for their own agricultural production.

In other words, Mr. President, we have put them in the farm export business so they may compete against our own farm products.

The report continues:

These countries, moreover need aid for other purposes which cannot be made through surplus commodities. Inasmuch as the emphasis of the aid program will remain on underdeveloped areas, there will be fewer opportunities to use agricultural commodities.

So we are cutting off our own foreign market for our farm products.

NEVADA YOUNGEST COTTON-PRODUCING STATE

Mr. President, I shall cite a few examples of what has occurred, and I will use as my first example cotton.

Some of my colleagues may not be aware that the senior Senator from Nevada represents a cotton-producing State. We would like to produce more cotton than we do, but our allocation is very small compared to the acreage of many States.

Nevada is perfectly willing to compete with the other cotton-producing States, and it would be much happier if there were a substantial world market left in which all such States could compete.

The world market for domestic cotton is gone. It has been destroyed by free trade and foreign aid, particularly the latter.

COTTON EXPORTS 7 MILLION BALES PER YEAR BEFORE TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT

Prior to the passage of the 1934 Trade Agreements Act, exports of cotton for 14 years had averaged more than 7 million bales a year. We have not had a 7-million bale year since that act was passed.

The all-time peak in cotton exports was in 1926, when 11,281,000 bales were shipped abroad, more than five times out 1955-1956 exports.

During the depression years of 1930, 1931, 1932, and 1933 our cotton exports totaled 7,048,000, 8,989,000, 8,647,000, and 8,366,000, respectively. This was, of course, before the free trade theory was adopted, and before foreign aid commenced.

Mr. President, the exporters got full pay for this cotton. The taxpayers of America did not make up the difference.

COTTON EXPORTS DROP SHARPLY SINCE GATT, TRADE ACT, FOREIGN AID

Now let us examine what has happened to our cotton exports under free trade, GATT and foreign aid.

In the 1951-52 season we exported 5,515,000 bales; 1952-53 exports were 3,048,000 bales; 1953-54 exports 3,761,000 bales; those in 1954-55 were 3,446,000 bales, and for the 1955-56 year ending July 31 they will be 2,200,000 bales, according to the Agriculture Department.

Of the 1954-55 exports 43 percent were Government-financed under the International Cooperation Administration, Export-Import Bank, or Public Law 480 enabling support commodities to be disposed of abroad for foreign currencies.

During the 1955-56 season about 80 percent will be so financed.

Foreign countries, Mr. President, always, without exception, value their currencies in terms of the dollar, and we take their valuation. Therefore, there was another hitch taken in the belt of the taxpayer.

UNITED STATES COTTON TO SELL AT OR BELOW
* WORLD PRICE AFTER AUGUST 1

During the year beginning August 1, all of our exported cotton will be sold at or under the world price, which is approximately 8½ cents per pound below the support price. Section 23 of Public Law 540, the Soil Bank Act, or farm bill, explains this export sales program for cotton.

In effect, the program provides that export cotton cannot be sold at a price of more than 25 cents, and the Agriculture Department says it may have to go below that.

The present support price on Middling fifteen-sixteenths is now around 33½ cents per pound, but will be reduced under the flexible support program to around 31 cents.

UNITED STATES TEXTILE INDUSTRY TO PAY MORE
FOR COTTON THAN FOREIGN COMPETITOR

The American textile manufacturer, therefore, will have to pay more for his cotton than will his foreign competitor, but he already has been dealt successive blows by the State Department and GATT through tariff reductions, and again this week by Congress' enactment of the so-called Customs Simplification Act, which I opposed. This differential in the cost of raw materials is just another cost he will have to bear if he survives.

Right now our interest is in disposing of our surplus cotton, and not in liquidating the American textile industry, as is being done, so I will proceed on the matter of raw cotton. Cotton exports, we should remember, were among those we were expected to increase—but did not—when we passed the 1934 Trade Agreements Act.

FOREIGN COTTON PRODUCTION INCREASES AS
FOREIGN AID GOES TO PRODUCING AREAS

Why have we now found it necessary to make these concessions to foreigners in order to export any cotton at all?

The answer lies, partly, with foreign aid. As we pour taxpayers' dollars into foreign countries, they expand their cotton acreage and production.

In the 5-year period of 1945-49, foreign cotton production averaged 13.6 million bales. In the 1950-54 period, foreign production rose to an average of 21.5 million bales annually. The upward trend since 1950 has continued at a rate slightly higher than 1 million bales annually. Production for the 1955-56 season is expected to exceed 25 million bales.

With all the development and technical assistance our foreign competitors will be provided in this bill, production should go still higher.

MIDEAST, AFRICAN PRODUCTION MORE THAN
DOUBLE PREWAR OUTPUT

Cotton production in Iran, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Afghanistan, all of which have received foreign aid in the past, and which will receive more foreign aid under this bill, has increased from a 470,000-bale average in the 1934-38 period to 1,129,000 bales in 1950-54 and 1,377,000 bales in 1955-56.

India and Pakistan production declined from an average of 5,168,000 bales in the 1934-38 period to 4,684,000 bales per annum in 1950-54, but has bounded back to 5,300,000 bales in 1955-56.

Africa, excluding Egypt, has increased its cotton production from a 891,000-bale average in 1934-38 to 1,467,000 bales in 1950-54, and 2,050,000 bales in 1955-56.

Mexico does not receive foreign aid, but does have an investment climate that seems to attract American investment. It has increased its cotton production from an average of 317,000 bales annually in the 1934 to 1938 period to 1,333,000 bales per annum from 1950-54, and to 2,050,000 bales in 1955-56.

COMMUNIST PRODUCTION UP 3 MILLION BALES
SINCE BEFORE THE WAR

The Iron Curtain countries also have increased their production from a 6,131,000 bale average in the 1934-38 period to 7,759,000 per annum in the 1950-54 period, and to 9,355,000 bales in 1955-56.

Total foreign production increased from 14,200,000 bales in 1934 to 18,800,000 bales in 1940 and to 25,500,000 bales in 1955, or an increase of 11,300,000 bales.

Egypt, the only country in the world which allocates its cotton acreage with the exception of the United States, is the only country in the world which has suffered a decline in production, which may be one reason it is so eager to build the Aswan Dam with our dollars or Russian rubles. United States production has increased from an average of 12,712,000 bales in the 1934-38 period to 14,092,000 in that of 1950-54, and 14,663,000 in 1955-56, while our exports have declined.

Now let us take a look at the world export picture. Here we have some interesting facts prepared by the International Cotton Advisory Committee in Washington. Its last review of the world situation in cotton is the April-May, 1956, issue.

FREE WORLD EXPORTS GAIN WHILE UNITED STATES
EXPORTS FOR YEAR AMONG LOWEST ON
RECORD

Free world exports for 1955-56 were estimated to total 8,200,000 bales, a gain of a million bales over the previous year. In contrast, the review states that "from the viewpoint of United States cotton exports, the 1955-56 season is likely to be one of the worst on record."

Export records for major cotton producing countries for the August through January period of the 1954-55 season and those of the 1955-56 season were compared.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table prepared

by the International Cotton Advisory Committee showing this comparison.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Cotton exports

[1,000 bales]

Country	August through January	
	1954-55	1955-56
United States.....	1,960	742
Mexico.....	881	1,317
Brazil.....	562	315
Egypt.....	545	777
Pakistan.....	184	359
Peru.....	191	230
Sudan.....	105	275

¹ Preliminary.

MEXICAN, PAKISTAN, EGYPTIAN COTTON EXPORTS BOOM

Mr. MALONE. The committee reports that exports from Mexico during the first half of the season had already passed last season's total, and for the full season will set a new record for this country.

For the first time in history—

It adds—

Mexico may ship as much cotton as the United States.

The report continues:

Cotton endorsed for shipment from Pakistan for the first 6 months of the season was over double the comparable 1954-55 figure. Pakistan has received \$205 million in foreign aid.

Egyptian type cottons have been in very heavy demand and exports this season are expected to increase substantially in Egypt, Sudan, and Peru.

Egypt's trading position this season has been favorably affected by more extensive exports to the Communist countries. Egypt has received some \$41 million in United States foreign aid, and is scheduled to receive \$3.8 million more under the pending bill.

Over the first 7 months of the season, exports to these (the Communist) countries were significantly higher than during the whole of last season and sales are continuing.

Over the first 7 months of the season, exports to these countries from Egypt were already some 328,000 bales against a quarter of a million for the entire 1954-55 season.

Pakistan's exports to the Communist bloc have been exclusively to China—

Red China, that is—

India has exported a sizable volume of cotton to China this season.

INDIA NOW WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST COTTON TEXTILE EXPORTER; JAPAN FIRST

Mr. President, India has received \$400 million under previous foreign-aid bills, and many millions more through other giveaway schemes. She is slated to receive another \$80 million through the bill we are considering today.

India, incidentally, Mr. President, has become the world's second largest exporter of cotton piece goods. Japan is first. The United Kingdom is third. The United States is in fourth place.

American industries have gone to Japan, have invested in the foreign mills, and are shipping goods to this country under virtually free trade arrangements,

resulting in the shutting down of American textile plants.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Nevada has expired.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask the distinguished Senator from California whether I may have an additional 20 minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I regret that, under the time schedule, I do not have that much time to yield. I yield an additional 5 minutes to the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BIBLE in the chair). The Senator from Nevada is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. MALONE. I lost 5 minutes in the uproar on the floor.

COTTON PIECE-GOODS EXPORTS FOR SEVEN NATIONS GIVEN

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table, prepared as the same source as the previous table, and showing cotton piece-goods exports in 1954 and 1955.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Cotton piece-goods exports

[Million square yards]

Country	1954	1955
United States.....	605	542
India.....	861	773
Japan.....	1,278	1,139
United Kingdom.....	637	555
Federal Republic of Germany ¹	230	240
France ¹	538	400
Italy ¹	108	101

¹ 1,000 quintals.

² Partly estimated.

JAPANESE TEXTILE EXPORTS DOUBLE THOSE OF UNITED STATES

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, it will be noted here that cotton piece goods exports by all the above-listed countries except the Federal Government of Germany have declined. In the case of the United States, they have declined by 63 million square yards in just 1 year.

They have even declined 8 percent in Japan. The reason, as given in this report, is that there has been a development "of excess capacity in the Japanese textile industry." The report adds that, as a result, "stocks of cotton goods have been reduced appreciably and textile prices have risen." Japan's exports, however, are still double those of the United States and lead the world, with India second. Mr. President, I may say that most of those exports are coming to the United States of America.

UNITED STATES PRINCIPAL IMPORTER OF JAPANESE COTTON GOODS; IMPORTS ALMOST TRIPLED IN PAST YEAR

Japan has received \$2,518,000,000 in foreign aid.

Mr. President, much has been made by proponents of freer trade of the fact that in the 1954-55 season, the United States exported 653,000 bales of cotton to Japan, of its 3,446,000 bale export total. This was the lowest export amount since 1948-49.

Japan's total imports from all countries was 2,046,200 bales, Mexico, Brazil, and Pakistan being her next heaviest suppliers in that order. The United States, in turn, was the greater importer of Japanese cotton textiles, taking 140,300,000 square yards off her hands in 1955, almost triple the amount during the previous year. Indonesia and Thailand were Japan's second and third largest textile markets, respectively.

JAPAN CUTS COTTON PURCHASES FROM UNITED STATES

During the 1955-56 season, the Department of Agriculture first thought the Government had arranged with Japan to take 650,000 bales, part of it to be paid for in foreign currency. Japan, however, has accepted only 450,000 bales.

Mr. President, there are some other interesting facts in this review prepared by the International Cotton Advisory Committee.

Western Europe last season imported 300,000 bales of cotton from behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. President, what is the outlook for future cotton production in the foreign countries to which we shall continue foreign aid under the bill now before us?

Nigeria, which increased its production from an average production of 48,000 bales in 1945-49 to 180,000 bales in 1954-55, has set an increased production goal of 720,000 bales. Uganda, Tanganyika and the Sudan, all in British Africa, are increasing production rapidly.

INDIA PLANS DOUBLING COTTON OUTPUT UNDER 5-YEAR PLAN

Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Israel all have cotton acreage and production expansion plans. India and Pakistan have vigorous programs for expansion of their cotton production. India plans to increase production to 5.8 million bales by 1961, under her latest 5-year plan—more than double her production of 2.6 million bales in 1949-50, and 1.5 million bales more than last year. Pakistan plans to increase her output to 2.5 million bales, from her present 1.4 million. We, through our foreign aid, are helping them to do it. The pending proposed legislation will help them to do it.

UNITED STATES COTTON ACREAGE LOWERED; FOREIGN FREE WORLD ADDS 3 MILLION ACRES A YEAR

Meanwhile, America's cotton export program declines. Our cotton acreage is reduced—from 28,400,000 acres, in 1934, to an allotment of 17.4 million acres now. Parity supports for our cotton have been lowered, which will mean a reduction of about 2½ cents per pound. Average yield per acre in the United States would have to be lowered to less than 300 pounds per acre, to limit production to the marketing quota of 10 million bales.

In contrast to the 2,400,000 acreage reduction imposed on United States cotton growers since 1954, free world acreage outside the United States has increased 3 million acres a year for the last 2 years. Foreign aid has helped these nations achieve that increase. Yet foreign aid goes on. If we do not give it in this bill, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will. We started

it with \$3 billion, some years ago. It has just loaned \$80 million to Rhodesia, in British Africa, for power development.

DEMOCRATIC WHIP YIELDS TIME TO NEVADA
SENATOR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time yielded to the Senator from Nevada has expired.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, does the distinguished Senator from California have any more time that he can yield to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Under the allocations, I have no additional time now to yield.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, the calling of the roll, following the suggestion of the absence of a quorum, would merely take time. I am not prepared to yield time from the time available on the bill.

Mr. MALONE. Perhaps time will be yielded to me by the other side.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time required for the quorum call not be charged to the time available to either side, under the unanimous-consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from California? The Chair hears none. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I yield 15 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. MALONE. I thank the Senator from Kentucky.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE] is recognized for 15 minutes, on the bill.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT HOAX IN 1934

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, in 1934 the big argument in 1934, was that exports were declining—and they had declined from 11,281,000 in 1926 to 8,366,000 bales in depression-ridden 1933—and that the reason was that our tariffs were too high. So we lowered the tariffs and cotton exports declined still further. We lowered them again in 1947 and they declined still further. We lowered them again last year and again they declined.

So that argument was out the window. A new argument had to be invented to lower tariffs further and to continue foreign aid.

The next argument was that there was a terrible dollar shortage, which was the reason exports of basic commodities were declining. We would have to give them the dollars to buy our goods. So we voted foreign aid.

DOLLAR SHORTAGE DISAPPROVED

Gold and short-term dollar assets of foreign countries in the so-called free

world then totaled \$15 billion. Now it is up to \$31.4 billion and is increasing at a rate of \$2 billion a year. Actually, Mr. President, there never was a dollar shortage and there is none now. There is enough gold and dollar reserves in these foreign countries now to buy up all of our surplus commodities if they chose to do so. Obviously, they do not.

The dollar shortage was just another catchword or phrase invented to mulch American taxpayers of their money and send it to foreign countries. There are two ways to have a dollar shortage. We all can have it by spending more money than we earn. The second method only a nation can have, and that is to fix the price on its currency higher than the market price in terms of dollars, so that no one will buy it except the silly Congress; and we have proceeded to do that for 10 long years.

Mr. President, I commend to the attention of the Senate a recent publication by the Department of Agriculture, Competitive Position of United States Farm Products Abroad, dated March 1956.

EMPIRE PREFERENCES USED TO CURE UNITED
STATES FARM IMPORTS

It states that since the 1930's preferential tariff arrangements have become important in many foreign countries and territories, and adds:

The most important of these arrangements are the empire preferences granted to each other by members of the British Commonwealth, but those between France and members of the French Union, as well as those between Portugal and her overseas territories are also important.

The Department then refers to the increases in dollar earnings of these foreign countries, which I referred to above, and states:

These dollar earnings have risen because of much larger United States imports, greater spendings by United States tourists and soldiers abroad, increased United States Government expenditures for overseas troops and military installations, and gold reserves have been increased by a larger flow of newly mined gold.

Mr. President, we have foot soldiers in 73 nations. If a war started tomorrow, in a week they would all be dead or on the way to the salt mines, because we could not get them home or feed them.

UNITED STATES-AIDED NATIONS TIGHTEN RESTRICTIONS ON IMPORTS OF UNITED STATES
PRODUCTS

The report continues:

As agricultural production expanded in the importing countries, political pressures developed in these countries for maintaining controls (originally imposed for balance-of-payments reasons) as a means of protecting their producers against competition from imports. These restrict exports of United States agricultural products to a number of important markets.

At the same time, strong vested interests developed in the maintenance and further expansion of preferential, bilateral, and regional trading arrangements among the non-dollar countries.

Industries in the countries which are major importers of agricultural products have found assured markets in agricultural exporting countries under the shelter of these arrangements. Some of these countries claim that their ability to maintain and ex-

pand sales abroad (particularly manufactured goods) depends on continued preferential treatment for the agricultural products imported from their partners under terms of these arrangements.

REPORT LISTS OTHER FOREIGN SCHEMES TO LIMIT
UNITED STATES SALES

Mr. President, all of these countries to which we are extending foreign aid seem to have their own partners, and we are not among them, despite the \$65 billion in foreign aid we have poured out.

The report continues:

These arrangements have improved the competitive positions of a number of countries which export agricultural products, particularly Turkey, Greece, Argentina, Brazil, French overseas territories, and British Commonwealth areas.

Mr. President, the report refers also to special credit and exchange arrangements between these foreign countries, subsidies, preferential treatment, currency devaluation, export bonuses, and so on. Most other countries also maintain price supports in the same manner that we do, and the Department admits that there is widespread use of state trading monopolies to regulate trade in grain, tobacco, dairy and livestock products and fats and oils. These are the countries to which we are voting billions in foreign aid.

What has happened to cotton exports also is happening to grain, with wheat and rice the most important among food grains and corn among the coarse grains.

EXPORTS OF UNITED STATES FOOD GRAINS, RICE,
ALSO SUFFER

Grain exports averaged annually the product of 30,030,000 acres during the first 5-year period following World War II, we are told, but the product of 21,887,000 acres in 1954-55.

All of our grains are being offered in world markets at competitive prices, substantially below United States support levels in most cases. The United States still is the leading exporter of wheat, 29 percent, although more than half moves out under special Government programs, and at prices substantially lower than the support price.

Canada supplied 27 percent of the world export market, Argentina 14 percent, Australia 10 percent, followed by France, Russia, Uruguay, French North Africa, Turkey, Sweden, and Syria, with France challenging Australia for fourth place.

PRICE SUPPORTS ON WHEAT HIGHER IN MANY
COUNTRIES THAN IN UNITED STATES

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table prepared by the Department showing price supports for the 1955-56 wheat crop in 33 specified countries, and which shows that in 23 of these countries the support price is higher than our own. Could it be that through the foreign aid we have been extending through the years to at least 17 of these foreign nations, we have been contributing to higher support prices than we pay our own wheat producers?

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 3.—Price supports for the 1955-56 wheat crop in specified countries

	Price per bushel (dollars)
United States.....	2.08
Canada.....	1.40
Argentina.....	1.18
Australia.....	1.46
France.....	2.64
Turkey.....	2.91
Uruguay.....	2.51
Algeria.....	2.64
Morocco.....	2.56
Tunisia.....	2.64
Syria.....	2.20
United Kingdom.....	2.31
Norway.....	2.43
Ireland.....	2.06
Belgium.....	2.56
Germany.....	2.73
Switzerland.....	4.03
Spain.....	2.86
Italy.....	3.05
Yugoslavia.....	2.99
India.....	1.53
Iran.....	1.43
Sweden.....	2.21
Mexico.....	2.05
Brazil.....	2.85
Egypt.....	1.98
Japan.....	2.59
Portugal.....	2.86
Austria.....	2.63
Chile.....	2.49
Finland.....	4.04
Greece.....	2.84
Pakistan.....	1.34

¹ October 1955 guaranty. Price advances as the season progresses.

² Support price for soft wheat. The support price for hard wheat is \$2.08.

ASIATIC RICE PRODUCERS UNDERCUT UNITED STATES

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I shall touch only briefly on the problems of our rice exporters. States the department report:

Asian countries are now offering rice from 1955 crops at prices below United States prices in virtually all Asiatic deficit producing countries, especially in Japan. * * * Further adding to the problems confronting United States rice exporters is the continued difficulty in moving surpluses into export channel in the face of numerous and intricate impediments to trade imposed by governments in most of the rice-importing countries, and in the face of special subsidies and other aids granted to exporters by governments of most competing surplus-producing countries.

Almost 65 percent of the world's exports (5.5 million tons) in 1955 was moved by competing exporting countries under special government-to-government agreements, including barter deals. In addition, 92 percent of all the rice moving into international trade is subject to some degree of control by governments of the importing countries.

Yet, Mr. President, we not only supply the importing countries with millions of dollars to buy their food from other foreign countries, but are spending other millions to aid the exporting countries to expand their production.

FOREIGN TOBACCO PRODUCTION NOW THREE TIMES PREWAR AVERAGE

Mr. President, I turn now to a commodity which is, as it should be, one of our most important export crops—tobacco.

Tobacco exports in 1955 were about 19 percent above 454 million pounds exported in 1954.

That would seem to present a picture much brighter than those we have been discussing. But does it?

The Department of Agriculture tells us this:

Increased United States exports in 1955 were due largely to sales for foreign currencies under the Public Law 480 program.

Further on it states:

The most important hindrance to larger United States exports is the widespread and growing use of discriminatory trade barriers.

United States production of flue-cured tobacco in 1955, under Department preliminary figures, was set at 1,514,043,000 pounds; that of burley at 506,990,000 pounds, that of Maryland at 35,700,000 pounds.

The Agriculture Department reports that foreign production of flue-cured totaled 1,212 million in 1955 or 3 times the 1935-39 average, and 55 percent above the 1947-51 levels. Foreign burley production increased from 23 million pounds prewar to 95 million pounds in 1955. Foreign production of oriental or Turkish type tobacco increased from 344 million pounds in the prewar period to 575 million pounds in 1955.

EUROPE BUYING LESS TOBACCO FROM UNITED STATES; MORE FROM AFRICA, INDIA

Western Europe, which takes about 75 percent of our tobacco exports, in 1954 bought only 42 percent of its tobacco from the United States, while in the 1947-51 period it bought 50 percent.

What caused this decline?

This is the Department's answer:

The decline has occurred chiefly because of: (1) Larger supplies of cigarette tobaccos from Rhodesia, India, Canada, Turkey, and Greece; (2) preferential import duties; (3) discriminatory bilateral trading arrangements; and (4) increased domestic production in Europe.

All of these suppliers, with the exception of Canada, are beneficiaries of our foreign aid program.

UNITED STATES SHARE IN IMPORTANT FOREIGN TOBACCO MARKETS REPORTED

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a short summary on the United States share of total tobacco imports in important world markets, as given on pages 49, 50, and 51 of the above-referred-to report:

There being no objection, the summary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

United Kingdom: The United States share of our most important market, the United Kingdom, declined from 75 percent in 1935-39 to 51 percent in 1954. This decline was due mainly to increased shipments from southern Rhodesia, India, and Canada, because of preferential duties (about 21.5 cents less per pound), long-term guaranteed purchase agreements with southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom policy of limiting dollars for importing tobacco and, to some extent, foreign prices that are lower than those for United States leaf. The United States share in the United Kingdom market is likely to continue to decline as output in Commonwealth areas increases further.

Western Germany: The United States now supplies a larger share of Western Germany's imports (now the second-largest United States customer) than before World War II. This share, however, has declined sharply from 54 percent in 1947-51 to 41 percent in

1954. Western Germany's domestic production of flue-cured and burley has increased greatly. But most of the decline in the United States share of total consumption has been due to increasing imports of Oriental leaf from Greece and Turkey. The larger imports from these two countries are, to some extent, due to lower prices but are also partly in response to efforts to increase German exports of manufactured products to these areas.

Netherlands: The United States share of imports by the Netherlands (third most important United States foreign customer) declined from 50.2 percent in 1947-51 period to 37 percent in 1953 and 1954. Most of this shift was due to increased imports of dark tobaccos from Indonesia and Brazil.

Australia: The United States share of Australia's tobacco imports (fourth largest United States market) declined from 97.7 percent prewar to 64.2 percent in 1954 as a result of increased competition from southern Rhodesia and Canada. Lower prices, lower import duties on Rhodesian leaf, and the fact that purchases from southern Rhodesia are for sterling, are chiefly responsible for this shift.

Philippines: Since World War II, the Philippines has been the fifth largest importer of United States leaf. Unless, however, there is a change in Philippine tobacco legislation, imports from the United States will be drastically reduced in the future. This legislation provides that tobacco can only be imported if the Government issues a certificate of deficiency in domestic production.

The same legislation provides for very high price-support levels on production of flue-cured leaf, and guarantees the purchase of total production regardless of quality. Largely because of these laws, output of flue-cured tobacco in the Philippines rose from 2.4 million pounds in 1953 to 15.5 million in 1955. The 1956 crop is estimated at 33 million pounds. The import duty of 60 cents per pound, which went into effect January 1, 1956, will also further deter purchases from the United States. The full duty rate of \$2.40 per pound will become effective progressively over the next few years.

UNITED STATES NOW IMPORTS MORE RED MEAT THAN IT EXPORTS, REVERSING HISTORIC PATTERN

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, this report goes into similar detail on our other farm exports, butter, poultry products, meat, lard, wool, fats and oils, and so forth. I wish I might have the time to go into each one of them, but this is a long day, we are near the close of this second session of the 84th Congress, and I know that many of my colleagues are eager to vote and have made up their minds well in advance of this debate.

I think I should touch briefly, however, on the export problem as it pertains to meat and meat products.

Except for lower priced cuts of pork and beef, little United States meat is exported, although some activity continues in the so-called variety meats and offal products.

In western Europe, which once was considered our best foreign market for meat products, meat production has increased steadily and is now 24 percent higher than prewar.

The United States, once a large meat exporter, has now become a net importer of red meat. Some European countries are now exporting double the amount of meat they did before the war, while imports into Europe have declined greatly.

AMERICAN CATTLE, SHEEP INDUSTRY STIFLED BY IMPORTS

So far as the cattle industry and the sheep industry are concerned, there will never be any stability until the Congress has the guts to take back its constitutional responsibility to regulate the foreign trade and the national economy.

Shipments of live beef come in by the shipload. In that way the price can be regulated by imports, not by production. Then the American market does not belong to Americans. There is no apparent effort to get back to that constitutional principle.

As a matter of fact, so far as wool is concerned, no one in his right mind will put any money in the sheep business, because of the difference in the cost of production as between Australia and the United States. In Australia it is possible to produce a sheep unit, which is a ewe and a lamb, for 20 percent of the cost in the United States.

In that way the sheep business is utterly destroyed, and will remain so until Congress takes back its responsibility.

The same is true of textiles and tobacco and cotton, and 5,000 other products which I would discuss if I had the time to do today.

HOW FOREIGN COUNTRIES CURB UNITED STATES MEAT IMPORTS

What has put the freeze on imports from the United States? The Department of Agriculture tells us, under the subhead "Barriers to Exports":

In several European countries, Latin America, as well as Canada imports are limited by high tariffs, taxes, import quotas, exchange controls, dollar shortages, and inspection regulations. Restrictions are imposed by several countries on pork products from the United States.

Bilateral trade agreements, subsidies, and protectionist measures to encourage costly domestic production are also resorted to by many countries.

FOREIGN NATIONS PROTECT OWN FOREIGN MARKETS; DIVIDE UNITED STATES MARKETS THROUGH GATT

Mr. President, we lose through the goodness of our hearts by allowing 34 foreign nations, with the United States making 35 nations—and with each nation having 1 vote—to divide our markets under GATT. The other countries are simply protecting their own markets. I hope that in due time we will have the gumption on the floor of the Senate—and I hope it will begin in January 1957—so that instead of going to the Committee on Finance and calling in the Chairman of the Tariff Commission and asking him to make a 9-month investigation to find out what is the matter with textiles, we will take back our responsibility.

Everyone knows what is the matter with the textile market in this country. The trouble lies with imports from Japan, where our American producers have invested in the construction of plants, built with money taken from the taxpayers of America. In that way our markets are being flooded with goods produced by cheap labor.

In other words, we are merely displacing American labor and American invest-

ments with foreign cheap labor and foreign investments.

FOREIGN NATIONS RETAIN, INCREASE, TRADE BARRIERS WHILE UNITED STATES LOWERS TARIFFS 70 PERCENT

Mr. President, what the Department is talking about is foreign countries. The United States has, of course, reduced tariffs 70 percent since 1934 under the trade-agreements program. It is not reciprocal as the evidence from the Department of Agriculture attests above. Other countries have retained their same old trade barriers; many of them have increased them.

The Department lists, for example, factors which restrict the sale of American farm products in the British Commonwealth countries. They include:

First. Competition from production in one or more of the dominions.

Second. Widespread use of production incentives, including subsidies, without limitation on acreage or volume production.

Third. Use of a coordinated system of trade policies—especially lower import duties on products originating with the commonwealth—to discourage competition from noncommonwealth sources of supply.

BRITISH BOARDS EXERCISE MONOPOLY OVER IMPORTS, EXPORTS

Foreign exchange controls still exclude or greatly limit the imports of United States products—

The report continues.

Empire tariff preferences for products originating in the British dominions or territories still tend to exclude or handicap products from noncommonwealth areas. Since 1948 there has been no significant reduction of the margin of preferences for products originating in the commonwealth, and in several instances the preferences have been increased. Marketing boards, having a monopoly over imports and exports, promote intracommonwealth trade even though commonwealth prices may be higher than those of noncommonwealth suppliers.

Mr. President, the senior Senator from Nevada has made that statement on the floor of the Senate many times during the 10 years he has served in this body. This time it is not he who is making that statement, but the Department of Agriculture. It is the first honest presentation of the facts of foreign trade that I have witnessed emanating from the department of our Government.

Every year we have a foreign-aid bill. Every year officials from the State Department and from whatever agency is handing out our dollars to foreign countries, appears before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

I am not a member of that committee. If I were I think I might ask them a few questions. Oh, I might ask that the Department of Agriculture appear and present some concrete facts, such as those revealed in this report.

BRITISH BUYING LESS UNITED STATES COTTON, FRUITS, VEGETABLES THAN BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Here is a departmental comment on our trade in agricultural commodities with the United Kingdom:

The United States share of United Kingdom imports of agricultural products, espe-

cially cotton, fruits, vegetables, and tobacco is well below prewar.

This despite the fact that the United Kingdom has been the principal beneficiary of both our peacetime foreign aid and our wartime assistance.

The demand for United States products in the United Kingdom is strong—continues the report—

But United States competition in the market is limited by the subsidization of domestic production and the trade barriers mentioned above.

British Africa also comes in for attention in the report. That is where a considerable amount of the foreign aid we are voting on today is intended to go.

Programs in progress in British Africa call for increased production on fiber and foodstuffs for export and of foodstuffs for domestic use. Increased production of crops in competition with United States agricultural exports is now being emphasized in many African areas.

NEW FOREIGN AID PROGRAM TO INCREASE AFRICAN COMPETITION

Mr. President, we are financing it. This bill intends to keep on financing this increased competition with United States agricultural exports being "emphasized in many African areas."

Exports of South African deciduous fruits set a new record volume for 1954-55, with 87 percent going to the United Kingdom. Exports of oranges from South Africa increased from 93.5 thousand tons in 1938 to 144,000 tons in 1953, principally to the United Kingdom. Exports of canned fruit from South Africa, principally from the United Kingdom, have increased from 2,000 tons in 1938 to 42,200 tons in 1953, of which slightly less than one-third is peaches and one-fourth is pineapples.

Mr. President, our foreign aid is financing much of the import competition against our farm products. We are being very gracious when we call it competition. When countries produce foreign goods, and then bar American products, it is not competition, it is monopoly.

BRITAIN, FRANCE TAKE AMERICAN TAXPAYERS FOR A RIDE

Britain, France, all of Europe's empire-minded nations, have been taking the American taxpayer and the Congress of the United States on a long, long ride.

When we do not lend to the mother countries, we loan to the colonies. When we loan to the Colonies they not only shut off their markets to our goods but so does the mother country because it can then import the products from the Colonies and not from the United States.

So we put our own producers or millions of our production acres out of business unless we tap the American taxpayer to make up the difference between the domestic price and the foreign price. Even if we make up that difference and sell our agricultural products at the world price, foreign countries block off our products with restrictions.

FOREIGN AID INCREASING ENMITY AMONG NATIONS, NOT AMITY

We are not only building up competition against ourselves but competition and cutthroat competition between the nations we are aiding. When we finance expanded cotton acreage in one country

or technical assistance in growing cotton in one country, another country attempting to find a market for its own surplus cotton becomes an enemy instead of a friend of the United States.

How many friends have we made in India with our half a billion in hand-outs? How many friends have we made in Indonesia; in Egypt, in Africa, and the Middle East? We are making enemies, not friends.

We are making enemies of foreign agricultural producers also when we attempt to dump our farm products or barter them off for foreign minerals. When we unload wheat, or cotton, or corn, or any other surplus farm commodity on a foreign country as a free gift paid for by our taxpayers, we force the foreign producers' prices down. How would we like it, Mr. President, if Soviet Russia would suddenly try to dump some of her cotton surplus or her wheat surplus or any other farm surplus on the United States? Of course, we would not permit her to do that.

Or would we? Sometimes I am not sure that we would not permit Russia to do that. Perhaps, under a fluctuating foreign policy, we might.

EXCHANGE OF FARM PRODUCTS FOR FOREIGN MINERALS HARMS BOTH MINING INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act prohibits such practices. We protect our basic agricultural producers by quotas. If we did not there would be an uprising and many of our Members would be out looking for another job.

Then how can we expect the farmers and agriculturists in other countries to welcome our efforts to give away our farm products in exchange for minerals and metals? The simple fact is that they do not. So this program is a sham. It makes enemies, not friends. It has hurt, not helped our farm, livestock, and dairy producers. It is destroying many of our minerals producers. It is putting miners out of work. By cutting down on acreage it also is putting farmhands out of work and liquidating many farms. The American consumer, whatever his occupation, is the best and only sure market for our farm products. If we take away his job we take away our market.

At the beginning of my address, Mr. President, I said that if the directors of a private corporation did or sanctioned the things this foreign-aid bill proposes and previous foreign-aid bills have done, the stockholders would rise and change their board of directors.

AWAKENED CITIZENRY WILL CHANGE DIRECTORS WHEN AWARE OF 22-YEAR SELLOUT OF NATION'S ECONOMY

When our people wake up and when the stockholders of this Nation wake up and realize what the board of directors, the Congress of the United States, has been doing to this Nation for 22 years, with the division of our cash and markets—\$65 billion in cash since World War II—and dividing our markets with the low-wage nations of the world, while we are living on a war economy, I have an idea there will be some new faces in Congress.

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR END OF AID TO TITO

I ask unanimous consent to have included in the RECORD at this point an editorial published in the New York Journal-American of July 13, 1956.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S END IT

The people in our Government who have the power to continue bolstering the Tito regime in Yugoslavia with American money have now announced the release of \$13 million in counterpart funds for the support of housing projects in 11 Yugoslavian cities.

The so-called counterpart funds come into being through the complicated financial hocus-pocus, whereby the money of countries receiving American assistance, gifts, or loans, is set aside for our use within those countries.

No matter how the thing is juggled, the money comes out of the resources of the American taxpayers, and the hole it leaves is in their pockets.

It apparently means nothing to the people who have done this thing that the Tito Government is once more in full alliance with Soviet Russia, and will be on the Communist side in any future war.

It apparently means less to them that the \$1 billion we have already given Tito will be used against us in such a war, and that any additional American funds put in his hands will go the same way.

It would be interesting to know who these people are, and we think the American people are entitled to know. The announcement that the American Government has done such a thing is too broad.

Who is it in the Government that has such power, and such unconcern and even open contempt for American security that the power is used to the detriment and peril of our country?

The Congress has substantially cut the new authorizations for foreign aid, largely in consequence of its disapproval of past aid to Yugoslavia, with particular expression of its disapproval of any additional aid.

The American people are shocked and outraged that we have pursued our folly in this matter so far and at such cost in the past, and that we continue to persist in the same folly.

Neither the Congress nor the people should any longer be content with broad announcements in this field that are little better than concealment.

Let there be a naming of names, and a placing of responsibility, to the immediate end that the country may know who is to be held accountable for this disservice to America, and to the ultimate end that our pursuit of folly will terminate.

SENATOR RECALLS 1948 WARNING ON FOREIGN AID

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, in 1948 when the Marshall plan was first sprung on an unsuspecting public, I said on this Senate floor that—there is never any difficulty in privately financing production or processing plants when there is a market for the product.

The administration was flooding the Nation with this propaganda that all we had to do was increase the production capacity of the European nations.

I said that they were already overbuilt for their own consumption—that if we financed greater production capacity either they would have to sell to us or to our potential enemies.

Any industrial engineer could have advised Congress of this well-known and indisputable fact.

Mr. President, through this \$4 billion gift we are continuing to divide the wealth of our taxpayers while the 34 foreign nations at Geneva continue to divide our markets among them and we are living on a war economy. I think it is high time that the Members of this Congress go home and find out what the folks think of what they are doing—the folks who are still making a living the hard way and paying the backbreaking taxes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Nevada has expired.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the bill (S. 4256) to authorize the Honorable WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, United States Senator from the State of California, to accept and wear the award of the Cross of grand commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix, tendered by the Government of the Kingdom of Greece.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3820) to increase the borrowing power of Commodity Credit Corporation.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6376) to provide for the hospitalization and care of the mentally ill of Alaska, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9593) to simplify accounting, facilitate the payment of obligations, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6040) to amend certain administrative provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930 and to repeal obsolete provisions of the customs laws; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. COOPER, Mr. MILLS, Mr. GREGORY, Mr. REED of New York, and Mr. JENKINS were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 258) accepting without cost to the United States copies of the recording "Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag" and providing for distribution of such copies, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF CURRENT ATOMIC BOMB TESTS IN THE PACIFIC

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON].

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, this morning the newspapers carried an interesting statement to the effect that the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission announced the results of the current atomic bomb tests in the Pacific. The announcement was carried in the newspapers without any indication as to whether it was an official announcement of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Since the Chairman of the Commission is the spokesman of the Commission, I would assume that it was an official announcement of the Commission.

It is always interesting to read these things in the newspapers, and never have an opportunity to find out about them, regardless of the law that provides that the Atomic Energy Commission shall keep the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy fully and currently informed.

So far as I have been able to find out, no member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has heard one word about this. The Joint Committee has been trying to find out the results of these bomb tests in the Pacific; but no member, so far as I know, knew a thing about this statement when it was released to the press. A copy of the statement got to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy about noon today, approximately 18 hours after its release to the press. I think that is too bad.

I can only say that it is things like that that bring upon the Atomic Energy Commission the sort of attack that was contained in the report on the supplemental appropriation bill in the House of Representatives.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was set up so that Congress could be constantly advised as to what was going on. I think it was too bad, a short time ago, that programs were announced and things were done without any consultation whatever with members of that group.

I have been particularly disturbed at the possibility that members of the Commission themselves might not have known that this statement was being made. I believe it would be proper to have a hearing, if time permits, to find out if all members of the Commission were advised that this statement was being made.

I say that no member of the committee was advised. It would certainly be interesting to find out if all members of the Commission were so advised.

I think it would also be very much of interest to examine the last paragraph of the Chairman's statement, which reads:

We are convinced that mass hazard from fallout is not a necessary complement to the use of large nuclear weapons.

That is a most interesting statement to the members of the committee; and I am sure it is of equally great interest to the scientists of this country.

I say that because if the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Chairman of it, are convinced that mass hazard from fallout is not a necessary complement to the use of large nuclear weapons, then perhaps we ought to have some new policy stated to us by the Atomic Energy Commission itself.

We have had a statement on fallout hazard, which was issued in February 1955, entitled "The Effects of High Yield Weapons." So far as I know, that announcement of policy has never been either repudiated or canceled.

It seems to me that if the Atomic Energy Commission has learned something in these new tests which they are not in a position to communicate to the Joint Committee, but which they can frankly announce to the public in a short paragraph like that, then we might be informed of it, and a new statement on fallout hazards ought to be issued to replace the one issued in February 1955.

The earlier statement on fallout hazard attracted a great deal of attention around the world. It certainly stirred up some people in Japan. My information is that it stirred up some people in Germany, in Belgium, in France, and in other areas like that, who saw the possibility of fallout resulting from atomic warfare between two opponents, perhaps separated by those areas, who might drop bombs, and that the fallout might drift back and forth across some of those countries in a very dangerous fashion.

If we have discovered that that is not true, if there is no mass hazard from fallout, then I think it is time the people of the world knew about it. I think it is even time the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which is supposed to know about these things, might learn about them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New Mexico has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 3 additional minutes to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I would also invite attention to the fact that this so-called atomic power race and the number of kilowatts to be developed seem to be stirring up a little interest. There was a statement issued a few days ago by the Whaley Eaton Service, which has been doing an extremely fine job of keeping abreast of these questions. That service, for July 10, noted several deductions. First, it said that Great Britain has cut capital costs per kilowatt for nuclear power stations by almost half.

It also said that other technical advances promise to make a significant reduction in operating costs. It further stated that the first central electricity authority stations are likely to be twice as large in output as those contemplated when the 10-year program was laid down, but that their cost will be no greater. Great Britain's coming atomic power stations are expected to produce twice as much power as the existing Calder Hall Station at no extra cost.

It also pointed out that these developments mean that last year's nuclear energy White Paper is already completely out of date, and that Great Britain is the only country in the world in a position to build economic power-producing reactors.

I do not know whether that is of any interest to the people of this country, but I think it should be. It would be too bad if the reactors which are being built would develop atomic power long before

we even started to build one. I think it lends emphasis to the vote which the Senate took several days ago in saying that we wanted to try some new types. Most people recognize that the plants now under construction offer no promise of producing economical power, when we are building at Shippingport a plant which is calculated to produce electricity at a cost of 52 mills, when it must be obvious that electricity generated from coal and gas costs 7 or 8 mills at the most. But Great Britain is starting to produce economical power. The conference which was held at Vienna was told that British industrial groups are now in a position to quote firm prices and give a guaranty of output efficiency, plus a guaranty to time scale in the erection of atomic powerplants. I think Congress should not lose sight of that possibility.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I feel very much concerned that we are asked to cut \$300 million more from the military program, when we are told by our Chiefs of Staff that the money is needed to take care of the situation in the world today.

I am also much concerned about the expression "foreign aid giveaway." There is no such thing in this military program as any foreign-aid giveaway. It is for the security of the United States of America and our allies abroad. Equipping our allies is vital to the security of the United States of America.

As the Senator from California pointed out earlier in the debate, \$3 billion, in round numbers, was asked for the military program. A \$2 billion appropriation which is now asked for would mean that a third of the military program has to be eliminated. It means that such vital and critical areas as Korea, Formosa, and Vietnam, where we have native troops doing the work that our boys otherwise would have to do, would be deprived of aid. If we do not realize that it is part of our own defense, I am afraid we are losing our perspective. I challenge those who want to cut the amount any further. We have already cut it from \$3 billion to \$2,300 million.

In Korea the ROK's are working under our instructions and with our equipment, and they need to be sustained if we do not want to lose Korea and threaten Japan and the entire Far East.

In Vietnam we have an army which is being trained and equipped against a possible invasion from North Vietnam or Red China. If Communist forces are allowed to take over the rest of Vietnam, we will lose all of Indochina.

In critical areas in the Far East we are training native troops with modern

weapons, and we cannot continue to do so if a cut is made in this appropriation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield for a moment?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, may we have the yeas and nays ordered on the amendment?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, the point has been made that beyond these emergencies—and I do not see any way to avoid them—we have \$5 billion in the pipeline. At the session of the Senate just before we adopted the authorization bill, I inserted into the RECORD a very careful study of unexpended balances. There was less than \$200 million not definitely committed, less than we had in years past. We cannot rely on funds in the pipeline. We have got to have a new appropriation if we are going to carry on our responsibility in connection with the security of the United States by giving our allies equipment and supplies.

I add my voice to that of the Senator from California, our minority leader, in saying that we must maintain the \$2,300 million and vote against a further cut of \$300 million.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of our time if the Senator from Louisiana is prepared to yield back his time.

Mr. ELLENDER. I wish to make a statement, first.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Then I withhold my offer.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on the last vote taken by the Senate my amendment lost by four votes. Senators have the opportunity at this time to vote for an increase over what it voted for the last time. The amount of money we would make available through this amendment will be a billion dollars more than was made available in last year's appropriation.

When Senators say, or insinuate, that we are not giving as much now as we did last year, they should know better.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. Did the Senator from Louisiana say that if we put this cut into operation there will still be a billion dollars more available than was available last year?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is correct.

Mr. ANDERSON. Should we cry about that?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is what I should like to know. Senators have been crying about it. Instead of \$2 billion, they want to make the amount \$2,300,000,000.

Mr. President, Senators will have an opportunity to vote on this matter. The issue is a clean-cut one, and I am sorry that I had to modify the amendment as I did. I wish we had been able to adopt the amendment which was originally placed before the Senate—the amendment to restore the House figure.

I hope the Senate will vote favorably on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator from Louisiana prepared to yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I will yield the remainder of my time on the amendment, since the Senator from Louisiana has done likewise.

I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum, with the time for the quorum call being charged to neither side; and that when either the order for the quorum call has been rescinded or a quorum has been developed, the Senate proceed to a vote on the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Has the Senator from Louisiana yielded back his time?

Mr. ELLENDER. I have yielded back my time, with the understanding that all debate on the amendment has been completed.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may suggest the absence of a quorum, with the understanding that when the quorum has been developed or when the order for the quorum call has been rescinded, the Senate will immediately proceed to vote on the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will state it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. May we again have the amendment stated?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 5, in lieu of "\$2,300,000,000", it is proposed to insert "\$2,000,000,000."

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. As I understand, Mr. President, the amendment would reduce the appropriation recommended by the committee from \$2,300,000,000 to \$2 billion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's statement is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. It increases by \$265 million the figure approved by the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. On this question the yeas and nays having been ordered, and all time having been yielded back, the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ERVIN (when his name was called). On this amendment I have a pair with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MONRONEY (when his name was called). On this vote I have a live pair with the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. KERR. I have a pair with the senior Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I have a pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay"; if I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. McCARTHY (after having voted in the affirmative). I have a pair with the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. HUMPHREYS], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] are absent on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] would vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission, and his pair has been previously announced.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 37, nays 44, as follows:

YEAS—37

Anderson	Gore	Robertson
Barrett	Hill	Russell
Bible	Hruska	Schoeppel
Byrd	Jackson	Scott
Capehart	Jenner	Smathers
Case, S. Dak.	Johnston, S. C.	Sparkman
Chavez	Langer	Stennis
Clements	Long	Symington
Curtis	Magnuson	Williams
Dworshak	Malone	Wofford
Eastland	McClellan	Young
Ellender	Mundt	
Frear	O'Mahoney	

NAYS—44

Alken	Beall	Bennett
Allott	Bender	Bridges

Bush	Hickenlooper	McNamara
Butler	Holland	Millikin
Carlson	Humphrey,	Morse
Case, N. J.	Minn.	Neuberger
Cotton	Ives	Pastore
Dirksen	Johnson, Tex.	Payne
Douglas	Kennedy	Purtell
Duff	Knowland	Saltonstall
Flanders	Kuchel	Smith, Maine
Fulbright	Laird	Smith, N. J.
George	Lehman	Thye
Hayden	Martin, Iowa	Watkins
Hennings	Martin, Pa.	Wiley

NOT VOTING—15

Bricker	Kefauver	Potter
Daniel	Kerr	Welker
Ervin	Mansfield	
Goldwater	McCarthy	
Green	Monroney	
Humphreys,	Murray	
Ky.	Neely	

So Mr. ELLENDER's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected be reconsidered.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table the motion of the Senator from Texas.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment on page 2, line 5, to strike out "\$2,300,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,100,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment to the committee amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 2, line 5, it is proposed to strike out "\$2,300,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,100,000,000."

Mr. ELLENDER. On this amendment I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I have not had an opportunity—

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I thank the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. President, I have not had an opportunity to express my opinion about this matter. I have voted for both of the amendments offered by the Senator from Louisiana. I have done so, first, because we are dealing with military expenditures. There was recently released a statement that under this program there are being sent to Marshal Tito several hundred jet planes which are already under contract as a result of appropriations heretofore made—and this in spite of the fact that Marshal Tito recently returned from a visit to Moscow.

There is no person in the State Department, there is no person in the Defense Department, there is no person in the administration, there is no person in the Appropriations Committee who can explain why the United States Government is sending jet planes to Yugoslavia.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. We are not sending jet planes to Yugoslavia at this time, as I presently expect to explain.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator from New Jersey says we are not, but I have seen reports that we are, and I have seen the Senate vote down an amendment to require the administrators of the program to tell the truth to the authorized committees of the Senate. I see no reason why any Member of Congress who is sworn to defend the United States should be voting money for military purposes to satellites or near satellites of Soviet Russia. I am willing to give wheat; I am willing to give other agricultural commodities; I am willing to give technological aid. But to give military power at the very moment when we pretend to be working for world peace, is beyond my understanding.

We know now that the people of Iceland have elected an administration which has been opposed to the establishment of American airbases in Iceland. We know that the airbases we have built in North Africa are now in danger of being taken away from us. How we can be willing to put blindfolds on our eyes, in view of what is happening to the world, and to vote military power to governments which we do not know will be our allies a week hence, is beyond my understanding.

In the Senate Appropriations Committee an amendment was submitted by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] and myself, providing—as a limitation upon this appropriation—that it would be the duty of the officers and employees administering this money to report, by answering the questions asked by authorized committees of the Congress; and when, upon report of such committees, the Congress by joint resolution should send to the General Accounting Office a report that a refusal to answer such questions had been made, the appropriation would be cancelled by the General Accounting Office.

Mr. President, why should we vote money for military aid to foreign countries whom we do not know to be our allies?

Let us not vote in blindness; let us not vote in folly.

Let us vote only when the elected representatives of the people of the United States know for what purpose the military equipments that we send are going to be used.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana to the committee amendment will be adopted.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield to me?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Certainly.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I should like to ask the able Senator from Wyoming whether we shall not have a chance to deal with those issues later on. I understand there is a resolution—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. How can we deal with them later on?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Just a moment, please.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I anticipate the Senator's question.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is it not true that there will be an amendment cutting off aid to Tito? I supported such an amendment the last time. I intend to support such an amendment this eve-

ning. Similarly, the amendment of the—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator—
Mr. DOUGLAS. Just a minute, please.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The Senator from Illinois is taking my time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time yielded to the Senator from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 3 additional minutes to the Senator from Wyoming.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 3 additional minutes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I thank the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield to me?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Just a minute, please; I wish to use this time myself.

Mr. President, I cannot possibly vote to grant this military aid, without knowing how it is going to be used, upon the prospect that an amendment against aid to Yugoslavia may be adopted later on. I can consider these amendments only as they are before us. I cannot guess about the future.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield to me?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. ANDERSON. The Senator from Wyoming knows that when the amendment to cut off aid to Tito is brought up, many Senators will say, "Oh, the Senate cannot handle the matter in this way. The Senate should have voted to reduce the amount of the authorization or the overall amount of the appropriation, if it wished to do that." And under those circumstances, we would get nowhere again.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That is correct.

Mr. President, the Congress is the parliamentary body governing the United States. Members of Congress make the laws and the appropriations. Yet we would be voting the money blindly. Who does not know that?

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, will testify how the agents of the Government have appeared before his committee and have refused to answer. How they equivocated and backed away! They do not tell the Congress of the United States, the representatives of the people, how they are going to spend this money; and we learn, after the fact, what has been done.

Mr. President, I think it is a shocking development that we should be willing to cast our votes now upon hope—hope which has been deferred.

There is already \$6 billion in the pipeline. The administration has asked for \$4,900,000 more. The amount has been cut down by the House of Representatives. Yet Senators would do their best, by securing pairs with absentees, to bring about the casting of a majority vote for this military expenditure.

Mr. President, we work for peace. But we cannot obtain peace by placing arms in the hands of foreign peoples, whose use of those arms we are not able to dictate.

Mr. President, I hope the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana to the committee amendment will be adopted.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I wish to point out to the Senate that on the first amendment I submitted to the committee amendment, I proposed to reinstate the amount voted by the House of Representatives. That would have made a difference of a little over half a billion dollars in the amount voted by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

By means of my second amendment to the committee amendment—and my second amendment was just defeated—we sought to make this appropriation for foreign military assistance \$2 billion—in other words, to increase by \$265 million the amount voted by the House of Representatives.

The pending amendment to the committee amendment would increase by \$365 million the amount voted by the House of Representatives, and would be only \$200 million below the amount of the Senate committee amendment.

Mr. President, I do hope that the Senate will vote in favor of this amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield to me?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I wish to commend the distinguished Senator from Louisiana very heartily for the efforts he has made to get a realistic appropriation made. I have supported each and all of his amendments, and I shall support this one.

I commend him for the way in which he has carried on this fight, despite the fact that it is very evident that a majority of the Senate is panting in its anxiety to vote for the last dollar that has been authorized in this case. If that occurs, it will be the first time the Senate has ever voted for the full amount of the authorization.

Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Louisiana, but I hope he will not offer too many amendments. Let our colleagues go back to their constituencies and tell them of their achievements at this session of the Congress. When they do, and when their constituents ask, "Were you able to get us a tax reduction this year?" those Senators will have to reply, "Oh, no; we could not get you any tax reduction."

Then when their constituents ask, "Well, if we are paying these high taxes, I am sure you have brought down the staggering national debt which will be placed on our children and on our children's children."

But those Senators will then have to reply, "Oh, no; we had to increase the limitation on the national debt which will be passed on to your children and your children's children."

Then their constituents will ask them, "Well, what did you do?" Each one of those Senators will have to reply, "I followed the administration and the leadership. I voted to give away \$24 for you and \$24 for every one of your children and \$24 for your wife—a total of \$120 for your family of five."

So I ask the Senator from Louisiana not to deny our colleagues the high privilege of going back to their constitu-

encies and saying to them that they voted for a pig in a poke, at the cost of \$24 to every person in the United States, including every child in the cradle and every old man with a foot in the grave; and then our colleagues would have the privilege of saying to their constituents, "Of course, under those circumstances we did not succeed in lowering your taxes or in decreasing the national debt."

Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Louisiana; but I ask him not to make things too trying for Senators who oppose him. Instead, let them have an opportunity—before they wake up—to go home and tell their constituents of the great effort they have made. [Applause.]

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, let me say to the Senator from Georgia that in the past 36 months, no American has lost his life by enemy gunfire on some battlefield. I think when we go home and make our report to the mothers and fathers, and to the young men who, to the number of 17 million, served in a war that was not of our making, this argument will commend itself to our constituents.

I rose only for the purpose of dissipating an error. I ask the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee [Mr. HAYDEN] whether I have his permission to read the last three lines of the letter addressed to him by the Secretary of State on the 19th of July.

Mr. HAYDEN. Certainly.

Mr. DIRKSEN. There is no point in reading all of this letter. I read the last three lines, for the particular edification of my friend and associate, the distinguished Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY]:

To give you some idea of what that might entail in the military field, I may say that during 1955 no jet fighter planes were sent to Yugoslavia, while in 1956 there have been only two planes shipped.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary.

Mr. KNOWLAND, Mr. RUSSELL, and Mr. O'MAHONEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I have been recognized to make a brief statement.

The fact of the matter is that the original recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, of the National Security Council, and of the President of the United States with respect to this military item which we are discussing was \$3 billion, which they believed was essential for the mutual defense of our own country and those associated with us in systems of collective security. This deals with the military aspects of the program.

Who are the allies to whom the bulk of these funds are programed?

First, the Republic of Korea, where today there is only a cease fire in existence, with more than 600,000—estimated at 800,000—Chinese Communists and North Korean Communists north of the line of demarcation, being held by

the Republic of Korea and our own forces, and the forces of those associated with us, to the extent of 500,000 along a truce line, a cease-fire line.

Next, the Republic of China, along the Formosa Straits, where, as I pointed out earlier, Chinese Communists have been acknowledged to have built a whole series of jet airstrips, running from Shanghai down to Canton, threatening to use them at some time of their own choosing.

In Southeast Asia there is Vietnam, where Premier Diem is fighting with his back to the wall to build a system of freedom in that country, to prevent the Communist forces of Ho Chi Minh from coming down from North Vietnam.

Then there is Turkey, which has been a stout ally in the Middle East, whose soldiers stood shoulder by shoulder with our own men at the time of the Korean operation. The Turks had sent one of the largest contingents.

Pakistan is an important part of the program in that area of the world.

The bulk of these goods will go to those allies. I pointed out earlier that even if we appropriate the full amount recommended by the Committee on Appropriations, we still must go to conference with the House of Representatives.

We are all interested in the solvency of the Government, but we are equally interested in the national security of our country. It was the testimony before our committee of the responsible military officials who are charged with the defense of our country from a professional point of view, that if we had not this collective system of defense in the world, we would be spending not \$4 billion under this appropriation bill, but perhaps \$8 billion or \$10 billion in trying to build a fortress America, with all the rest of the world, perhaps, behind the Communist Iron Curtain.

If this program is purely a program to aid someone else, there is no justification for our voting a single penny. The justification for this program, among men of good will on both sides of the aisle who recognize the problem confronting us in the world of a serious Communist menace, is that it is for our mutual protection. That has been the basis of the recommendation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, and the President of the United States.

I plead with my colleagues not to make the proposed reduction in the item dealing with our collective security. I wish to pay tribute, as I have done publicly and privately, for the fine support, both in the matter of authorization legislation and in the foreign policy program, to the able leadership of the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], who has rendered such outstanding service to this country.

In this matter there should be no center aisle. It is true that there are Members on my side of the aisle who honestly differ. There are Members on the other side of the aisle who honestly differ. But I can say to the Senate that it is the considered judgment of the President of the United States, who certainly has had as widespread experience in matters dealing with the vital security interests

of this country as any other living man, and it is the unanimous recommendation of his Joint Chiefs of Staff, men who are selected to give their best professional advice, that this amount is needed for our Mutual Security program.

I hope the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana will be defeated.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. RUSSELL. Did not the President and all the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of State, and everyone else, urge us not to cut off aid to Yugoslavia?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. And yet the Senator favors cutting it off?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I do.

Mr. RUSSELL. He should permit us a little leeway in dealing with these other matters.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will say to the distinguished Senator that men may honestly differ on that subject. There is no money in this particular item for jets for Yugoslavia or for heavy military equipment for Yugoslavia. That material is in the pipeline; but I have an amendment which I hope will reach that program. However, in the item we are discussing there are no funds for Yugoslavia.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, that represents one of our previous mistakes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Speaking personally, I should say that the Senator is correct.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was it not the Senator from Georgia who initially opposed aid to Yugoslavia?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Yes; and I think the Senator from California had opposed it in the past.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute in order to make a correction in the statement of the distinguished Senator from California. I do not think it was intentional. However, I desire to point out to the Senate that if the amount proposed by the Committee is adopted, there will be some money for Yugoslavia. I have the figures in my possession, but I cannot give them out. The amount is classified.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I desire to make a comment to my distinguished and pleasant friend from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], who waved in front of him a letter from Secretary Dulles saying that there have not been shipped to Tito more than a few planes in 1955 or 1956.

That is no answer to my charge. My charge lies in the words of the minority leader, the Senator from California, who says he is going to offer an amendment to make it impossible to ship from the pipeline the jets which have been contracted for Yugoslavia. So I appeal from the letter of the Secretary of State to the amendment of the Senator from California to prove my point, that the jets will be on the way unless we stop them; and the best way to prevent repetition of the mistake which the Senator from California would like to correct is to cut these appropriations for military aid to nations which may or may not be our allies.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to my distinguished colleague.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, in 1949 I had the honor of serving as chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

At that time we had a very able staff assistant, who had served as an assistant in the Veterans' Administration. He helped draft the Reclassification Act of 1949, which is now the basic law with respect to all Federal employees—their pay, their status, and everything involving their employment. He is a very able man.

That young man today is employed in the Philippines with a major American corporation. He came to me and asked that he have some chance to participate in this study of foreign aid. He said that all the money we are spending in the Philippines is making us a laughing stock there; that we are spending our money to make a joke out of America.

For example, he points out things that happened. We sent some Jeeps. They can run under a stream; they can go under water; they can go on top of the ground; they can go anywhere. They were supposed to carry doctors to administer help to sick people. So the jeeps were shipped there. Who drives the jeeps? The county politicians drive them. There is not a doctor driving a jeep anywhere in the Philippines. But we sent jeeps to be driven by doctors, who would help sick people.

Then we sent plows. We sent tractors and plows. However, we did not send the gasoline and the oil. So, he said, as a man who works in the Philippines, he sits there and watches a team of oxen pull a plow across the fields, while the tractor rusts. That is our foreign-aid program, the silliest thing the mind of man has ever invented.

Here we go again, with \$4 billion more for the pipeline, to be given to other countries. No thought. No study. No nothing. Just appropriate money and give it to other nations.

My colleague from Louisiana said, "Let's give them this year what we gave them last year." They are just throwing it away. If they were to maintain the \$20 billion worth of weapons they have now, they would not need \$5 billion more. So, just throw it away. Give it away. Waste our money. Here we go again. Let us just throw it away as fast as we can. Let us not listen to anyone. Let us not study the question. If anyone proposes that the subject be studied, it is suggested that the administration appoint 4 or 5 people, or a few businessmen, who do not know what the whole thing is about, to travel abroad and take a little look, and be briefed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. LONG. Will my colleague yield me 1 more minute?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield 1 more minute to my junior colleague.

Mr. LONG. To any colleague who has not been briefed, I would suggest that he get briefed. He will be told what he is supposed to find, which is exactly what they have said all the time. Anyone who

gets briefed does not have to work to find out anything for himself.

He is briefed. He has it. There it is. I say to my colleagues, "It is all wrapped up for you, and you come back all briefed with a report, which is exactly what they handed you in the first place. It is not necessary to do even so much as 5 seconds of work."

So here we are. Let us vote to give the whole thing away, at \$5 billion a throw.

That is what we are going to vote for now.

Thank God, there are a few Senators who go forth, look and learn for themselves and say, "My friends, do not throw it all away. Let us do a little economizing."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I did not think that the day would ever come when I would get into a debate in trying to cut down on mutual aid. But I recall that it has been a long time since we first started on this program. I believe that I am one of the few men in this Chamber who sat in the Cabinet meeting when we started the program of Greek and Turkish aid.

I remember the very able senior Senator from Michigan, Arthur Vandenberg, saying, when the proposal was made that we could carry on with other things, "No, I will take this one step at a time. I am not sure that we will ever give aid beyond Greece and Turkey."

Any attempt which was made at that time to commit so much as a nickel beyond that aid was resisted by Senator Vandenberg as vigorously as he could.

I say to Senators frankly that I have in public and in private praised him as one of the truly great men of this Nation; and what I have said just now is no reflection upon him, because in my book he was a great and fine American, who did a magnificent piece of work. I only say that away back then he was cautious when it was suggested that this aid program might go on.

Mr. President, I was in Paris as chairman of the Combined Food Board at the Paris cereals conference, when the Marshall plan was being announced to the nations of the world. At that time assurances were to be given that for a brief time we could extend some help to other countries of the earth, and give them a little bit; and then the aid was to taper off gradually, and in a very few years we would be through with it.

That was in 1947. Here we are planning how much further we are going to go year after year after year.

I started tonight to vote for the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana, because I thought we had gone far enough. I voted the other night in favor of the amendment offered by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] to cut off aid to Tito. Why should I not?

As chairman of the Food Board, I had been asked by UNRRA to help send some materials to Yugoslavia, particularly wool. That was years and years ago. I was asked to help send wool to

Tito, so that the Yugoslavs could weave it into garments for their children. It was a hard battle to send that wool to Tito, who was a Communist; but we sent the wool, finally, for the poor children of Yugoslavia.

Every pound of that wool was woven into fancy dress uniforms for his army, so that he could parade them back and forth in front of the American troops in the corner of Italy where he was surrounding them at the time.

Do Senators think it is not time some day to call a halt to supplying aid to that individual, when he announces that the Reds are going to stay together from here on out?

I hope that a few Senators, before they vote on this amendment, will consider how they voted on some proposals to extend social security. Some of them voted against some proposals because they involved a few million dollars more than the Treasury could stand. Oh, the Treasury can stand aid for Tito, but it cannot stand aid for grandma, as the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] pointed out. Grandma may get along as best she can, so long as Tito has a new plane to fly to Russia. I say to Senators, "Go home and tell that to a few people, and then compare it with some of the other things which have been taking place." This is the time to get so-called mutual aid on a decent basis. Let us not make it impossible for some Members of the Senate to vote for this bill. Let us try to put it in such shape that it will represent a decent adjustment.

Year after year after year this program has been in effect, although those who planned it thought it would be all over in 4 years. There are men on the floor tonight who made statements as to when it would stop, and statements that they would not vote for any more large foreign aid bills. Yet, year after year it has been going on. Some day we will have to cut it down. I hope this is the time. The amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana, by any standard, is a sensible amendment, and it should be adopted by the Senate.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I almost feel like shouting "hallelujah" because on this floor for 12 years I have been pleading with Senators to take a good look at the whole proposition of foreign aid.

Not many days ago I appeared before the Committee on Foreign Relations and asked them to adopt any kind of amendment which would appropriate any amount of money they wished to appropriate to our own military, to spend as our military thought best.

I said, whether it was \$1 billion, \$2 billion, \$4 billion or \$5 billion, I was willing to turn the protection of my country over to the military. I said I was opposed to appropriating any money for national-defense purposes except to our own military people because they know best whether we should have bases outside the United States, and they should decide what we should do.

Mr. President, I tried very hard to get that kind of amendment adopted by the committee. I can stand on the floor tonight and say that I am one who has never voted in favor of any so-called giveaway. Therefore I feel like shouting "Hallelujah!" I am glad to see Senators on the other side of the aisle getting religion. I am delighted to see them coming around to the same conclusion that many of us have held on this side of the aisle for many, many years, when we have said, "Stop, look, and listen." The other day before the Committee on Foreign Relations I offered an amendment providing not to give away money, but to lend money on long terms; yes, that we lend money to these nations and give them an opportunity to pay it back some day.

I have never been against helping our allies. I have been against the method of helping them. I have always wanted to turn over the money to our own military authorities to spend. I wanted to make loans. Think what it would mean today if all the money we gave to Western Europe—and I think it did a lot of good—were returning to us at the rate of \$500 million a year in repayments. How wonderful it would be if the billions of dollars we gave away were now coming back, even if only at the rate of \$500 million a year.

I am delighted that Senators on the other side of the aisle are coming to my way of thinking. But where were they when we gave away approximately \$91 billion since World War II ended? Why have they changed their minds all at once? Is it because we have a new President? Is it because they are seeing the light? I hope it is because they are seeing the light, and I think that must be the reason.

But, Mr. President, let us loan the money and get it back some day. Let us appropriate to our own military the money we are going to appropriate for military defense.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Indiana yield?

Mr. CAPEHART. I yield.

Mr. LONG. Does not the Senator realize that the dollars we gave to nations in Europe we could have loaned and could have made them pay back? We could have loaned money again and again, but we kept giving the money, and it is not coming back to us. We keep giving it and giving it out of our own pockets.

Mr. CAPEHART. If the Senator from Louisiana remembers, I introduced a substitute for the original Marshall plan, which would have accomplished that very thing. I think it received 29 favorable votes.

Mr. President, I grew up in southern Indiana, in a good old Methodist section, where they held revivals, and I say hallelujah tonight because Senators on the other side of the aisle are getting religion. They are coming around to sound thinking. I congratulate them upon that fact. The unfortunate part of it is that they did not so many years ago. If they had, the story would be different tonight.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE].

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, what we have before us this evening in this bill is a committee recommendation submitted to the Senate. It is not only the recommendation of President Eisenhower, but of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Secretary Dulles, the Under Secretary of State, Under Secretary Allen, and the Ambassador to Yugoslavia. All this testimony is to be found in the committee hearings. Every one of them supported a larger appropriation than that recommended by the committee.

Mr. President, if we review what has been accomplished by mutual security appropriations it will be found that a great deal of good has been done. I was a Member of the Senate when we appropriated and made available assistance to Greece and Turkey.

I was a Member of the Senate when we went through the debate on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. What would be the situation today if we had not assisted France, Italy, and England when their own legislative bodies were threatened with a majority of Communist members? What would have been the situation in the South Pacific today had we not given aid in that section of the world? What would be the situation in Korea today if it were not for the ROK troops?

Mr. President, far more security is obtained by the amount we are appropriating in the mutual security bill than if we put the money into our own military defense in the United States.

We have confidence in the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and we know they recommended more than is in this bill. President Eisenhower, one of the greatest military leaders in the world, has recommended more than is in this bill.

Think well before we cast our votes, or we may be instrumental in helping to bring about a nuclear war. If that should come, God help us all.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I intend to vote for the bill for the reason that I have tried to keep before me during the past 8 years the fact that we have saved the lives of our boys by building up other nations to help our security here in the United States.

Let us never forget, in spite of some of the arguments we have heard tonight, that this bill is an effort to help save the sons of American parents, our own neighbors and friends.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY].

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I wished to ask a question of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE]. The Senator knows my respect and admiration for him. His argument a few moments ago was a challenge to us to trust the President and his Joint Chiefs of Staff. Does the Senator from Minnesota not know—does not every Senator on this floor know—that the Joint Chiefs of Staff from Admiral Radford down are

now in disagreement over our own military policy? If they are now in such disagreement as they are over the reduction of our Armed Forces by 800,000 men, why should we take their advice to contribute military aid to foreign nations who may turn out to be our enemies?

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I would say to my distinguished friend that I am a member of the Appropriations Committee and have sat through military hearings. The only disagreement is that they want more money, not less.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. For foreign countries.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] to the committee amendment. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY]. If he were present and voting, he would "nay"; were I permitted to vote, I would vote "yea." I therefore withhold my vote.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SCOTT] are absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "yea," and the Senator from Tennessee would vote "nay."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] is paired with the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SCOTT]. If present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "nay," and the Senator from North Carolina would vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 44, as follows:

YEAS—42

Anderson	Frear	McClellan
Barrett	Goldwater	Monroney
Bible	Gore	Mundt
Bricker	Hill	O'Mahoney
Byrd	Hruska	Robertson
Capehart	Jackson	Russell
Case, S. Dak.	Jenner	Schoeppel
Chavez	Johnston, S. C.	Sparkman
Clements	Kerr	Stennis
Curtis	Langer	Symington
Dworshak	Long	Williams
Eastland	Magnuson	Wofford
Ellender	Malone	Young
Ervin	McCarthy	

NAYS—44

Aiken	Hayden	Martin, Pa.
Allott	Hennings	McNamara
Beall	Hickenlooper	Millikin
Bender	Holland	Morse
Bennett	Humphrey,	Neuberger
Bridges	Minn.	Pastore
Bush	Humphreys,	Payne
Butler	Ky.	Purtell
Carlson	Ives	Saltonstall
Case, N. J.	Johnson, Tex.	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Kennedy	Smith, N. J.
Dirksen	Knowland	Thye
Douglas	Kuchel	Watkins
Duff	Laird	Wiley
Flanders	Lehman	
George	Martin, Iowa	

NOT VOTING—10

Daniel	Mansfield	Scott
Fulbright	Murray	Welker
Green	Neely	
Kefauver	Potter	

So Mr. ELLENDER's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 2, line 5, to strike out "\$1,735,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,300,000,000." [Putting the question.]

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I demand the yeas and nays on the adoption of the committee amendment. I want the RECORD to contain full proof of the votes of all our colleagues.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. If the committee amendment is adopted will that foreclose the offering of amendments to cut off aid to Yugoslavia? Will it foreclose the amendment previously offered by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY]?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that it will cut off amendments to this particular amendment only.

The yeas and nays have been ordered on the committee amendment on page 2, line 5, to strike out "\$1,735,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$2,300,000,000," the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] are absent on official business.

On the vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "nay," and the Senator from Tennessee would vote "yea."

I further announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] would each vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 39, as follows:

YEAS—50

Aiken	Hayden	Millikin
Allott	Hennings	Morse
Beall	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Bender	Holland	Neuberger
Bennett	Humphrey,	Pastore
Bridges	Minn.	Payne
Bush	Humphreys,	Purtell
Butler	Ky.	Saltonstall
Capehart	Ives	Schoeppel
Carlson	Johnson, Tex.	Scott
Case, N. J.	Kennedy	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Knowland	Smith, N. J.
Dirksen	Kuchel	Sparkman
Douglas	Laird	Thye
Duff	Lehman	Watkins
Flanders	Martin, Iowa	Wiley
Fulbright	Martin, Pa.	
George	McNamara	

NAYS—39

Anderson	Frear	Mansfield
Barrett	Goldwater	McCarthy
Bible	Gore	McClellan
Bricker	Hill	Monroney
Byrd	Hruska	O'Mahoney
Case, S. Dak.	Jackson	Robertson
Chavez	Jenner	Russell
Clements	Johnston, S. C.	Smathers
Curtis	Kerr	Stennis
Dworshak	Langer	Symington
Eastland	Long	Williams
Ellender	Magnuson	Wofford
Ervin	Malone	Young

NOT VOTING—7

Daniel	Murray	Welker
Green	Neely	
Kefauver	Potter	

So the committee amendment was agreed to.

TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following additional routine business was transacted.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. BUTLER, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, with amendments:

S. 3955. A bill to authorize research by the Fish and Wildlife Service to determine methods of, and to provide for grants to the States to assist approved research or other projects for, control or extermination of sea nettles and jellyfish in marine waters of the United States (Rept. No. 2701).

By Mr. O'MAHONEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

H. R. 2128. A bill to authorize the extension of patents covering inventions whose practice was prevented or curtailed during certain emergency periods by service of the patent owner in the Armed Forces or by production controls (Rept. No. 2704);

H. R. 8110. A bill to incorporate the National Music Council (Rept. No. 2705);

H. J. Res. 317. Joint resolution designating the week of November 16 to 22, 1956, as National Farm-City Week (Rept. No. 2702); and

H. J. Res. 396. Joint resolution to establish a national motto of the United States (Rept. No. 2703).

By Mr. O'MAHONEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with amendments:

H. R. 9348. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act incorporating the Archeological Institute of America" to increase the value of real and personal property that such institute may hold (Rept. No. 2706).

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

S. 2015. A bill for the relief of Peter Panos (Rept. No. 2707);

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administration for not effectuating similar provisions in the current law
p. A5739

BILLS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

33. WATERSHEDS. H. R. 11873, to reduce from 45 days to 15 days the review period for projects under the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. Approved July 19, 1956 (Public Law 734, 84th Cong.).
34. FORESTRY. H. R. 8817, providing for conveyance of a Forest Service tract to Corbin, Ky. Approved July 20, 1956 (Public Law 742, 84th Cong.).
H. R. 9339, authorizing exchange of certain U. S. lands in Union County, Ga., for lands in Chattahoochee National Forest. Approved July 20, 1956 (Public Law 747, 84th Cong.).
35. PERSONNEL. H. R. 9500, extending for 1 year the Missing Persons Act. Approved July 20, 1956 (Public Law 749, 84th Cong.).
36. SCHOOL MILK. H. R. 11375, to authorize extension of the special school milk program to certain non-profit child-care institutions, whether or not they benefit underprivileged children. Approved July 20, 1956 (Public Law 752, 84th Cong.).

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37. EMPLOYEE SECURITY. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee submitted its report on the investigation into the administration of the Federal employees' security program (S. Rept. 2750). p. 12570
38. RECLAMATION. Sen. Bennett spoke on the record of the Administration in the field of reclamation, and inserted an announcement of the Interior Department on new starts to be undertaken with reclamation appropriations. p. 12573
39. NATURAL RESOURCES; FORESTRY. Sen. Neuberger inserted a magazine article on the importance of conserving our natural resources. p. 12578
40. SMALL BUSINESS. Sen. Wiley inserted several articles and spoke on the need of legislation to aid small business. p. 12578
41. FOREST PRICE REPORTING. Made as its unfinished business S. 4059, providing for price reporting and research with respect to forest products. p. 12600
42. VETERANS' BENEFITS. Passed as reported H. R. 9260, to amend title III of the Servicemens Readjustment Act of 1944, so as to extend the termination date of the loan guaranty program for 1 year, until July 25, 1958. p. 12593
43. SOCIAL SECURITY. Sen. Capehart inserted his statement on the need for extending the social security coverage for farmers. p. 12595
44. APPROPRIATIONS. The "Daily Digest" states that the Appropriations Committee "concluded executive consideration of H. R. 12350, second supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1957". p. D854
45. FOOD AND DRUG. The Labor and Public Welfare Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) without amendment H. R. 9547, amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to simplify procedures governing the prescribing of regulations under such act. p. D854

46. EDUCATION. The Labor and Public Welfare Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) with amendment H. R. 11695, to extend to June 30, 1958, the programs of financial assistance in the construction and operation of schools in areas affected by Federal activities. p. D854
47. MUTUAL SECURITY AND APPROPRIATIONS. Continued debate on H. R. 12130, making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year 1957. Agreed to unanimous-consent agreement to agree to the residue of committee amendments en bloc, except those relating to defense support and development assistance, and the committee amendment eliminating special authorization for Middle East and Africa; and that no further amendments to the bill will be received after adopting this agreement. Consideration of the measure is to be resumed on Tues., July 24. p. 12582
48. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Sen. Johnson announced that the following measures have been cleared for consideration: p. 12573
S. 4183, authorizing payments-in-lieu of taxes to the States.
S. 4059, providing for forest products price reporting and research.
S. 863, water rights settlement bill.
S. 3725, increasing annuities to retirees.
S. 1636, the humane slaughter bill.
S. 4221, the International Wheat Agreement bill.
S. 3831, to establish a fish hatchery in W. Va.
H. R. 10946, to dispose of certain surplus personal property to Alaska.
H. R. 4096, to dispose of certain public lands in Alaska.
H. R. 7887, authorizing the Commissioner of Public Lands to sell public lands under certain conditions.
H. R. 11522, extending Federal Seed Act to Guam.
He also announced that the calendar will be called on Mon., July 23. p. 12575
49. COMMITTEE REPORTS. Committees were authorized to file reports during recess until midnight Sat., July 21. p. 12592
50. RECESSED until Mon., July 23. p. 12600
51. SOCIAL SECURITY. The conferees agreed to various provisions in H. R. 7225, the social security bill, including: "...in the case of farm operators and share farmers who have gross incomes of \$1,800 or less, two-thirds of such income will be considered for social-security purposes; where gross income is over \$1,800, they report either actual net earnings or, if net earnings are less than \$1,200, they may report \$1,200;...farm workers would be covered if they receive \$150 per year from one employer, or if they work 20 days or more for cash wages for one employer." p. D857

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52. APPROPRIATIONS. Received the conference report on H. R. 12138, the supplemental appropriation bill for 1957. The conference report includes the following provisions: Deletes the authorization of \$200,261 for control of the Khapra beetle; appropriates \$2,500,000 for eradication of the Mediterranean fruitfly; provides \$385,000 (instead of \$375,000 as contained in the House version) for the Budget Bureau to assist in effectuating Hoover Commission recommendations on budgeting, accounting, and management; appropriates \$632,500 (instead of \$600,00 as contained in the House version) for the Commission on Government Security; and reported in disagreement the Senate amendments for an animal disease laboratory facility, Superior National Forest land acquisition, and Mount Baker National Forest ski shelter (H. Rept. 2864). p. 12630 (Action

dealed allowances, special discriminatory prices, etc., extended to selected retailers.

This bill must be enacted to protect the system of small independent retail business from the predatory operations in the direction of unbridled abuses of money power (big business) in distribution.

The system of small independent business is essential to the welfare of all America.

We are in need of your immediate support. Milwaukee County Pharmacists' Association has a membership of 430.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST R. C. DRUSCHKE,
Secretary.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., June 30, 1956.

Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Judiciary Committee,
Washington, D. C.:

Associated Grocers, Inc., of Milwaukee, Wis., representing better than 100 independent retailers, sincerely urge and solicit your cooperation to support bill H. R. 1840.

TOM L. BILLINGTON,
General Manager, Associated Grocers,
Inc.

MADISON, WIS., June 28, 1956.

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

We of the Sylvester Wholesale Grocery Co., and our 150 retail members strongly urge passage of H. R. 1840 without amendments. Many independent-business men will suffer and many will be forced out of business if price discrimination is allowed by blocking this bill.

SYLVESTER CO., INC.,
W. W. KJEVERUD, Manager.

MILWAUKEE RETAIL MEAT
DEALERS' ASSOCIATION,
April 20, 1955.

Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: On behalf of our 350 members I urge you to support Senate bill No. 11 when it comes up in the Senate.

Thanking you for your kind consideration, I remain,

H. F. KOERBLE,
Secretary.

WISCONSIN CANNERS' EXCHANGE,
Oconomowoc, Wis., June 12, 1956.
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Building,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: We do hope that you will vote bill H. R. 1840 which was passed by the house 393 to 3 the other day. If we small canners and businessmen are going to exist we will need support from your office at this time. Over 28 small canners have sold out or closed their doors during the past 2 years. Many other small concerns are also in trouble as perhaps you know from reading your mail.

Wishing you success and lots of good luck, we remain,

Very truly yours,

E. E. KINKEL.

LETTERS FROM INDIVIDUAL WISCONSIN BUSINESSMEN

From Milwaukee, a food broker writes: "Your special report to Wisconsin small-business men on equality of opportunity and other issues was carefully read.

"We heartily agree with you on all these items and want to take this opportunity of thanking you for your support on the equality of opportunity bill.

"You can rest assured that the writer will give you his full support in the coming election. We are for you.

"Kind personal regards."

From Milwaukee, a pharmacist writes:

"Just a few lines to let you know that we are working for you in our neighborhood. We are highly appreciative of all that you have done during your terms of office, for the small-business man, of which we are, in every sense of the word.

"We appreciate, also, your work on the St. Lawrence Waterway, and all that it will mean to the untold future generations who will live in the Midwest.

"You have our vote, especially after the terrible injustice done to you by the so-called Republican Party in our State. We will vote according to our feeling of loyalty to you, and not as dictated to by that gang.

"Yours very cordially."

From a small-business man in Plymouth: "Your special report came today and we were happy to note that you will favor legislation regarding the small-business man, whom we can assure you is having a hard time these days. We, for example, are being forced to sell out. We just cannot keep on with this big chain stuff all around us.

"Also are glad you are for the completion of the St. Lawrence Waterway, according to the Wiley seaway law.

"We are and always have been with you in elections, and won't fall you now. We drive about 20 miles to be able to vote for you.

"We also appreciate past favors you have done for us."

A telegram from Milwaukee merchants:

"Keep up the grand work on H. R. 1840."

From Milwaukee florists:

"You're doing a fine job on H. R. 1840. Continue so the small-business man can survive."

From a small-business man in Deerfield:

"I would like to add my wishes to that of many others that you help. Get bill S. 11 out of committee so we can get the Robinson-Patman bill back in working condition again.

"You might be interested in comments we hear in the store about you and Davis. The majority seem to favor you in this Senate race because of your loyalty to Ike."

From a food broker in Milwaukee:

"We certainly wish to thank you for your efforts in aiding to get bill H. R. 1840 (equality of opportunity) out of the subcommittee on Saturday. Your followup was wonderful and most thoughtful.

"We understand that Congress plans to adjourn in 2 weeks. Now, we hope that the bill can be gotten out of the full committee. We've heard that some large lobbies are really working hard to let it die in the full committee. What can you do to aid in getting it out of this full committee?"

From Kenosha:

"I am a small-business man, since getting out of service for 3 years and would like to stay in it in the future."

From a food broker in Milwaukee:

"I know you are a friend of the Robinson-Patman Act, and I hope that you will be helpful in getting S. 11 reported favorably out of the Senate Judiciary Committee."

From a small-business man in Clintonville:

"Speed action on this most important bill. Keep up the good work. With kindest regards and the best of luck."

From a baker in Winnebago County:

"On behalf of our 75 employees we join the Wisconsin Bakers Association in urging your support of bill S. 11. The discriminatory practices common with chain store bread sales have reduced the number of licensed bakeries in this State from over 1,200 in 1940 to less than 600 today.

"We sincerely believe that passage of this bill is a step in the right direction in saving the small bakery operators and protecting the bread-consuming public of all Americans."

From a food broker in Milwaukee:

"We are among the small-business firms vitally interested in H. R. 1840, the passage of which is imperative to the survival of every man and woman in so-called small-business groups.

"There has been and continues tremendous pressures by so-called big business not only to defeat the bill but to amend or modify it sufficiently to leave a loophole sufficient to permit a defeat of the intent and purpose of the bill.

"We look forward to and shall appreciate your direct and aggressive efforts to report out favorably H. R. 1840 promptly and in its present form."

From Beloit:

"Being of the smallest of small businesses, it is gratifying to know that some Senators are still interested in us.

"Thanking you for your letter and wishing you success, I remain."

From Merrill:

"I certainly hope there is something that can be done for the small-business man, because we are just about to the end of the rope. I have 16 years of long hours in my little grocery store; unless there is some changes made I will be forced to close before another winter comes. The corner grocery is fast disappearing; the chain stores and big supermarkets have the monopoly on just about all the business in our town. Here is hoping you and some of the other level-headed Senators and Congressmen will be able to do something for us."

REFUGEE RELIEF ACT MUST BE AMENDED TO ASSIST WAR OR- PHANS

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as this session of Congress rapidly draws to a close, the urgency for amending the Refugee Relief Act becomes greater and greater. The Refugee Relief Act and our refugee program expire at the end of this year, and unless prompt action is taken, many thousands of refugee quotas will go unused.

Mr. President, last May 3 I testified before the Refugee Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in support of legislation to permit reallocation of unused quotas from countries where they are not needed, to countries where they have been exhausted and are needed. I understand that thousands of refugee quotas authorized for Germany, Austria, and The Netherlands are going unused, while quotas for hard-pressed areas in Italy, Greece, and the Far East have long been oversubscribed.

President Eisenhower has given full support to the reallocation of quotas and the Senate Refugee Subcommittee has reported favorably Senator LANGER's bill, S. 3574, but the bill has not been reported as yet by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Because of the urgency of the situation, the distinguished senior Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS] has proposed a number of amendments to H. R. 6838, the so-called shepherders bill, to permit the reallocation of unused quotas under the Refugee Relief Act. These amendments also contain much-needed improvements to our general immigration laws.

Mr. President, I am wholly in accord with the proposals offered by the Senator from Utah and I hope that the Senate

will have an opportunity to consider these proposals promptly.

Mr. President, I have received a number of telegrams and messages from the people of Oregon in support of reallocation of unused quotas under the refugee relief program, and I shall ask unanimous consent that they appear in the RECORD following my remarks.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, within the last few days, has reported favorably the bill by the distinguished senior Senator from North Dakota, [Mr. LANGER] S. 3570, to extend the provisions of the Refugee Relief Act as it applies especially to orphans. This bill extends the time for issuing visas under section 5 of the Refugee Act from December 31, 1956, to December 31, 1959, and would increase the number of visas authorized in section 5 from 4,000 to 9,000. This bill follows closely the provision of my bill, S. 3753, and deserves, in my opinion, the full support from the Congress.

The situation with regard to orphans is particularly difficult. Let me read a cablegram I received several days ago from Mr. Harry Holt of Creswell, Oreg., who is now in Korea helping many hundreds of American families adopt Korean war orphans.

I was advised yesterday by the Refugee Relief Administration of the Department of State that only 356 visa numbers remain to be allocated of the 4,000 orphan quotas originally provided.

A telegram yesterday from Coquilla, Oreg., tells the plight of one American family.

In Korea alone many hundreds of orphans are now in the adoption process who will never get to the United States unless the orphan quota is enlarged.

Many of these orphans should be the direct responsibility of our people and Government since they were fathered by American military personnel. The some 1,500 American-Korean orphans fathered by our military personnel are not accepted by the Koreans; they are mistreated and humiliated. The same is true of some 4,000 GI babies left in Japan by our army of occupation. The numbers of mixed-blood orphans in Japan and Korea have been reduced by the orphan section of the refugee relief program and 300 orphan visas have been issued in Seoul, Korea, and 1,400 orphan visas issued in Tokyo, Japan.

Harry Holt, of Creswell, Oreg., has symbolized to me the Biblical Good Samaritan by his good deed in adopting and bringing to his fine home eight small children of mixed blood from Korea. I had the honor and privilege of sponsoring legislation in the Senate last year which allowed Mr. Holt to bring these children into the United States. But Mr. Holt has not stopped there; he is helping hundreds of American families to make arrangements for these Korean war orphans and he is now in Korea, his third trip this year, making these arrangements.

Our country has always helped the poor and downtrodden, and certainly there can be no nobler aim than to help thousands of unfortunate orphans who are born into such a bleak environment and whose futures are so clouded.

Mr. President, in the struggle between the Communist world and the free world, our country's symbol as a haven to the oppressed must remain clear. I can think of no more important subject than legislation designed to give fair and just treatment to the people of the world in the fields of immigration and refugee relief. While our country spends many billions in the fields of mutual aid, we can strike a blow for freedom by permitting the reallocation of unused refugee quotas and by permitting admittance of 5,000 additional war orphans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the telegrams which I have referred to and those from persons in my State in support of the Watkins amendment may be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEOUL, July 19, 1956.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Orphan quota filled. Over 400 Korean-American orphans being processed for adoption in Seoul at present time. Many housed in crowded, unsanitary conditions. Also, about 400 left in rural areas coming to Seoul every day. Approved homes for all of these children waiting in America. Raising quota to include these children will save many lives, and I believe will promote international goodwill.

HOLT.

COOS BAY, OREG., July 20, 1956.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Please make every effort to have action taken on the Refugee Act of 1953. There are many like us who have their child adopted and find the quota already filled and cannot have them brought in.

Sincerely,

A. L. GORRINGE.

COQUILLA, OREG.

EUGENE, OREG., July 20, 1956.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Urgent Refugee Act 1953 must be extended. We, like many others, have child adopted at Korea. Can't bring home unless extended. Please help us.

Thank you.

WILLIAM J. and EVA BAILEY.

CRESWELL, OREG.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Strongly urge your full and active support of and or introduction of amendments reallocating Italian visas on H. R. 6888, sheepherders bill. All Italians in Oregon watching results.

FRANK LEMMA.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Hon. RICHARD NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Please support amendment to sheepherders bill or alternative. Those in pipeline be admitted.

ANDREW FAZIO.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Would highly appreciate your introduction and or support of Refugee Relief Act amend-

ments on sheepherders bill, H. R. 6888, or at least that those in pipeline be admitted.
EUGENE G. CECCHINI.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Please pass H. R. 6888, sheepherders bill, amended, to permit unused German, Austrian, and Dutch quotas under Refugee Relief Act of 1953 to be reallocated to Italians and Greeks, or in alternative, that those in pipeline to be admitted.

REV. J. M. McMAHON,
Catholic Resettlement.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Please pass H. R. 6888, sheepherders bill, amended, to permit unused German, Austrian, and Dutch quotas under Refugee Relief Act of 1953 to be reallocated to Italians and Greeks or in alternative that those in pipeline be admitted.

JOHN JADRESIC,
Secretary, Central Committee Croatian Peasant Society of Pacific Coast.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Urge you to introduce and/or support sheepherders bill (H. R. 6888) amendments, permitting unused German, Austrian, and Dutch quotas under Refugee Relief Acts 1953 to be reallocated to Italians and Greeks. Thank you.

G. JOSEPH COLISTRO,
Your constituent.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Please amend and pass H. R. 6888 to permit reallocation of unused refugee quotas to Italians and Greeks.

MIKE CELIC,
Secretary, Croatian Fraternal Union.

PORTLAND, OREG., July 19, 1956.

Hon. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Appreciate support of H. R. 6888 as amended to permit reallocation of unused refugee quotas to Italians and Greeks.

ERNEST M. JACHETTA,
Oregon president, American Committee on Italian Migration.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there be no further routine business, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I am prepared, under the unanimous-consent agreement previously entered into, to yield to the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER] an hour and a half which I had agreed would be yielded to him in opposition to the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Indiana is recognized.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, in order to cooperate in the closing days of the session I have consented to make my remarks at this time. I do not think it will make a great deal of difference.

Mr. President, the people of the United States have erected a monument at Yorktown to the heroes who fought the closing battle of the War of Independence.

This monument was struck by lightning in 1942, and the head of the Goddess of Victory was demolished.

That was 14 years ago and the monument to our national independence has not yet been repaired.

The statue of victory is still headless.

In the same period the United States has given away more than \$100 billion to the governments of other countries.

Nearly half of that amount was given during World War II.

My State's share of the cost of this gift under our foreign aid program is \$1,500,000,000 plus. This year, taking the House figure in the pending bill which the Senate insists on raising, it will be more than that amount. The House has provided for this year \$700 million more than was appropriated last year.

Eden is on his way to Russia; France is playing its little game of tricks; Nasser and Tito have a meeting at some place on the Mediterranean, and Dulles says everything will be all right in a few years. Peaceful coexistence is all about us. We are getting ready to cut back our armies of defense. Yet, we have to spend \$700 million more this year than we spent last year. Those are the House figures. When the Senate gets through with the bill the amount will probably be increased by another half a billion dollars.

We can pass over those war-time gifts to other nations, though I am not convinced that they were spent for military essentials alone.

It is too early to carry on that debate.

We do not yet have the facts we need.

Let us confine our attention to the other half of the hundred billion dollar fund.

Since the end of World War II, we have given away over \$50 billion to some 60 foreign nations.

Most of this was used for outright gifts.

A small part of it was loans but loans on political terms, like those after World War I.

What is \$50 billion?

How can we grasp what it means?

Spruille Braden, formerly Ambassador to Argentina, and Assistant Secretary of State, has made an interesting estimate of what this gift means to our country.

Secretary Braden added the assessed valuation of all the property, real and otherwise, in the 13 largest cities of this country—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, Washington, San Francisco, Boston, Houston, and Pittsburgh.

The total was almost exactly the grand total of what we have given to foreign countries in gifts or nonbusiness loans, since the end of the war alone.

Can Senators imagine the excitement and anger which would arise in this

country if some gigantic clam-shell bucket were to scoop up the entire physical and financial wealth of New York and Pittsburgh and Detroit, and eight other cities, and if gigantic cranes were to lift this vast treasure up into the air and deposit our cities, bodily, across the ocean, in Europe, Asia, the Near East, and Africa.

But that is almost literally what we have given away to other nations since 1945, over and above the 47 billions we gave away under wartime lend-lease.

Would anybody be so foolish and to say these gifts to foreign countries did not leave a hole in our economy?

In most of the years since the end of World War II, our Government has operated with a deficit.

Foreign-aid expenditures have, therefore, been financed out of borrowed money.

We are borrowing money to pay the interest on our foreign-aid borrowing.

That is added to the total debt, and we must go on compounding interest payments on our foreign aid far into the future.

So the Senators need not think that someday they will stop foreign aid. They may stop the appropriations and the authorizations, but the payment for foreign aid will continue into the generations unborn.

The American people pay for gifts to other nations from borrowed money in one final form—the decline in the value of our dollar.

Our prewar dollars have shrunk to about 50 cents, and all the workers in nonexpanding industries, the retired schoolteachers and policemen, owners of bonds and mortgages, and many other silent, unorganized groups in our country pay almost unjust share of this seepage of value from American money.

So I ask—what did we accomplish by giving away the equivalent of 13 great American cities, and condemning many of our most productive citizens to heavy economic loss?

Representative MARTIN DIES briefly summarized the balance sheet of foreign aid in the House debate on the mutual defense authorization bill.

During the decade or more in which we have given away the equivalent of 13 huge American cities, in order, as we said, to stop the Communist advance, the Soviet leaders have expanded their power from rulership over 200 million people to rulership over 900 million people.

Is not that pitiful? I heard one Senator say yesterday, "I have always kept in my mind the lives of our boys."

I heard another Senator say yesterday, "We must pass this bill. Do we not know that the North Koreans are violating the truce; that they are rearming; that they are building airfields?"

Mr. President, what has happened to a great moral, Christian nation to cause it to stand idly by and wring its hands when a bandit nation is breaking its word? I say we are getting pretty low—pretty low.

During the decade or more in which we have given away the equivalent of 14 huge American cities, in order, as we said, to stop the Communist advance,

the Soviet leaders have expanded their power from rulership over 200 million people to rulership over 900 million people.

So we did not buy much, did we?

Our foreign policy operation of the last decade is in the red on two counts—we have denuded our economy of wealth valued at over \$50 billion, and we have seen about 700 million free human beings forced behind the Iron Curtain that hides the most bestial terrorism ever practiced by rulers of civilized nations.

I should like to take the time, today, to review the thousand-and-one silly projects for which Harold Stassen and many other great experts have been giving away our money, for what we might call the Foreign Aid "Follies."

Do Senators want to hear some of them?

Noble speeches made by our foreign-policy spokesmen give very little clue to the foolish projects the people of other countries see carried out in our name.

Congress passed a road construction bill which provided the payment of taxes to build the roads. We said, "Americans, you are going to pay as you ride." But what are we doing overseas?

Our people are working and paying taxes to build roads from Cairo to Alexandria in Egypt while Nasser visits Tito in his Mediterranean retreat. Ha! Ha!

I cannot explain to my people, who are going to be taxed for every inch of the new roads in Indiana, why we owe Nasser anything.

We are paying for improvement of the port of Alexandria and Egypt's inland waterways but we do not know of any way to pay improvements of Indiana's lake ports except to do it ourselves.

We are giving Egypt machine shops, welding and forging shops, foundries, marine shops, handling and transportation machinery, warehouses, offices, plants, floating docks and toolrooms, but we have no diplomatic policy for countering Soviet intrigue in Egypt or the Near East.

It is the American foreign policy I am talking about.

In India we are supporting a variety of welfare projects for increasing food production and eradicating diseases. Ha!

At first sight, this seems the kindly thing to do, and Americans hate to hear of human suffering.

But the British carried on splendid programs of sanitation and disease prevention for over a hundred years.

The result was greatly to increase the population of India—without giving her the political and industrial skills to keep so many people alive.

American private industry managed the Tata Steel Works in India and taught Brahmans, Mohammedans, and untouchables to work together without conflict.

It is not progress but reaction to put Government welfare ahead of the practical skills of expanding private industry, which Americans can do so much better than anyone else.

In Cambodia our taxes were used to build a 120-mile highway to the Gulf of Siam.

The King of Cambodia has just announced his allegiance to Moscow.

In Thailand we have given our tax funds for roads, railroads, ports, telecommunications, airfields, naval bases, and training camps.

We have built a 200-mile road.

We dig wells and carry on irrigation.

We even sprayed the houses of Bangkok with DDT. "Shoo, fly; don't bother me!"

But the shameful surrender of North Vietnam at Geneva in 1955 made Thailand far more vulnerable to military attack, and did more harm than we could ever undo by welfare spending.

In Israel we are teaching the refugees from Europe industrial and managing skills.

If that is not carrying coals to Newcastle, what is?

Liberia has rich resources of iron and minerals. They need labor, and we spend American money to train their workers. Why? It is usually a part of the cost of industrial, mining, and extracting operations to pay for training of their workers. The Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE] who is a mining engineer knows that is a part of the cost.

American corporations have always done it.

If we pay for the training of workers in a country rich in raw minerals, we are simply making a contribution to the net profits of the owners of the resources.

Members of Congress were shocked at statements of Mr. Hollister, the director of the International Cooperation Administration, on the schemes for which the money was being spent.

He said:

These include the \$20 million Nuclear Research Center in the Philippines, harnessing the Mekong River to control floods; provide transport and bring power to Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam; building roads between India and Nepal, and Afghanistan and Pakistan; and constructing piers to help India ship iron ore to Japan.

Let us go on with the "American foreign policy follies."

We sent to Spain, as deputy director of our foreign aid program, one of Broadway's outstanding theatrical producers, who was also a successful real estate operator and composer of songs such as the Moon Is Blue.

He may be an able man, but imagine the industrial giant, America, sending a theatrical producer to strengthen Spain, potentially our best military base in Europe.

In Italy, Communists are very powerful in the industrial north, but have been slow to make inroads in the South. We are devoting our funds to road-building, land reclamation, drainage, and irrigation, powerplants, sewage systems, and housing in the South.

These plans will greatly increase the value of the large land-holdings in southern Italy.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JENNER. I decline to yield. I have a limited time in which to speak, and I have much to say, because when we talk about the silliness of this pro-

gram all over the world, it takes a long time to cover it.

The projects are very similar to the spectacular public works program carried out by Mussolini, but Mussolini probably had ways to collect the gains in taxes. We do not.

We have also transferred large amounts of American capital from American employment to create employment abroad by offshore procurement of articles with foreign aid funds.

We are training government technicians for many of these receiving governments.

I shall pass over the question of whether we really want to indoctrinate the rest of the world with the bureaucratic government we have enjoyed in the last 20 years, rather than the strictly constitutional government of earlier years.

But I call attention to the large amount of information supplied to Congress by the General Accounting Office, showing how the International Cooperation Administration has not yet set up efficient systems for financial control of its own funds. But we are going to other continents to tell other people how to do it.

HOW IS IT TEACHING OTHER NATIONS?

In Pakistan we were asked for a simple moving-picture outfit, costing about \$20,000.

This would have paid for developing and printing the pictures, constructing the building, and training people for the work.

The Pakistani intended to mesh modern mass communication facilities with the traveling bands of singers who go from village to village making up songs about current news.

Our officials said, "Oh, no; you can't." They wanted something quick.

So they bought one developing machine, which cost twice as much as the entire Pakistan project, including buildings and everything else.

It will develop in 1 day more film than the Pakistani can produce in 1 year.

This is the "American foreign policy follies." Talk about a theatrical production. We have a funnier one here than anyplace else I have ever seen.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JENNER. I decline to yield at this time. I have a limited time to speak. I am talking about the "American Follies." It takes a lot of time to cover that. Remember, it has gone on for 10 years.

Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NEUBERGER in the chair). The Senator has 70 minutes remaining to him.

Mr. JENNER. Seventy minutes. It is now 11:09.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JENNER. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Does the Senator know what Will Rogers said when someone asked him where he got his jokes?

Mr. JENNER. No, but I would be interested in knowing, because he was a pretty clever man.

Mr. MALONE. When Will Rogers was asked that question, he said all he did was to watch the way the Congress acted, and then report its actions.

Mr. JENNER. That is true, but the saying is not funny in Indiana. It is costing my people \$117 million this year.

Mr. MALONE. It has now gone past the funny stage.

Mr. JENNER. Why do we have this everincreasing emphasis on big, showy, impractical projects, which teach dependency and not enterprise to the people of undeveloped countries? The reason is simple, Mr. President. This is always the outcome, when governments have easy money to spend.

The United States was once an undeveloped country. No one brought us welfare projects to dig our wells, cut roads through the forests, lay railroads, or build planes. We had to do everything the hard way.

What was the result?

We learned independence, self-reliance, careful management of capital, unlimited ingenuity with tools and machinery, the habit of continuous improvement.

This American foreign-aid-follies racket has become an international blackmail game. One country says, "If you don't give it to us, we will go communistic."

Then the Communists say to them, "We will give you more than you are getting from America."

And now they are getting from both.

Mr. President, many persons will ask, "How could we give such help to undeveloped nations quickly?"

Even there we have an answer. Our own American Army, when it took over responsibility for Government and relief in occupied areas, made a magnificent record of teaching people self-reliance. In Korea, our occupation Army took over the enterprises run by the Japanese, and traded them to the rich landowners, in return for land. Thus, they accomplished two things: They obtained land to give to small farmers, without confiscation; and they put the wealthy landowners to work building up, by private enterprise, the industries Korea needed.

There is an American way to help other people. But no international "do-gooders," with unlimited easy money, are ever going to permit us to use it.

Today, waste of easy money is not merely a tax problem. We must never forget that we are talking about the security of the United States in a difficult, dangerous, and uncertain world.

The United States has spent about \$1 billion in military grants to build air bases in Iceland. Recently, the Iceland Parliament voted to ask the Americans to leave Iceland, but, of course, to continue to pay for the operation of the bases. And of course we will do it. The voters of Iceland ratified their decision at the polls.

Mr. President, Iceland is the anchor of the NATO line for defense of Western Europe. To lose Iceland is much like losing one end of the Brooklyn Bridge,

and saying airily, "Well, we still have the rest." [Laughter.]

We are giving aid to Tito. Before long, there will be before the Senate an amendment in regard to our giving aid to Tito. Some say, "We will cut off the equipment aid." In other words, they want to stop the 390 new, modern jet airplanes which are already in the pipeline, on the way. Mr. President, I am not a gambling man; but I will lay odds of 10 to 1 that this silly Senate will give Tito the 390 jets. If the Senate does not do it directly, it will do it indirectly; or else some bureaucrat downtown will do it, and then will lie like hell about it. [Laughter.]

We are giving aid to Tito so secretly that Members of Congress cannot get the facts. Our military aid to Tito is a secret in this bill. On yesterday I received a letter stating that not one jet plane for Tito is included in the bill. But why did not that gentleman say that the jet planes are in the pipeline? In addition, we are told there is another secret fund.

Mr. President, I ask the Senate, what earthly excuse can there be to keep secret our aid to Tito?

The Communists in Moscow know about every plane and tank that is promised to Tito, if they do not know it beforehand through their espionage in this country.

Whom are we trying to fool when we say, "Oh, no; the American Congress and the American taxpayers must not know how much military aid we give Tito."

Is it due to the enterprise of the press that we have just learned we are giving Tito 390 modern jets?

How many have we given away to free China?

We are building a new road through the heart of Yugoslavia. Of course, that is for "peaceful" purposes. But would not that autobahn be convenient if, by chance, the Soviet Union started its armies and tanks moving westward? Or, Mr. President, do you suppose the Soviet armed forces would detour around the road that we, that is the "American follies," built for Tito and Yugoslavia?

We have been giving Tito wool, cotton, coal, fertilizer, fats, and oils. We even pay for the ocean transportation of what we give. We are contributing to the cost of college education in Yugoslavia.

Now we are told by our officials that we must continue to give our money and our military secrets to Tito, in spite of his recent pilgrimage to Moscow, and his promise of eternal friendship with the Soviet regime, because we have a billion-dollar investment there.

If that argument holds, then we ought to give to the Soviet Union 12 times as much military aid as we give to Yugoslavia. We have an investment of \$12 billion of lend-lease money the Soviet Union received in wartime; so, of course, we should send another 12 billions down the same rathole—to protect our investment.

We are told Tito has agreed with Moscow that he will send back—to Soviet justice—the Titoists in other satellite nations who sought refuge in Yugoslavia

after they were condemned by the Cominform.

Lest we forget, Mr. President, the Tito whose smiling pictures now fill our papers, is the same Tito who hid safely in Moscow until the Germans were defeated in Yugoslavia by a popular uprising, and then returned to his country to execute our friend, Mihailovitch, who helped turn Serbia from the German to the Allied side.

Mr. President, one might think that once in a while we would accidentally make a mistake in our own favor. But we never do.

He is the same Tito who served as a Kremlin agent in the Spanish Civil War, and may well have taken part in the seizure of passports from the American volunteers and the execution of those who protested too much.

At the time when Tito announced his divorcement from the Kremlin, I was warned that his severance from communism was a fiction. I am sure other Members, and officials of the executive branch, had the same information.

Mr. President, there are too many people in the executive branch of the Government today who have a vested interest in the errors of the past. I have found that politicians will make a thousand and one excuses for what they did rather than ever to admit that they were wrong.

By his dramatic break with the Kremlin, Tito was able to get from the West the military and other strategic goods which Moscow could not furnish.

Now he can funnel his knowledge to the Kremlin, in return for the industrial equipment they did not have to give away a few years ago.

There never was a period, even the shortest period, in which it made sense to give Tito economic aid.

Giving him secret military weapons is, to me, folly that borders on treason, somewhere in our foreign-policy planning.

Let me repeat. Giving him secret military weapons is, to me, folly that borders on treason, somewhere in our foreign-policy planning.

Recently, the press reported how our Korean allies are being effectively disarmed, because we are making them use now obsolete arms and equipment, while the Communists are moving the best new planes, atomic weapons, and skilled fighting men into North Korea, in open violation of the armistice.

That is one of the excuses for the foreign-aid program. It is said that the Communists are violating the truce, and moving modern weapons and equipment into Korea.

Any boy old enough to have seen a western movie, knows that if some secret collaborator gives the bad men good weapons, while the sheriff is using an old gun, the sheriff will lose every fight, until he wakes up to the betrayal and, gets himself the best gun he can get.

What kind of foreign policy is it, to pretend that an armistice agreement is being observed when it is not?

Or to let our brave allies become increasingly weaker, because our foreign policymakers will not admit the enemy

is lying, and is everyday becoming increasingly stronger?

I could go further, Mr. President, and ask what is the proper punishment for those officials in our Government who accepted an agreement for a neutral nations commission, and then permitted the choice of Poland and Czechoslovakia as neutrals? How silly can we become?

Or for those who would compound the original felony by pretending the Communists are honest?

Is it possible our foreign policy officials are so stupid they believe the Koreans can defend themselves against Communists who put faster planes, speedier weapons, and more pilots on the battleground than our friends are allowed to have? No, it is not possible.

But remember, it is American fighting men who hold the corridor along which the Communists will probably invade, when they are ready.

It is time for us here in Congress to admit that the structure of American security through gifts to foreign countries is unsound.

It is time for us here in Congress to begin, what we should have begun long ago, to build a firm foundation under our foreign and military policy.

The foreign-aid program rests on an unsound foundation because it is a package deal.

It is designed to wrap up in one package, tied in pretty paper with bright colored ribbons, separate parcels which our people would never buy 1 by 1.

It is said that this program has been recommended by the President, by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, by this man, or that man. It is a package deal. Let me explain it, if Senators have not taken the time to dig into it.

Our so-called mutual security program wraps our military defense in the Pacific, in a bundle so large and imposing that we will not notice how every dollar we give for the armed strength of free Korea, free China, free Vietnam, and the Philippines, is neatly locked into the United Nations, by the Mutual Security Act, itself.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JENNER. I will yield, if the Senator will be brief. I have a great deal of ground to cover.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I do not think the Senator from Indiana should be so caustic in his criticism of the mutual aspects of this co-called security program. When Assistant Secretary Robertson, of the State Department, appeared before the Appropriations Committee, he referred to the fact that the Southern Koreans have an army of about 700,000 trained men. He stated that if we did not give them all the money they wanted, it would necessarily follow that we would have to send 700,000 young Americans to displace the 700,000 South Korean soldiers.

At that point I asked him whether there was any cooperation on the part of our free allies in providing security in Korea. After considerable hesitation and a great deal of reluctance, he finally said, "We have a handful of U. N. forces there."

So the Senator from Indiana should recognize that, as we assume almost the entire responsibility not only in South Korea, but everywhere else, we have assurances from the Assistant Secretary of State that our great allies in the United Nations have a handful of forces, or token military personnel, in South Korea.

Mr. JENNER. We had assurances that the Chinese were "agrarian reformers," but I question some of those assurances.

Let me continue with the explanation. Every policy decision is, therefore, subordinated to Security Council policies.

We can make only such military moves, in the last analysis, as have the approval of the Soviet Union.

If we spent all the wealth of the United States on military aid to the free nations of Asia, we could not give one iota of help to true freedom, because we must tell our allies they may use the money for marching soldiers, but they must never let their soldiers go near the enemy.

Free Chinese fighting men must stand and watch the enemy assemble mountainous supplies of tanks and planes and ships, for an offensive attack on their homeland, but never make a move to break up the invasion.

We remember how someone in the State Department would not let our forces cross the Yalu in Korea, to bomb enemy airbases, though the refusal cost us many precious lives.

Sometimes, I call this policy of giving our Asian allies military playthings, but not permitting them to use our help for any military purpose, the policy of the hickory limb.

All of us remember the old verse:

Mother may I go out to swim?
Yes, my darling daughter,
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb
But don't go near the water.

Perhaps some Senators noticed the interesting item in the hearings that our Government wishes to set up a GI bill of rights, with medical care and other benefits, for free Chinese soldiers too old to fight.

Yes, yes, that is our policy to defend America.

Let us spend American money freely for all the soldiers of the world who are too old to fight, but nothing for landing ships for the free Chinese to reach the mainland, and prove how widespread is the popular resistance to Red China.

Let us ask ourselves this question: What would happen to a Soviet official who proposed keeping the Communist satellite armies on a leash, while Soviet wealth was gaily handed out to allied soldiers too old to fight?

Our so-called mutual security program wraps our military defense in Western Europe in a pretty bundle called NATO which makes a fine military display at SHAPE, but is in fact a supranational agency with political and economic, as well as military, powers and governing machinery.

NATO's military strength rests on nations with powerful fifth columns which are constantly eroding their nation's sovereignty, and slanting their policies, to help the Soviet Union, as the Com-

munist fifth column undermined France before Hitler.

NATO's real aims are hidden in the stratosphere, but the guiding influences in NATO are not able, or willing, to effect the rearming of Germany.

The Geneva conferences apparently fitted NATO into precisely detailed plans for the coming mutual-security alliances with the Soviet Union, which will be publicized, after the Communist empire has dutifully carried out certain rituals to prove how peace loving it is.

Where is the defense for America in that hidden agreement?

Our so-called mutual-security programs wrap up another pretty bundle—the giving of billions to those nations which will not join free Asia in readiness to fight for freedom.

This serves the double purpose of telling the Asians that we admire neutralism, and telling the brave Asian fighters for freedom that they would have been better off if they had been neutralist.

The rash of conflicting statements on neutralism put out by our foreign-policy planners has cost us more, than a generation of foreign-aid spending could repair.

The Pakistan Prime Minister was educated in an American college in Pakistan.

His Government well understands the threat from Soviet diplomacy.

But his people, though firmly anti-Communist, urge him to accept the invitation to visit Moscow.

They say, "If you go to Moscow, the American State Department will send its officials running, to bring gifts to us."

Now we hear that foreign nations are deliberately setting out to get aid both from the Soviet Union and from the United States.

They will not only be able to send the bids higher, but they figure that neither the Soviet Union nor America will dare withdraw the aid, if both are involved.

That is like the argument we heard about Yugoslavia and Tito. We were told that we could not stop aid, because we had a billion dollar investment there, and therefore must go on with aid to Tito.

And our foreign-policy planners tell us they are so clever only they can understand the intricacies of international relations, and Congress must dutifully accept whatever they put before us.

I will not waste your time with the foolish argument that we must keep up this foreign-aid spending, because communism stems from poverty, and we can easily overcome it by welfare.

Communism is a disease which attacks the ambitious, the overeducated, the bored, the idle rich.

Any Senator who does not believe it should read the records of our committees.

The strongest resistance to it comes from self-respecting workers in factories, farms, and other productive enterprises.

But there is more than waste of our people's earnings in this doctrine.

All nations are threatened with a fearful danger from the rapid population increase facing the world.

There has never been any repeal of Malthus' law that population, when it

starts to rise, grows by leaps and bounds in geometric ratio.

The danger used to be food supply.

Today, it is the supply of land.

The "population explosion" which accompanied the peace and prosperity of the last century caused plenty of national rivalry for "living space," and ended in two World Wars.

But the earlier population explosion spread out into the empty spaces of the Western Hemisphere.

The population explosion now facing us is taking place in Asia where people are already pitifully overcrowded on the land.

The possibilities are fearful to contemplate.

Every responsible statesman is deeply concerned.

Those who imagine this approaching crisis can be met by more sanitation and welfare are guilty of unpardonable frivolity.

The United States is too powerful in this sorely beset world of today to let itself be represented by stupidity, sentimental ignorance, or the doctrine of "after us the deluge."

The hatred and violence of communism will be helped, not hindered, by the crisis rapidly building up from the world's rapid population growth.

Still another bundle in the foreign-aid package includes these mysterious Presidential funds for use anywhere and anyhow.

One Presidential fund for \$100 million is available with no restraints whatever.

Moreover, the President's authority under section 401, to shift \$50 million of mutual security funds from one use to another, "without regard to the requirements of this act, or any other act for which funds are authorized by this act," was raised to \$150 million.

In addition to vast powers, exercised, of course, by subordinates, a statement by the President that he has expended these funds and that it "is inadvisable to specify the nature of such expenditures," is sufficient accounting for their use.

We know perfectly well, whatever the magazine writers may say, that President Eisenhower cannot make all the decisions on all the problems now assigned to him, personally, by Congress.

Decisions must be made almost entirely by his staff.

All devices for appropriating money to the President, instead of appropriating it to any agency whose powers and duties are fixed by Congress, are transfers of legislative power from elected representatives to nonelected officials in the executive branch, who already have too many powers we cannot see.

The Members of the Senate and House who undertook to check on our foreign-aid spending have performed a great service for the other Members of Congress, and for the people for whom we act.

The evidence of their hard work can be found in the debates on this year's bills in the House and the Senate.

But all we know, Mr. President, that the Members of Congress can barely see the outer fringes of this crucially important activity of our Government.

A curtain of fog covers nearly everything the executive agencies are doing in this field.

The Senate hearings on the authorization bill alone runs to 1,083 pages.

Altogether, Senate and House hearings on both authorization and appropriation bills will total nearly 4,000 pages.

But how much information do we actually find?

Every time a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee came close to a really important issue of policy, before the Government witnesses replied, the words "off the record" were interposed.

The same is true of all the committee hearings.

This magic formula does not apply to military secrets alone. Not at all.

When Senators are told that other nations are paying a part of the cost of military budgets, and then they learn that the contributions of the other governments come from counterpart funds, that is, from the sale of American goods we gave to those governments, and they try to pursue the question, we see the magic word "deleted."

How fantastic it is that a Member of this body has had to travel around the world, year after year, to find out what is being done with the taxpayers' money.

Then he prepares a comprehensive speech and cannot deliver it, but Senators who have the time, may go to the Senate Appropriations Committee, and read a copy.

For years now, in connection with foreign aid bills, Members of Congress have worked long and hard, trying to improve this clause or that, to take out this or that useless provision.

I admire these Members for their devotion to their duty, but all we have in the end, by that method, is a thing of shreds and patches.

The Bible says one cannot grow figs from thistles.

It says that a house built upon sand cannot stand.

There has never been an example of the failure of that law.

There is only postponement of the collapse which makes death and devastation more widespread.

There is no possibility that we can make a sound foreign policy and military policy upon the present foundation, because the foundation is unsound.

We can repair the leaks and the cracks in the walls, but they will reappear next year and every years, because the foreign-aid program rests on ground which is sinking beneath our feet.

Our so-called mutual-security package includes, then:

First. A program for equipping the armed forces of free Asia, which is hog-tied by delicate lines of control leading through the provisions of the Mutual Security Act to the United Nations Security Council.

Second. A program for a supranational agency—NATO—which subsidizes the budgets of Western European countries which are none too eager either to stand up to Soviet Russia, or to let Germany do it.

Meanwhile, our own security is subject to the influence of their fifth col-

umnists, in the invisible meetings of the NATO Council, whose reports Congress is not permitted to see.

Third. A program for Socialist-neutralist countries which have never supported free Asia, satellite Europe, or the United States, at any crucial stage of the Communist advance.

Fourth. Mysterious entities called President's funds which are under no congressional limits or restrictions of any sort.

What aim or purpose they are to meet has never been seriously stated.

Fifth. A miscellany of grants to various international activities, mostly duplicating work our Government is also carrying on.

Where is the military security for the United States in that hodgepodge?

At various times I have pointed out on the Senate floor the astonishing, but almost unnoticed, change which has taken place since 1940 in that part of the executive branch dealing with foreign and military affairs.

There is no hope that Congress can shift our present fantastic spending programs to sound foreign and military policies, until we understand the far-reaching effect of this complete administrative transformation.

We in the Congress are making laws and granting appropriations to the historic State Department, which guided our foreign policy within the limits set by the Constitution and the statutes.

But we do not have that constitutional State Department any more.

We do not have the Military Establishment which we used to have, when the Cabinet department heads were the President's top advisers and administrative aides.

The State Department of Secretary Hull held firmly to the great tradition of our Secretaries of State, from the founding of our Republic.

This distinguished foreign policy establishment was transformed into something new and strange, when Harry Hopkins became the dominant influence on policymaking in wartime.

American foreign policy was shifted from diplomacy to spending with the Lend-Lease Act of April 1941, which enabled the administration to set up emergency agencies in the foreign field, modeled on the emergency welfare spending agencies of the thirties.

These included Foreign Operations Administration, OWI, OSS, and the rest. On and on they go.

"Oh," they say, "our military Chiefs of Staff have said so-and-so."

But let us see what they can say and how they can say it. They are hog-tied, under our foreign policy.

This new management group in foreign affairs promptly took over the direction of higher military policy.

By means of the combined boards, especially the combined Munitions Assignment Board, it was soon raised to international status, so that Congress could not subpoena its Chairman, Mr. Hopkins, and ask embarrassing questions.

I need only point out to you, Mr. President, that this strange new growth, out-

side and above our Constitution, was carried out—

First. Under the war powers.

Second. By administrators who had learned, in the relief and welfare agencies of the thirties, how to use emergency funds as grants of unlimited legislative power.

Third. By agency staffs in which active leadership was taken by Alger Hiss, Harry D. White, Owen Lattimore, Laughlin Currie, Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Solomon Adler, and a long list of other people whose records have been brought out in sworn testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

These staff members in Government were, as you know, continuously advised by officials of the Institute for Pacific Relations, whose wartime activities have been reported in detail by the Senate subcommittee.

I need not tell you, Mr. President, that these men were engaged in something vastly more important than making individual jobs for themselves.

They were engaged in building an administrative network within our Government, but not under our Constitution, which could exercise, through spending, powers which Congress would never have granted them, and the Constitution would not have permitted.

This wild growth of governmental functions in the United States was never submitted to the people, submitted to the courts, or properly submitted to Congress with the information necessary for full congressional examination.

The policy of guiding international affairs through spending—instead of diplomacy—was continued during the 11 postwar years, under cover of a series of continuous emergencies.

Dean Acheson, who succeeded Mr. Hopkins as guide and manager of international power through the use of public money, worked out the Marshall plan and its successors, in order to continue emergency spending—which means spending not controlled by Congress.

Mr. Acheson also incorporated into the State Department most of the personnel of the emergency agencies working in foreign affairs, after dismissing Secretary Byrnes' security officer, Mr. J. Anthony Panuch, with 10 minutes' notice.

Foreign policymaking spread outward into new superagencies like the National Security Council, secret agencies like CIA, and a network of international agencies like U. N., NATO, GATT, and the rest, all of them well-insulated against the influence of Congress.

This complex of agencies, whose power derived from spending rather than from statutory organization and duties, defined by Congress, still firmly controls our military policy.

The role of our military men has been subtly changed from advising the American people on what measures are needed for national security to that of advising the foreign policymakers on how to achieve the ends they seek.

They have silently replaced national security with collective security under the United Nations.

But the United Nations is not anti-Communist.

It does not pretend to be.

It is a neutralist.

A military policy tied in to U. N. collective security must be a military policy acceptable to the Soviet Union and, therefore, to Red China.

This is where the right of our flyers to cross the Yalu was buried.

This is where our aid to the Nationalist Chinese forces has been held down to defensive equipment only.

This is where any move on our part to give effective military force to the free world will die of suffocation.

Our military strategy is under the complete dominion of foreign policy-planners who are committed to super-nationalism, to one-world-ism, to collaboration with the collectivist trends of the moment, and to appeasement of the Soviet Union.

I said, in discussing the Foreign Aid Bill of 1955, that our military policy-making is carried on by means of an administrative monstrosity.

I repeat, Mr. President, that Congress will never recapture its constitutional responsibility for foreign and military policy until it demolishes this administrative complex and reestablishes the historic State Department whose authority rests on its loyal adherence to American principles, and its use of the dignified method of diplomacy, instead of the vulgar method of foreign spending.

Congress will never reestablish its responsibility for making a policy to safeguard America, until it separates foreign policymaking from military policymaking, and makes them both responsible to the Congress and the American people.

Members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs discussed the possibility of separating military aid from economic aid.

Representative SELDEN, of Alabama, said:

Most of the witnesses failed to present any substantial reason for the procedure now being followed.

Secretary Dulles said such a change would be impossible.

Why?

Because the giving of large sums of money to other nations causes economic and social complications and, apparently, only the staff of the State Department is competent to deal with anything so complex.

The poor Defense Department and the Members of Congress would be hopelessly bogged down in efforts to understand international economic or social problems.

Obviously, the military policy of a nation must be in harmony with its foreign policy, but it is equally obvious that the military establishment cannot be dominated by the foreign policy establishment.

The military program must be designed to go into effect instantly if diplomatic measures fail, or a hostile nation will deliberately revert to methods of compulsion.

It is cardinal to any real security of the United States that our military establishment must not be tied to errors in foreign policy.

Its role is to compensate for possible errors in diplomatic policy.

To tie military policy and operations to the State Department, or to any other agency dominated by foreign policy planners, like the National Security Council or the CIA, is equivalent to fastening the braking mechanism of an automobile to the steering wheel, so that it can operate only as the steering wheel moves.

The forces operating on our governmental organization since 1940, which have made the military establishment a technical agency for carrying out policies laid down by the internationalists, must be removed from power over our national destiny.

Only Congress can remove them.

It is, I agree, a cardinal principle of our form of government that the military establishment is to operate under what has usually been called the civil power.

As I have pointed out at length, this phrase is misleading or perhaps deliberately twisted from its original meaning.

The historic meaning of the phrase is that, under a government of laws, the military establishment must likewise operate under the law.

In a country where citizens are sovereign, the major policy guidance of the military must come from those who are elected by the citizens to speak for them.

There is nothing whatever in this doctrine to justify the Hopkins-Acheson policy of putting the professional military staff under another group of non-elected professional officials.

The State Department, like the military, is responsible for taking its overall direction from elected officials.

The Constitution gives to Congress the sole authority to make the change from the methods of diplomacy to the methods of war, in our dealings with other nations.

The President and the executive branch have fullpower and responsibility for carrying out the policy selected, but the right to invoke war remains with Congress.

It is sheer nonsense to argue that the executive must have the war power because we learn faster about new wars by radio than we did by sailing vessel and horseback. That only means Congress must act faster.

Limited government and the rule of law require that the right to use the Nation's human strength and economic resources for war must rest with the Congress as the people's representatives.

The power to turn the Nation from the method of diplomacy to the method of war is the primary sovereign power.

The Constitution-makers gave that power to Congress alone, because they knew from bitter experience of many centuries that the power to make war can never be trusted to men in power, in any form of government.

The powers given to Congress in the Constitution can never be taken away

from us. They can only be cravenly surrendered.

Likewise, the duty to safeguard the Nation against threat by maintaining the Military Establishment in fighting trim is given to Congress through the power to raise and support armies.

The provision that no appropriation for the Armed Forces shall be for a longer term than 2 years is specifically designed to insure that each incoming Congress shall be able to reestablish its authority over the Armed Forces, in spite of the advantage held by an executive branch in continuous operation.

There is no slightest possibility that our country can give untrammelled military support to the truly anti-Communist countries, under any kind of appropriation, so long as we continue—by our inaction—the present administrative monstrosity which puts the Military Establishment under foreign policymakers who serve international interests, and not the security of the United States.

We cannot, by any appropriation, give encouragement to the people of the satellite countries, where unarmed men have twice in the last few years walked hand in hand, in to the fire of tanks, to fight for liberty.

We cannot, by any appropriation, help the countries on the see-saw of neutralism to get rid of the Soviet fifth column which is propagandizing their people to trust in peaceful coexistence.

We are, on the contrary, being rapidly booby-trapped into giving even more funds to the soft neutralist countries, in the vain hope that that will slow down the Communist advance.

Mr. President, let me tell you just one thing; this fantastic complex cannot stand still. It must, by its very nature, keep in constant motion.

While Congress is kept busy discussing the details of spending, where is our country drifting?

In the quiet that followed the end of the Korean shooting, we could not, at first, detect any movement on the international chessboard.

The Berlin Conference of February 1954, the mysterious campaign of Dien Bien Phu, and the Geneva Conference of 1954, where Chou En-lai helped partition Vietnam, while we stood by, were the first warning that the subtle plans to guide American policy to a super-national one world on a collectivist model were again being put into effect.

In 1955, the trend of appeasement reached the carefully planned climax of the meeting at the Summit, the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference after the Summit meeting, and the meetings between an American ambassador and a Red Chinese of ambassadorial rank, while the fiction that we did not recognize Red China was carried on.

Austria accepted the Soviet demand that she give up her power to defend herself.

We saw the outlines of the new program of neutralization, by which a belt of defenseless states were to surround the Soviet satellites from Sweden, around the Mediterranean and the Near East to India, Indochina, and perhaps to Japan, all carved from the free world.

Neutral Austria thrust a military barrier between Germany and Italy, and Cyprus set an effective barrier between Greece and Turkey.

What of 1956? Most of the neutralist nations have made their submission to Moscow. The members of the NATO alliance are not far behind.

Beginning with the 20th party congress, the Soviet Union has changed its spots from a Stalinist dictatorship to something which looks, every day, more and more like a law-abiding government.

At this very moment, Tito is meeting with Nasser to plan the next steps in the whitewashing of communism, and Nehru will soon join them.

The satellite nations are all going to sever their relations with the Soviet Union.

They are going to imitate Tito, and be showered with praises by the U. S. S. R.

Finally, the Soviet Union itself is going to put aside international revolution, and become "national communism."

Bits and pieces of the dialogue are fed into the papers every day.

Even Churchill talked of admitting the Soviet Union to NATO.

The collaborators are preparing the way by saying our only enemy is international communism.

Until recently, we were told our enemy was not communism at all, but "Russian nationalism."

Today, the cue is to denounce "international communism."

Thus, they prepare our minds for accepting the new order.

We will be told the economic or political system within a nation is not our concern.

As the Soviet Union changes before our eyes into a "national state," with a socialist government looking much like Britain, we shall be asked to meet her half way with our professions that there is nothing really wrong with communism or neutralism.

There is no slightest possibility that we can protect the security of the United States, or help nations which love freedom, if we ignore the perfectly planned moves by which the one-worlders are leading us to military impotence.

I have no choice but to vote against the Foreign Aid bill.

Certainly, I have no wish to reduce, by one dollar, the funds required to help free Korea, free China, and free Vietnam to maintain the armed forces needed to withstand Communist attack.

I am willing to help any other nation whose people, like those of Turkey or Guatemala, have been willing to risk their lives to avoid Communist conquest.

I cannot vote for the present bill, as I have been unable to vote for all other so-called foreign-aid bills, because I must protest against the package deal in which the military aid provided is completely enmeshed in invisible controls leading to a predetermined end.

Such military aid cannot add effectively to the defense of free nations against communism. It can never protect the United States. And the United States is the client I have to serve.

The entire package program is designed, I repeat, to hide the steps by which the various nations on the world chessboard are moved ever nearer to a complete rapprochement with communism, in which the free nations of Asia will be allowed to die on the vine, Red China will move into the United Nations, and NATO—which includes the United States—will join in a "security pact" with the Soviet Union, while Germany becomes part of a vast neutralist zone in Europe and Asia, headed by Tito, with the help of Nehru and Nasser.

In my opinion, Mr. President, we are moving, by carefully planned steps, to the end of the independence of our country.

It is irresponsible to offer destructive criticism of any policy, without indicating the lines along which a better policy may be found.

There are \$7 billion or more of unspent funds, sufficient to continue the activities covered by this bill for 2 to 3 years. It has been estimated by the manager of the bill in the House of Representatives that there is already enough money appropriated to last this program for 33 months. Mr. President, I implore the Members of the Senate to listen to my words. The Congress will be in session again in 5 months. If something is found to be radically wrong with the program, it can be corrected then. In the meantime, let us look after the security of our own country.

At least \$5.6 billion are in the military pipelines, of which \$3 billion are for military assistance to Europe.

House Members pointed out in debate that these commitments were made to equip the nonexistent armed forces of Germany, and the promised forces of NATO nations which have been diverted to Algeria, or elsewhere, or which will vanish as the term of conscription is reduced and military budgets are cut back, in the general atmosphere of appeasement.

There remain, at most, barely 5 months until Congress reassembles. Any serious need for funds could be quickly met by the new Congress.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] has proposed an interim study by the Foreign Relations Committee of the foreign-aid program. I shall fully support that study, and I believe it will furnish much valuable information; but it does not meet all the problems involved in the deliberately confusing "package deal." Much difficult work remains to be done.

We are coming to the end of the legislative session, and I shall not propose other fundamental recommendations at this time.

We must turn our attention to the electoral contest, in which we report to the voters on our stewardship, and they give their verdict on the work which their officials have carried on, with the resources and the honor of the United States.

The Members of Congress will assemble next January, with a new mandate from the sovereign people. I hope that in every State and congressional district in the United States the voters will carry on, in both parties, a great debate on this

question of foreign aid, which may well be the question of American survival in this dangerous world.

For my part, I hope the voters will demand an end of these vast spending programs, which act as a screen to hide our descent to soft collectivist internationalism.

I hope the next Congress will have a mandate from the voters to end internationalism by way of big spending, and to return to a truly American foreign policy, put into effect by diplomacy, and a truly American military policy, ready to protect us if diplomacy fails.

Thus, we can set out on a new path to safeguarding America, and strengthening all other nations which truly love liberty.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at this time I may suggest the absence of a quorum, without having the time required for the quorum call charged to either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SPARKMAN in the chair). Is there objection?

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, before the quorum call is had, will the Senator from California yield 2 minutes to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I am willing to withhold my request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from Indiana is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, first, I wish to congratulate my colleague [Mr. JENNER] on his speech.

I also wish to state that the Foreign Relations Committee is going to make a study of foreign aid. I am a member of the Foreign Relations Committee; and, of course, I shall participate in that study. My best judgment is that when the study is finished, we shall reach just one conclusion, namely, that all military expenditures in foreign countries should be handled by our own military authorities; and that all foreign aid should be in the form of loans, even though in some instances—and there may be some—the loans may be made on the basis of being repaid in the currencies of the foreign countries concerned.

For many years I have been advocating that policy. I continue to advocate it, as I stated last night, and as I have told the Foreign Relations Committee.

Although I shall have an open mind in connection with the study which will be made by the Foreign Relations Committee regarding this matter, I shall particularly watch and concentrate upon this specific thought, which I have had from the very beginning, namely, that the military authorities of the United States should handle all military matters, whether in the United States or anywhere else in the world; and that we should never give away money, but instead, we should make loans; that we should be generous in making loans, insofar as the terms are concerned, and, in many instances, insofar as repayment is concerned—possibly in respect to having the loans repaid in the currencies of the foreign countries concerned.

If we proceed on that basis, I think the United States will be better off as a Nation, and I believe the other nations will feel much better about our program. Furthermore, in my opinion we shall do better in our efforts to promote worldwide harmony and peace, if we proceed on that basis. I believe that will be the end result of the study the Foreign Relations Committee will make, and I believe it will be the end result of the recommendations the administration will make next year. My best judgment is that that will be the recommendation the Congress will make, and that the Congress will take such action, next year, and in the years to come.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time yielded to the Senator from Indiana has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President—

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I had requested unanimous consent that at this time there be a quorum call, without having the time required for it charged to either side, under the unanimous-consent agreement. However, I am perfectly willing to withdraw that request, either on behalf of the majority leader or on behalf of the minority leader.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I shall make the point of the absence of a quorum as soon as I finish an announcement I wish to make.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING CONSIDERATION OF CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST REGIME IN CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I should like to make an announcement for the information of the Senate, and to include with the list of bills and other measures which I announced earlier today, Calendar No. 2744, House Concurrent Resolution 265, expressing the sense of Congress against admission of the Communist regime in China as the representative of China in the United Nations. That measure was reported on July 20 by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], from the Foreign Relations Committee.

If the plans of the leadership are carried out, it is expected that we shall move to proceed to the consideration of that concurrent resolution sometime on Monday, and that there will be a yea-and-nay vote on the question of agreeing to the resolution. I should like all Members to have advance notice of it.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I send a proposed unanimous-consent agreement to the desk which I ask to have read. It is submitted on behalf of myself and the minority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proposed unanimous-consent agreement will be read.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Ordered, That the unanimous-consent agreement on H. R. 12130, the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1957, be modified in the following respects, namely: That the residue of the committee amendments to the said bill be agreed to en bloc, with the exception of those relating to the paragraphs for defense support and development assistance, beginning on page 2, line 14, and extending down to and including line 7 on page 3; that with respect to these amendments it shall be in order on Tuesday, July 24, 1956, following the conclusion of morning business, for the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] to submit 4 amendments thereto, said amendments to be considered and voted on en bloc; that debate thereon shall be limited to 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by Mr. ELLENDER and the majority leader, respectively; that following the vote on the said amendments, the committee amendments in the said paragraphs, whether amended or not, shall be voted upon en bloc without further debate.

Ordered further, That no amendment shall be received that has not been submitted prior to the adoption of this agreement, and no vote on any amendment shall be had on Monday, July 23, 1956.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent agreement?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, reserving my right to object, merely for the purpose of enlightenment, do I correctly understand that this modification means that there will be no votes today upon any amendment?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. And that there will be no votes on Monday?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. And that on Tuesday the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] will be permitted to offer the amendments which are described as occurring on pages 2 and 3 of the bill and that they will be voted on en bloc on Tuesday?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. And that thereafter any committee amendments which have not been disposed of will be acted upon; and thereafter those amendments which have heretofore been submitted will be acted on?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct; the Knowland amendment, the O'Mahoney amendment, the McCarthy amendment, the McCellan amendment, and any other amendments which have been submitted.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Those amendments will be taken up following the disposal of the Ellender amendments and the remaining committee amendments. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I have no objection.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I should like to ask the majority leader a question. Is there then any time allowed on the bill itself?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Yes.

Mr. BENNETT. Six hours?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. No; we have used some of the time on the bill.

Mr. BENNETT. Minus whatever we have used. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object—what is the program the distinguished majority leader has in mind for Monday in the event this agreement is entered into?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The program consists of many noncontroversial bills which we hope to consider, so that Senators who are not interested in them may go ahead with other plans.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. May the Chair ask the majority leader to speak louder?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator from Texas cannot yell; he is speaking as loud as he can. The Senator from Texas has announced a number of bills. He announced them yesterday and today. They are in the RECORD. They have been cleared by both policy groups. Most of them are relatively noncontroversial, and they are not expected to provoke much, if any, debate. It is not expected that they will keep us here very late today or need yea and nay votes.

Mr. HOLLAND. Then am I to understand that it is the intention of the leadership to lay aside the pending measure until Tuesday?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct. Of course, if some Senators wish time on the bill, as the Senator from Indiana [Mr. JENNER] did this morning, we will be glad to yield time to him on the bill. However, we will not expect to have any votes on the bill.

Mr. HOLLAND. And any time that was yielded would apply against the time on the bill under the unanimous-consent agreement?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. There is no abandonment of the time limitations in the unanimous-consent agreement. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HOLLAND. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I regret that I did not hear the statement as to the amount of time which was

being reserved for discussion of the amendments submitted by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] which are to be considered en bloc.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The same time as is now provided in the agreement—1 hour.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. One hour to each side?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. No; 30 minutes to each side.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I understand that those amendments, en bloc, affect several provisions of the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I believe that is correct.

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. There is no problem about time. We have time running out of our ears. The Senator from Louisiana originally thought he would want an hour on his amendments, but on considering the matter he decided that 30 minutes would give him ample time. We have an hour and 10 minutes on the bill remaining to our side which will probably be yielded back.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I wanted to make sure about that because I oppose the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana. This is a very important matter, and I did not want to be foreclosed from the opportunity to object to cutting any items of economic aid.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator from Texas opposes them, the Senator from California opposes them, and other Senators are opposed to them. We felt that we would need only 30 minutes. In addition, we have an hour and 10 minutes on the bill within our control.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I thank the Senator.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I wonder whether we might have stated by the clerk the amendments which are now pending to the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the clerk will read the amendments that are at the desk.

Mr. FREAR. Mr. President, as I understand, we have not yet entered into the agreement. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct. The Senator from Delaware is reserving his right to object.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. An amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. KNOWLAND, for himself and for Mr. BRIDGES and for Mrs. SMITH of Maine, identified as "7-18-56-A."

An amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. O'MAHONEY, for himself and Mr. McCLELLAN, identified as "7-12-56-D."

An amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. O'MAHONEY, for himself and Mr. McCLELLAN, identified as "7-17-56-A."

Amendments ordered to be printed and to lie on the table, numbering four, intended to be proposed by Mr. ELLENDER.

An amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. MCCARTHY, on page 6, lines 3 and 4, relating to aid to Yugoslavia.

An amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. HAYDEN, to make a technical change in the bill, in the form of a procedural amendment.

Mr. FREAR. Reserving my right to object—and I shall not object—I should like to ask the majority leader regarding his plans concerning Calendar No. 2472, H. R. 9083. Is that bill on his agenda?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Several Senators have asked to be notified before that bill is called up. I have no plans to call it up. Three Senators on the minority side have indicated an interest in it. I shall be glad to talk to the Senator from Delaware about it to see if we can work out a satisfactory arrangement.

Mr. FREAR. With that assurance, I have no objection.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I should like to ask another question of the majority leader. As I understand, the unanimous-consent agreement would in no way preclude a Senator from the opportunity of offering an amendment to the section in the bill relating to the Middle East and Africa in connection with a special authorization?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. It would not now, but it would after the agreement is entered into.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I want to serve notice that I am preparing an amendment in that connection.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Then I withdraw the agreement, if the amendment has not been prepared.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. It is a very simple amendment. I am opposed to deleting the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. If the Senator will hand his amendment to the clerk at the desk it can be considered. If he will send the amendment to the desk it will be included. We wanted to avoid a great number of amendments being offered later.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I will be happy to send my amendment to the desk. It would merely restore lines 6 and 7 on page 5. I send the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment intended to be proposed by the Senator from Minnesota will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, it is proposed to restore lines 6 and 7.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. That is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair suggests that the same objective could be obtained by rejecting the committee amendment. The Senator's amendment is to a committee amendment. All he need do is to request that the committee amendment be disagreed to when it comes before the Senate.

Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request propounded by the Senator from Texas?

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, may we have the proposed unanimous-consent agreement reread?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous-consent request will be restated.

The legislative clerk again read the proposed agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, why is it limited to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is not limited to any Senator. We wanted to be sure we would have a vote on the bill, because it has to go to conference. Any Member who desires to offer an amendment can send it to the desk.

The Senator from Louisiana had four amendments, which would take 4 hours to discuss. After consultation, he agreed he would offer them en bloc, so that only 1 hour would be consumed. Under the present agreement, there would be 4 hours granted instead of 1. The majority leader is anxious to get a vote on the bill sometime on Tuesday so that it can be acted upon by the other House.

Mr. AIKEN. Why is the vote to be had on Tuesday and not today, as we expected it to be?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Because there are some Senators who want each committee amendment to be voted on by rollcall vote. The Appropriations Committee is meeting in conference on the supplemental bill. It is meeting this afternoon at 2 o'clock for a markup. Some of the members of that committee would not be present if the bill were acted on today, including the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. We thought such an agreement as this would suit the convenience of all Members and would expedite action.

Mr. AIKEN. I am seeking information as to the reasons for this maneuvering.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. There is no maneuvering.

Mr. AIKEN. I did not mean that in any bad sense, I will say to the Senator. I know of no reason for objecting to this request. I had simply hoped that the matter might be cleared up earlier.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is why we came into session today.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I wish to ask another question of the Senator from Texas. I am prompted by the question of the Senator from Vermont to ask the Senator from Texas whether there would be any objection to a modification of the request so that amendments to be presented and acted upon on Tuesday might be eligible for presentation on Monday. Under the unanimous-consent request, as I understand, any amendment that is offered before this agreement is made will be eligible for consideration.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. We expected to vote on the bill today. We hoped we could, and I think we could if we had an adjournment of the Appropriations Committee—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I am not going to make any objection, but I wish the RECORD to show clearly that if there is any Senator, who is absent this morning, who had in his mind to offer an amendment to the bill, he will be cut off by this agreement.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is correct. For that reason, we have had

July 24, 1956

17. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Humphrey criticized the Administration's attitude toward the farmer. p. 12973
18. SOIL CONSERVATION. Sen. Douglas objected to a unanimous consent request by Sen. Ellender to submit a report on H. R. 11833, to provide for a Great Plains conservation program. p. 12979
19. FOREIGN TRADE. The Finance Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) without amendments H. R. 9396, to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to place guar seed on the free list; and H. R. 12254, to provide additional time for the Tariff Commission to renew the customs tariff schedules. p. D872
20. SAFETY. The Government Operations Committee agreed to report (but did not actually report) with amendment S. 3517, to provide for the reorganization of the safety functions of the Federal Government. p. D872
21. FLOOD CONTROL. The Public Works Committee ordered reported (but did not actually report) with amendments H. R. 12080, the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. p. D873
22. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Agreed to the House amendments to S. 3116, providing for cultural and athletic exchanges and participation in international fairs and festivals. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 12951
23. MUTUAL SECURITY. Passed with amendments H. R. 12130, making appropriations for mutual security for 1957. Conferees were appointed. pp. 12910, 12952, 12974

ITEMS IN THE APPENDIX

24. WATER RESOURCES. Rep. Reuss inserted a newspaper article warning of the declining water table and urging conservation to insure an adequate water supply. p. A5785
25. AREA REDEVELOPMENT. Rep. Flood inserted newspaper articles suggesting that the Federal government should undertake a program to relieve areas of chronic unemployment. pp. A5787, A5794
26. FLOOD CONTROL. Rep. Natcher discussed and inserted a newspaper article describing the benefits to be derived from flood control measures in the Green River Valley. p. A5787
Rep. Sisk discussed the need for recreational facilities in conjunction with flood control projects, and inserted a letter to the Army Corps of Engineers inquiring relative to the possible development of further facilities. p. A5797
27. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Pfof inserted a newspaper column criticizing the Administration for the position taken in opposition to the high Hells Canyon Dam. p. A5799
28. PERSONNEL. Rep. Rooney inserted a newspaper article commenting on the inadequacies of the reports on security dismissals in the Federal government. p. A5803
Rep. Hess inserted the text of an address by N. McElroy, President of Procter and Gamble, citing the need for increased training of engineers and scientists. p. A5834

29. FARM PROGRAM. Rep. Price inserted the text of an address by A. Stevenson criticizing the Administration's farm program and policies. p. A5806
30. APPROPRIATIONS. The committee inserted the following budget estimates which had been recommended to the Senate: \$150,000 for necessary expenses of the Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products, authorized by Sec. 209 of the Agricultural Act of 1956; acquisition of lands for Cache National Forest, \$50,000, to remain available until expended, as authorized by H. R. 8898; salaries and expenses, Farmers' Home Administration, \$1,400,000; and salaries and expenses, Office of the General Counsel, \$85,000. The latter two items are to provide funds for costs in connection with the pending amendments to the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act which would broaden the authority for loans thereunder (H. R. 11544).

PRINTED HEARINGS RECEIVED IN THIS OFFICE

31. APPROPRIATIONS. Second supplemental appropriation bill, 1957. Parts I and II. Atomic Energy Commission and Bureau of Reclamation. House Appropriations Committee.

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COMMITTEE HEARING ANNOUNCEMENTS:

- July 25: Release of restrictions on property conveyed to church in Miss., H. Agriculture.
Pending bills, H. Agriculture (exec).
Federal power program, H. Gov't Operations.
Social security and executive pay and retirement bills, conferees (exec).

oOo

84TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12130

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 24, 1956

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the Senate numbered

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money
4 in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal
5 year ending June 30, 1957, namely:

6 MUTUAL SECURITY

7 For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry
8 out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as
9 amended, as follows:

1 Military assistance: For assistance authorized by sec-
 2 tion 103 (a) (3), including not to exceed \$23,000,000 for
 3 administrative expenses to carry out the purposes of title I,
 4 chapter 1, and section 124, ~~(1)~~ *to remain available until*
 5 *June 30, 1958,* ~~(2)~~ ~~\$1,735,000,000~~ \$2,300,000,000 of
 6 which ~~(3)~~ ~~\$60,000,000~~ \$75,000,000 shall be available for
 7 infrastructure as authorized by section 104 (a); and in
 8 addition not to exceed \$195,500,000 of unobligated and
 9 unreserved funds heretofore appropriated under authority
 10 of section 103 (a) ~~(4)~~ ~~(2)~~, *section 104* and section 124
 11 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, are con-
 12 tinued available until ~~(5)~~ ~~June 30, 1957~~ *June 30, 1958,*
 13 for the purposes of sections 103 (a) (3) and 104
 14 ~~(6)~~: *Provided, That none of the funds made available for*
 15 *military assistance under this Act shall be used to furnish*
 16 *military equipment to Yugoslavia except for maintenance of*
 17 *equipment heretofore furnished or to provide spare parts*
 18 *for replacement purposes;*

19 Defense support: For assistance authorized by section
 20 131 (c), for Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey),
 21 ~~(7)~~ ~~\$63,700,000~~ \$71,200,000 ~~(8)~~: *Provided, That at least*
 22 *\$50,000,000 on a grant basis shall be available for Spain,*
 23 *exclusive of inter-regional expenses: Provided further, That*
 24 *not less than one-half of the amount available for Spain*
 25 *shall be used for agricultural commodities; for the Near East,*

1 (including Greece and Turkey) and Africa, ~~(9)\$165,-~~
 2 ~~000,000 \$170,000,000~~; for Asia, ~~(10)\$865,000,000~~ \$882,-
 3 000,000; and for Latin America, ~~(11)\$35,000,000~~ \$52,-
 4 000,000~~(12)~~, of which \$15,000,000 shall remain avail-
 5 able until June 30, 1958 ~~(13)~~, of which not less than
 6 \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala;

7 Development assistance: For assistance authorized by
 8 section 201 ~~(14)(c)~~, for the Near East and Africa in accord-
 9 ance with section 201 ~~(a) (1)~~, \$60,000,000, and for Asia in
 10 accordance with section 201 ~~(a) (2)~~, \$70,000,000 \$293,-
 11 000,000~~(15)~~, to remain available until June 30, 1958;

12 Technical cooperation, general authorization: For assist-
 13 ance authorized by section 304 (b), ~~(16)\$135,000,000~~
 14 \$140,500,000;

15 United Nations expanded program of technical assist-
 16 ance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a),
 17 which shall constitute the total United States contribution
 18 through December 31, 1957, ~~(17)\$10,000,000~~ \$15,500,000
 19 ~~(18)~~: *Provided, That the United States contribution to the*
 20 *1958 calendar year program shall not exceed 33.33 per*
 21 *centum of the United Nations program*;

22 Technical cooperation programs of the Organization of
 23 American States: For contributions authorized by section
 24 306 (b), \$1,500,000;

1 Special Presidential Fund: For assistance authorized by
2 section 401 (b), \$100,000,000;

3 Special assistance in joint control areas in Europe: For
4 assistance authorized by section 403 (b), \$12,200,000;

5 Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration:
6 For contributions authorized by section 405 (a), \$12,500,-
7 000: *Provided*, That no funds appropriated in this Act shall
8 be used to assist directly in the migration to any nation in
9 the Western Hemisphere of any person not having a security
10 clearance based on reasonable standards to insure against
11 Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere;

12 United Nations Refugee Fund: For contributions author-
13 ized by section 405 (c), which shall constitute the total
14 United States contribution through June 30, 1957,
15 ~~(19)\$2,000,000~~ \$1,800,000;

16 Escapee program: For assistance authorized by section
17 405 (d), \$6,000,000;

18 United Nations Children's Fund: For contributions
19 authorized by section 406 (b), which shall constitute the
20 total United States contribution through December 31, 1957,
21 \$10,000,000;

22 United Nations Relief and Works Agency: For con-
23 tributions authorized by section 407 (b), \$45,300,000 of
24 unobligated balances of funds appropriated under this head

1 in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956, are con-
 2 tinued available through June 30, 1957, for the purposes
 3 authorized by section 407;

4 Ocean freight charges, United States voluntary relief
 5 agencies: For payments authorized by section 409 (c),
 6 ~~(20)\$1,400,000~~ \$3,000,000;

7 Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of
 8 the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as
 9 authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000;

10 Administrative expenses: For expenses authorized by
 11 section 411 (b), ~~(21)\$34,145,000~~ \$33,045,000;

12 ~~(22)Special authorization for the Middle East and Africa:~~
 13 ~~For assistance authorized by section 420, \$100,000,000;~~

14 Foreign research reactor projects: For expenses neces-
 15 sary to enable the President to carry out foreign research
 16 reactor projects authorized by section ~~(23)10~~ 12 of the
 17 Mutual Security Act of 1956, \$5,500,000;

18 Funds appropriated under each paragraph of this Act
 19 (other than appropriations under the head of military assist-
 20 ance), including specified amounts of unobligated balances,
 21 and amounts certified pursuant to section 1311 of the Supple-
 22 mental Appropriation Act, 1955, as having been obligated
 23 against appropriations heretofore made for the same general

1 purpose as such paragraph, which amounts are hereby con-
2 tinued available during the fiscal year 1957, may be consoli-
3 dated in one account for each paragraph.

4 **(24)***An amount equal to 25 per centum of the funds appro-*
5 *priated for the fiscal year 1957 for purposes of title I*
6 *(chapter 3), title III, and section 403 of the Mutual Security*
7 *Act of 1954, as amended, shall remain available until Sep-*
8 *tember 30, 1957.*

9 GENERAL PROVISIONS

10 SEC. 102. Payments made from funds appropriated
11 herein for engineering fees and services to any individual
12 engineering firm on any one project in excess of \$25,000
13 shall be reported to the Committees on Appropriations of
14 the Senate and House of Representatives at least twice
15 annually.

16 SEC. 103. Pursuant to section 1415 of the Supple-
17 mental Appropriation Act, 1953, and in addition to other
18 amounts made available pursuant to said section, not to
19 exceed the equivalent of \$2,000,000 of foreign currencies
20 or credits owed to or owned by the United States shall
21 remain available until expended, without reimbursement
22 to the Treasury, for liquidation of obligations incurred against
23 such currencies or credits prior to July 1, 1953, pursuant
24 to authority contained in the Mutual Security Act of 1951,
25 as amended, and Acts for which funds were authorized by

1 that Act and, hereafter, foreign currencies generated under
2 the provisions of this Act shall be utilized only for the
3 purposes for which the funds providing the commodities
4 which generated the currency were appropriated.

5 SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this Act
6 nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result
7 of assistance under this or any other Act shall be used to
8 make payments on account of the principal or interest on
9 any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to
10 such government by any other foreign government; nor
11 shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for
12 which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country
13 to make payment on such debts: *Provided, however, That*
14 *to the extent that funds have been borrowed by any foreign*
15 *government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and*
16 *such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required*
17 *to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section*
18 *142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended,*
19 *such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed*
20 *purpose consistent with the provisions of such Act.*

21 SEC. 105. ~~(25)Not~~ *Except for the appropriation entitled*
22 *"Special Presidential Fund", not more than 20 per centum*
23 *of any appropriation item made available by this Act shall*
24 *be obligated and/or reserved during the last two months of*
25 *the fiscal year.*

1 SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Appro-
2 priation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Congress), is
3 hereby amended by substituting "during the two succeeding
4 fiscal years" for "until June 30, 1958" in the third sentence
5 thereof, and by substituting "under the authority of the
6 Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended" for "in this Act"
7 in the fifth proviso thereof.

8 ~~(26) SEC. 107. None of the funds contained in this Act shall~~
9 ~~be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the~~
10 ~~Mutual Security Act of 1956.~~

11 ~~(27)~~ SEC. 107. *The Congress hereby reiterates its opposition*
12 *to the seating in the United Nations of the Communist China*
13 *regime as the representative of China, and it is hereby de-*
14 *clared to be the continuing sense of the Congress that the*
15 *Communist regime in China has not demonstrated its willing-*
16 *ness to fulfill the obligations contained in the Charter of*
17 *the United Nations and should not be recognized to represent*
18 *China in the United Nations. In the event of the seating*
19 *of representatives of the Chinese Communist regime in the*
20 *Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations,*
21 *the President is requested to inform the Congress insofar*
22 *as is compatible with the requirements of national security,*
23 *of the implications of this action upon the foreign policy of*
24 *the United States and our foreign relationships, including*
25 *that created by membership in the United Nations, together*

1 *with any recommendations which he may have with respect*
2 *to the matter.*

3 SEC. 108. This Act may be cited as the "Mutual Secu-
4 rity Appropriation Act, 1957".

Passed the House of Representatives July 11, 1956.

Attest: RALPH R. ROBERTS,
Clerk.

Passed the Senate with amendments July 24 (legisla-
tive day, July 16), 1956.

Attest: FELTON M. JOHNSTON,
Secretary.

84TH CONGRESS
2d Session

H. R. 12130

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 24, 1956

Ordered to be printed with the amendments of the
Senate numbered



Congressional Record

United States
of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 84th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 102

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JULY 24, 1956

No. 127

Senate

(Legislative day of Monday, July 16, 1956)

The Senate met at 10:30 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, who hath taught us that only in the reach of our love is the richness of our life, may no concern for self nor ill will for others blur the goal of our glorious destiny among the nations as the instrument of Thy providence to free the earth of tyranny. To this end, our God, bless America.

Thou seest in spite of the worst things in us which we despise that in our highest hours our deepest desire is to be the true servants of Thy purpose in these volcanic times of social upheaval. Grant us the grace, O Lord, to cherish and preserve evermore the heritage that is ours through the valor and virtue of those whose record within these very halls has helped make the greatness of our Nation. Inspire us so to follow their shining example that we may not only hold our inheritance as a sacred and precious trust but by our love and labor leave it with increased luster to those who shall come after us. We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the previous day be approved without reading.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Because a quorum was not present when the Senate recessed yesterday under a previous order, the roll will be called for the purpose of developing a quorum.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Capehart	Ellender
Allott	Carlson	Ervin
Anderson	Case, N. J.	Flanders
Barrett	Case, S. Dak.	Frear
Beall	Chavez	Fulbright
Bender	Clements	George
Bennett	Cotton	Goldwater
Bible	Curtis	Gore
Bricker	Dirksen	Green
Bridges	Douglas	Hayden
Bush	Duff	Hennings
Butler	Dworshak	Hickenlooper
Byrd	Eastland	Hill

Holland	Long	Purtell
Hruska	Magnuson	Robertson
Humphrey,	Malone	Russell
Minn.	Mansfield	Saltonstall
Humphreys,	Martin, Iowa	Schoeppel
Ky.	Martin, Pa.	Scott
Ives	McCarthy	Smith, Maine
Jackson	McClellan	Smith, N. J.
Jenner	McNamara	Sparkman
Johnson, Tex.	Millikin	Stennis
Johnston, S. C.	Monroney	Symington
Kefauver	Morse	Thye
Kennedy	Mundt	Welker
Kerr	Murray	Wiley
Knowland	Neely	Williams
Kuchel	Neuberger	Wofford
Laird	O'Mahoney	Young
Langer	Pastore	
Lehman	Payne	

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. PORTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum is present.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, July 23, 1956, was dispensed with.

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Army and Navy League—

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I regret to be compelled to object, but under the unusual conditions which obtain, I must make the point of order that the unanimous-consent agreement is in effect in connection with the Mutual Security Appropriations Act of 1957, and that matters can be entered in the RECORD only by unanimous consent. I shall be glad to discuss the question with the Senator from Pennsylvania and see if there is any objection to having his matter placed in the RECORD.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, and withdrawing the nomination of Charles B. Ring, to be postmaster at Dante, Va., which nominating messages were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

NOTICE OF CONSIDERATION OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. As a Senator, and as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Chair desires to announce that the Senate received today the following nominations:

Henry A. Byroade, of Indiana, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of South Africa, vice Edward T. Wailes;

Edward T. Wailes, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Hungary, vice Christian M. Ravndal;

George V. Allen, of North Carolina, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Greece, vice Cavendish W. Cannon; and

William M. Rountree, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of State, vice George V. Allen.

Notice is given that these nominations will be considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations before adjournment.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills and joint resolutions of the Senate:

S. 1161. An act to abolish the Fossil Cycad National Monument, S. Dak., and for other purposes;

S. 1400. An act to protect the integrity of grade certificates under the United States Grain Standards Act;

S. 2216. An act to amend the act of March 4, 1915 (38 Stat. 1086, 1101; 16 U. S. C. 497);

S. 2887. An act to further protect and assure the privacy of grand or petit juries in the courts of the United States while such juries are deliberating or voting;

S. 3458. An act to grant leaves of absence to homestead entrymen and to permit suspension of cultivation and improvement operations on homestead and desert land entries, and for other purposes.

S. 3556. An act to amend Public Law 551, chapter 616, 83d Congress, 2d session;

S. 3592. An act to provide in certain additional cases for the granting of the status of regular substitute in the postal-field service;

S. 3650. An act for the relief of the town of Freeport, Maine;

S. 3658. An act to amend the act of May 11, 1938 (52 Stat. 347) so as to authorize, by agreement, the subsurface storage of oil or gas in restricted Indian lands, tribal or allotted;

S. 3768. An act to amend section 158 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended, so as to include the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare among the executive departments there listed, and for other purposes;

S. 3779. An act to amend the act of August 27, 1954 (68 Stat. 868), with respect to the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah;

S. 3875. An act to amend section 4 (a) of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, as amended;

S. 3926. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to charge for special services to purchasers of timber from Indian lands;

S. 3968. An act to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Peoria Tribe of Indians in the State of Oklahoma and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes;

S. 3969. An act to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Ottawa Tribe of Indians in the State of Oklahoma and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes;

S. 3970. An act to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes;

S. 3998. An act to provide for the development of the Federal fish hatchery, known as the Holden trout hatchery, at Pittsford, Vt.;

S. 4060. An act to amend section 607 of the Postal Field Service Compensation Act of 1955 to include employees in the Motor Vehicle Service;

S. 4215. An act to amend the act of July 15, 1954, authorizing the sale of certain vessels to Brazil;

S. J. Res. 71. Joint resolution to commend the foundation known as the Memorial to the American Indian Foundation for its project to establish a permanent memorial in honor of the North American Indians;

S. J. Res. 105. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States to designate the period beginning September 17 and ending September 23 of each year as Constitution Week;

S. J. Res. 114. Joint resolution to change the name of Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor to Liberty Island;

S. J. Res. 165. Joint resolution approving the relinquishments of the consular jurisdiction of the United States in Morocco; and

S. J. Res. 183. Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation to enable the United States to extend an invitation to the World Health Organization to hold the 11th World Health Assembly in the United States in 1958.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

H. R. 5256. An act to provide for the redemption by the Post Office Department of certain unsold Federal migratory-bird hunting stamps, and to clarify the requirements with respect to the age of hunters who must possess Federal migratory-bird hunting stamps;

H. R. 5881. An act to supplement the Federal reclamation laws by providing for Federal cooperation in non-Federal projects and for participation by non-Federal agencies in Federal projects; and

H. R. 6243. An act to amend title VII of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to authorize the construction of a nuclear-powered merchant ship for operating in foreign commerce of the United States, and for other purposes.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, the unanimous-consent agreement entered into with relation to the mutual-security appropriations for 1957 relates, at line 10 of the agreement as it was furnished Senators, that with respect to the consideration of the mutual-security appropriations bill—

it shall be in order on Tuesday, July 24, 1956, following the conclusion of morning business—

And so forth. The inquiry I should like to propound to the distinguished occupant of the chair is this:

Is it not required that precedent to the Senate considering the mutual-security appropriations bill there be morning business?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I desire to be heard on that question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is ready to respond to the inquiry of the Senator from Missouri. In view of the fact that the Senate recessed yesterday, morning business is not in order except by unanimous consent.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is it not true that the mutual-security appropriations bill was not considered yesterday, and that, therefore, before amendments to the bill

can be considered today, there must be a morning hour?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will advise that the bill was before the Senate yesterday. How much consideration was given to it, of course, the Chair cannot state.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the RECORD will show that there was virtually no consideration given to the bill yesterday.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the RECORD will show that it was before the Senate yesterday.

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, I have a unanimous-consent request to make.

I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted at this time to submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and it is hereby, discharged from the further consideration of the bill, H. R. 627, to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. President, I ask for immediate consideration of the resolution.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the resolution cannot be considered except by unanimous consent; and I object.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New York will state it.

Mr. LEHMAN. As I understand the ruling of the Chair—and I know the Chair will correct me if my interpretation is not correct—if unanimous consent is required before the Senate can proceed with the morning hour, or with business which is transacted in the morning hour, then, it necessarily follows that no new measure, no new motion, no new procedure can be considered during the remainder of this session if there is a single objection.

Am I correct in that statement?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. What is the Senator's inquiry?

Mr. LEHMAN. The inquiry is whether I am correct in my interpretation of the ruling of the Presiding Officer. As I understand, it has been ruled that no business which ordinarily comes in the morning hour can be taken up and no business can be transacted in the morning hour because it requires unanimous consent. If I am correct in that interpretation, it leads me to believe that in the future, during the remainder of this session, the same procedure can be invoked and one objection will forestall the presentation of any motions, the introduction of any bills, or the transaction of any part of the business of the Senate.

I should like to have a reply from the Presiding Officer as to whether I am correct in my interpretation of the situation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The situation, as the Chair understands, is that since the Senate recessed yesterday, there is no morning hour automatically, and a motion or bill can be presented to the Senate only by unanimous consent.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, do I correctly understand, therefore, that un-

der the ruling, because the Senate is recessed from day to day and not adjourned so as to create a new legislative day, a single objection will prevent the morning hour from being utilized, and, as a result, no new business can be transacted save by unanimous consent?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. A single objection will prevent the introduction of bills and joint resolutions, the submission of concurrent and other resolutions, and reports of committees. That is the only ruling the Chair can make.

Mr. LEHMAN. The net result of that is—and I think we might just as well face the situation now as at any other time—that no business can be transacted during the morning hour except by unanimous consent.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, if the question is to be debated, I should like to speak for a few minutes. I make the point of order that this debate is out of order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has made the only ruling he can make under the rules of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I should like to make a brief statement. It has been the custom each morning for the majority leader to come before the Senate and ask unanimous consent that there be a morning hour for the presentation of petitions and memorials, the introduction of bills, and the transaction of other routine business, subject, usually, to a 2-minute limitation on statements. That has been the practice from the early days of the session up until the last few days.

It is my understanding that it will be in order to move to consider any bill on the calendar—and there are many more bills on the calendar that must be completed before the Senate concludes its deliberations—as soon as the unfinished business shall have been disposed of.

But the ruling of the Chair is that new material cannot be introduced unless there is either a morning hour or unless unanimous consent is given. However, any bill on the calendar can be called up on motion at any time the majority so desires.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, as a parliamentary inquiry, I simply wish to ask if it is not true that the Senate can do almost anything by unanimous consent; but that when the rules of the Senate are invoked it is necessary to follow the rules, and that new matter can be introduced only by unanimous consent. That has been the rule of this body since its first assembly.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the majority leader, through the Chair, whether it is his intention to permit a morning hour to be held today.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Objection to such a request has already been raised. If the Senator from Illinois had been attentive, he would have heard the objection.

Mr. RUSSELL. There will be no morning hour during today's session, because the junior Senator from Georgia will object. A morning hour can be held only by unanimous consent.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, may I inquire of the majority leader, through the Chair, whether it is the intention to have the Senate adjourn tonight, so that there can be a morning hour tomorrow; or is it his intention to have the Senate recess tonight; and in the event of a recess, will he permit a morning hour tomorrow?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. It is the plan of the majority leader to move for a recess, or to ask that the Senate take a recess, when the Senate has concluded action on the Mutual Security Appropriation bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Will the effect of that be to prevent a morning hour?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The effect of that will be to prevent the introduction of bills at the last minute without following the regular procedures of the Senate.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Illinois will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Does it not follow, then, that the only way to have a morning hour tomorrow is to adjourn rather than to recess at the conclusion of the business of the Senate today?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Except by unanimous consent. The rules of the Senate are well established. The Chair has undertaken to study the rules.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Do I understand correctly that the ruling of the Chair is that the only way to have a morning hour hereafter is by having the Senate agree to a motion to adjourn, rather than to agree to a motion to recess?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the event of an adjournment, automatically there would be a morning hour on the following day.

Mr. DOUGLAS. But not if a recess were taken?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Not automatically. A morning hour could then be had only by unanimous consent.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I do not have the floor; but I should be glad to yield to the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may address a question to the majority leader.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from New York may proceed.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in the first place, I wish to ask the distinguished majority leader whether he recalls any time during his entire career in the Senate when there was not a morning hour because of an objection. The Senator from New York does not recall any such instance.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I have not done any research on the question. The majority leader is concerned with orderly procedure. The majority leader never attempts to program proposed legislation which has not been reported by a committee.

The majority leader is confronted with a number of extremely important bills, such as the customs simplification bill,

the Federal pay raise bill, the retirement bill, the social security bill, and any number of other bills, including bills affecting the farmers of the country.

It was hoped that the Senate could act on all those bills and conference reports this week.

The Senate has before it the very important mutual security appropriation bill.

There are some Senators who would, without consulting the majority leader, have their own programs; and they are entitled to have them. If the Senate decides to follow individual Senators instead of following the majority leader or the minority leader, that is perfectly within the right of the Senate. The Senator from Texas will not criticize Senators who seek such a course of action.

But it is the purpose of the Senator from Texas to try to dispose of the very important mutual aid appropriation bill today. Then he hopes to get agreements on the conference report on the customs simplification bill, the conference report on the executive pay bill, the conference report on 2 or 3 farm bills; and, most important, to get an agreement on the conference report on the social security bill.

The Senator from Texas feels that if we are to get into a hassle here, the social security bill may be endangered. As the Senator will remember, the Senate adopted one far-reaching amendment by a vote of 44 to 42. If the conference report should come back to the Senate Chamber—I doubt that it would, under the circumstances, but if it should I am very fearful that the bill would be recommitted, in the light of what is developing from hour to hour in attempts to lay aside the program of the majority leader and the minority leader, and to proceed on a single-shot, hit-or-miss basis.

Every Senator is entitled to operate within his rights, as is the majority leader. The majority leader wants to make it abundantly clear to the Senate that he has cleared his program with the minority leader and with the respective parties concerning certain proposed legislation. He has announced the program to the Senate. He is hopeful that the Senate may be able to conclude the session this weekend. He realizes that it will not be possible to conclude it unless the mutual aid appropriation bill, the social security bill, and some other bills can be passed.

A conference report on an appropriation bill is now at the desk, but it cannot be called up. We shall soon have the supplemental appropriation bill before us for consideration. The military construction bill is to be handled by the junior Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL].

All these bills have been cleared by the leadership on both sides of the aisle. They have been approved by the majority and the minority policy committees.

So far as the majority leader can control the program, the Senator from New York, all other Senators, and the country at large can be assured that he will continue, in an orderly manner, to fol-

low orderly procedures, and not attempt, in the last week of the session, to bring up a measure which has not even been reported by a committee, and thus hold up all the other important measures behind it.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one more question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. The Senator from New York has the greatest admiration for the manner in which the distinguished majority leader has conducted the program.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I thank the Senator from New York. I hope he will follow it.

Mr. LEHMAN. The Senator from New York has followed the Senator from Texas in a great majority of the cases.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I thank the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. But what I am objecting to and I am objecting because I think it is poor, inexcusably poor, legislative practice—is that a Senator is no longer permitted to present, or no longer has the opportunity to present, a motion or a bill—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is not correct.

Mr. LEHMAN. Except merely by unanimous consent. Otherwise, he cannot even bring it before the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. That is not correct. A Senator can make a motion. As soon as the unfinished business shall have been disposed of, the Senator from New York, if he can get recognition, can move to proceed to the consideration of any bill which has been handled in an orderly manner. He cannot reach up and get one out of the sky, and say, "Here is one I have heard of, that no committee has considered or reported."

But the Senator from New York can move to consider any bill on the calendar. The Senate has been in session for more than 6 months. The Senator from New York can move to take up any bill on the calendar and have the Senate proceed to consider it.

Mr. LEHMAN. The Senator from New York cannot move to discharge a committee from further consideration of a bill which has been passed by the House and is now pending before the Senate. He is estopped from doing that.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator is correct when he says that in the last week of this session, with the important bills which are pending, the Senator from Texas is not going to yield to any appeals to disregard the bills which have been reported and are now pending, and the conference reports which are ready for consideration. I am not going to take the responsibility for and have the blood on my hands from the killing of the social-security bill. That is exactly what is going to happen if we continue in this manner.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ROBERTSON. I want emphatically to challenge the statement made by the Senator from New York concerning that he thinks it would be good legislative practice to permit any Senator to bring

up any bill at any time. Having served for 14 years in the House of Representatives, where there are 435 Members, I remind the Senator that no Member of that body can bring up a bill at any time he pleases. It must be done either on a call of the Consent Calendar or on Calendar Wednesday or through the Rules Committee. That is the way the House conducts its business.

I again commend the majority leader for the way he has conducted the business of the Senate. If we follow the procedure he has outlined we shall complete our business; if not, we shall not be able to do so.

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield.

Mr. HENNINGS. I am sure my distinguished friend, the majority leader, will agree we are under no absolute compulsion to adjourn by Saturday night.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. None whatever.

Mr. HENNINGS. I am sure the majority leader will agree we will not impede or interfere with any bills—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. If the Senator from Missouri is asking me a question, I will say we are not under any compulsion to adjourn by Saturday night, although I will say to the Senator I surmise the majority, who have it within their power to do so, would be willing and anxious, and perhaps eager, to conclude their deliberations in advance of the national convention.

Mr. HENNINGS. If I may ask one more question of the distinguished Senator from Texas, who is an expert parliamentarian—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I decline to comment.

Mr. HENNINGS. If the Committee on the Judiciary should be discharged from the further consideration of House bill 627, the bill would take its place on the calendar with the other business, so that it would not impede the consideration of any other bills about which the majority leader seems to be so concerned.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I have been a Member of this body for 8 years. I have served with many Senators. I have disagreed with some of them violently at times. But I have never known, during my 8 years' experience, many Senators who would even advocate discharging a committee from the consideration of a bill which the committee had had for a few hours, and taking the bill away from the agent of the Senate, in an attempt to bring it before the Senate. We have pending legislation, such as the social-security bill, the customs-simplification bill, and 2 or 3 appropriation bills. I have never known the Senate to take such action. It could be that there are some who are so enthusiastic for a cause that they would want to follow that kind of procedure. But it is not the way the Senate I have known has acted. It has not undertaken to discharge committees and consider measures hurriedly on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. HENNINGS. If the Senator from Texas will yield further—and I shall be brief—I ask the Senator whether or not,

if a majority of the committee agreed to place on the calendar a bill which has been passed overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives, and which is a part of the so-called Eisenhower civil-rights program, it would in any way impede the program which the majority leader has outlined this morning?

As the Senator well knows, the subcommittee of which I happen to be chairman, reported last February, four bills which have since remained in the Judiciary Committee, and upon which hearings have been held up until the last 2 or 3 weeks. So it is not a matter of lack of consideration by the Judiciary Committee, I may say to my distinguished friend; it is a matter of getting a measure out of the committee by the only means we have to get it out of the committee.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I do not need to enlighten my friend from Missouri on the question he has raised. He is an experienced and a very astute legislator. He served with dignity and effectiveness in the House of Representatives. He has been a Member of the Senate 6 years. He is familiar with the operations and procedure of this, the greatest deliberative body in the world. I do not think my friend has any thought other than that the bill to which reference has been made would impede legislation. I think he knows it would bring all legislation to a halt, as it always has when it has been brought up in the past.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I demand the regular order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The regular order is the mutual security appropriation bill, which is before the Senate.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, may I make a request?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] is recognized.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, out of order, I ask unanimous consent to submit a resolution in behalf of myself, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], and the Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN], and that the text of the resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD, namely:

That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and it is hereby, discharged from the further consideration of the bill, H. R. 627, to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, pursuant to the notice I have heretofore given, I object, and I shall continue to object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I send to the desk amendments to certain committee amendments and I ask that they be stated.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendments to the amendments will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. It is proposed on page 2 line 16, to strike out "\$71,200,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$64,100,000"; on page 2, line 22, to strike out "\$170,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$153,000,000"; on page 2, line 22, to

strike out "\$882,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$793,800,000"; and on page 3, lines 6 and 7, to strike out "\$293,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$278,700,000."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the unanimous-consent agreement previously entered, the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana to certain committee amendments will be considered en bloc.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator from Louisiana will control 30 minutes, as the proponent of the amendments; and, as the opponent of the amendments, the majority leader, under the unanimous-consent agreement, will control 30 minutes. Is that correct?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair understands that is correct.

The question is on agreeing, en bloc, to the amendments offered by the Senator from Louisiana to certain committee amendments.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ELLENDER. The pending amendments have for their purpose, a reduction of 10 percent on each of the defense support and development assistance items incorporated in the second portion of the mutual-security bill.

If Senators will refer to page 2 of the bill, it will be noted that the Senate provided \$71,200,000 of defense support funds for Europe; \$170 million for Africa; \$882 million for Asia, and \$52 million for Latin America. By my amendments I seek to cut from the first three of those items—that is to say, the defense support appropriations dealing with Europe, the Near East and Africa, and Asia—10 percent of the amounts recommended by the Senate committee. I should like to point out that I have not proposed any reduction in the amount suggested for the defense support program in Latin America.

Mr. President, it will be noted that on page 3 lines 6 and 7 of the bill under the heading "Development assistance," I have suggested that the total for this program be reduced by \$14,300,000. As to this item, it will be noted that the total amount recommended by the Senate committee for development assistance is \$293 million. I am not seeking to cut in any way the \$150 million for the President's fund, which is included in this overall amount. But the difference between the total of \$293 million and the \$150 million provided for the President's fund amounts to \$143 million; and it is from that amount I am seeking to cut 10 percent.

If my amendment is adopted, and the defense support and development assistance programs are cut back as I have suggested, it will mean a saving of \$126,600,000.

Mr. President, there are many reasons why the sum of \$126,600,000 should be cut from the defense support and development assistance programs. First

and foremost is that as of June 30, 1956, we had in the pipeline, for nonmilitary assistance in the various areas in which our aid programs operate, a grand total of \$1,855,847,000. That amount represents funds which previously had been appropriated, but which, as of June 30, 1956, had not been spent. Of that sum, there remains available for expenditure in Europe \$90,900,000; in the Near East and Africa, \$412,400,000; in Asia, \$1,215,250,000; in Latin America, \$60,850,000; and for nonregional purposes \$215,875,000.

Mr. President, ever since the inception of our foreign-aid program, I have pointed out to the Senate, and to the administrators of the program, that we have no sound, well-defined, balanced programs for the respective countries with which we are dealing. Instead, the individual country programs are, in too many cases, simply plunged into and improvised as time goes on; so that we have wound up with a mixture and variety of objectives and projects in each country, most of which would not stand up under the strict rules of the Senate Appropriations Committee if similar projects were being urged for construction within the United States. Why, Mr. President, not even those who came before our committee to justify the programs could tell us what specific projects will be undertaken during the ensuing year. It seems very strange, indeed, that the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Public Works should spend week after week, hearing hundreds of witnesses from all sections of our country compiling a record of 1,989 pages to obtain justification of the projects we included in the fiscal year 1957 public works appropriation bill, and yet our committee held only a few days of hearings on the pending \$4,346,220,000 foreign-aid bill, covering less than 500 pages of printed record, many of which are completely devoid of information, since the security officers deleted almost all of the figures and much of the testimony.

Mr. President, as I have stated on the floor of the Senate on quite a few occasions, in the case of many of the projects which have been started, if economic justification had been required by the Senate at the time the appropriation was requested, the Senate undoubtedly would have turned them down. I shall not go into detail this morning, because of the limitation on debate which now prevails, but in the past I have cited many instances of that sort. As one example—in Saigon, Vietnam, our Government purchased three hydraulic dredges, at tremendous cost, with the understanding that the dredges would be owned and operated by the host government. The original agreement called for operation by the host government at its own expense, because of the fact that the facilities were to be used for recovering and rebuilding lands belonging to private individuals. But, Mr. President, what is happening in Vietnam today? Not only have we furnished the hydraulic dredges, at no cost to the local government, but we are supplying the oil with which to operate them and we are providing the funds with which to pay the labor to op-

erate the dredges. In other words, while we started out to provide only the tools with which to do the job, we are now picking up the entire check.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The 10 minutes yielded by the Senator from Louisiana to himself have expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 additional minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized for 5 additional minutes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as I was saying, in the case of the hydraulic dredges in Vietnam to which I have referred, not only are we providing the dredges, but we are providing the oil with which to operate them and we are supplying the funds to pay the workmen who operate the dredges—and with no hope, in my humble judgment, of ever recouping a dime from the private individuals whose land is being greatly enhanced in value. That is merely one example of the many unsound and completely unjustified projects being conducted and operated at the behest of the host government, through a contract with our own Government, without, in my humble judgment, any hope of carrying out the agreement as originally entered into by the host government and by our representatives abroad.

Mr. President, we shall soon have before us a conference report on a bill which seeks to amend Public Law 480 of the 83d Congress, by increasing the amount of surplus commodities that can be purchased or given away to our friends across the seas. Public Law 480, as we all know it, provides for the disposition of \$1.5 billion of surplus agricultural goods. Under title I of the act, we sell or barter surplus agricultural commodities to foreign countries, accepting in payment therefor an equivalent amount in local currency of the purchasing country. I should like to indicate to Senators how the major portion of the \$1,041,900,000 of foreign currencies that have been realized under title I of Public Law 480 has been utilized up to date. Remember that the foreign currencies generated under title I of Public Law 480 are in addition to the appropriations for foreign aid we are discussing in connection with the pending bill. Let us bear in mind that if the Congress should approve the conference report on amendments to Public Law 480 which will be before it shortly, it will mean that the President of the United States will have available up to \$1.5 billion in addition to the sum which we are now appropriating. In other words, by fully utilizing title I of Public Law 480, we could acquire up to \$1½ billion in equivalent foreign currency for use as designated in Public Law 480.

As I pointed out previously, we have already sold, under the provisions of title I of Public Law 480, a total of \$1,041,900,000 of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies. How has this billion dollars of foreign exchange been used?

For economic development, in the purchasing countries, by way of loans, \$508.6 million; for purchase of goods for other countries, \$22 million; for military procurement—the same program for which

the Senate on last Friday voted \$2.3 billions of new appropriations—\$165.9 million. I remind Senators that this \$165.9 million in foreign currency is over and above the dollars we appropriated in last year's bill for military aid.

The figures I have just given cover the entire program up to June 30, 1956.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield myself 5 more minutes.

As I have just pointed out aside from the huge amounts we have provided under the Marshall plan, UNRRA, lend-lease, and the so-called mutual security program, we have made available millions of dollars in foreign currency proceeds from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480 for the purchase of goods from other countries for our friends abroad, for military procurement, and for economic development loans. Let me demonstrate to the Senate how emphasis is being placed on the utilization of these foreign currency funds, guaranteed under Public Law 480, for the same purposes as are contemplated with respect to the defense support and the development assistance funds. For the 1956 fiscal year—that is, from July 1, 1955, through June 30, 1956—a total of \$681 million of surplus agricultural products was sold to foreign governments under title I of Public Law 480. During this period military procurement, in addition to the amount of the mutual-security appropriations furnished in fiscal year 1956, amounted to \$107.2 million while loans for economic development to the countries for which we are now providing funds, aggregated \$355.6 million.

As I have stated, these amounts were in addition to the sums we appropriated for fiscal year 1956 under the mutual-security program. When the Senate votes for the conference report on the bill which seeks to increase the \$1.5 billion authorization under Public Law 480 to \$3 billion, it will mean that the President of the United States can have, in addition to the funds we are now providing, \$1.5 billion for foreign currency funds which he can use for the same identical purposes, as the money provided in this bill. In other words, we have a double-barreled economic aid program.

The amount which I am seeking to cut from the bill today is very small. It is only 10 percent of the cash which we are providing for economic aid, exclusive of the so-called regional funds. The President could use surplus agricultural commodities in order to replace the 10 percent that will be cut from the bill should my amendment pass.

My amendment need not in any way curtail the economic aid program. On the contrary, if the President of the United States should utilize—as he has the power to do—the additional Public Law 480 funds which will be authorized he could have at his disposal \$1.5 billion of foreign currencies, much of which could be used by the President of the United States to develop friendly foreign countries.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The additional 5 minutes of the Senator from Louisiana have expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, how much time have I left?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator has 10 minutes.

Mr. ELLENDER. I will take 5 more minutes.

Mr. President, as I have previously pointed out to the Senate, the expenditures of billions of dollars which we have made abroad have brought to the countries of western Europe a second industrial revolution—one which has brought them to the point where their industrial economy is producing at the rate of 164 percent of prewar on an average. Yet, notwithstanding that fact, those countries are in line to receive more economic aid. Make no mistake about it—they have some aid in the pipeline. I cannot recite the figures for each country, because the document containing them has been classified. However, I can tell the Senate that the amount now in the pipeline for Europe—which is well able to take care of itself—and the amount we are now authorizing, in order to assist our friends in western Europe, is more than 20 times greater than the little, small, insignificant cut of \$127 million dollars that I am talking about.

Mr. President, not only have these countries developed industrially, to a record high, but, as I pointed out, their agricultural development has increased to the point where they are reaping more bountiful harvests now than they have ever in the past. This is due almost entirely to the fact that we have been spending billions of dollars of American taxpayers' money in order to assist them. As I have stated on many occasions, I voted for the Marshall plan. I thought it was an excellent thing to do in order to put our friends on their feet, so that if the worst came, they could assist us.

However, now that they have advanced industrially and agriculturally to unprecedented heights, we are still being asked not only to assist them, but also to carry the whole load in other troubled areas of the world. There is not one dime—believe me when I say it—being spent by our Western European allies in order to assist the underprivileged peoples of Asia and the underprivileged peoples of the Near East.

Only the host countries, the countries we are assisting, are contributing. And much of their contributions is derived from counterpart funds. So far as any assistance is concerned from those of our allies in Europe who should be and actually are well able to help because of our bettering their economic life, when we go to them to ask for assistance, and knock on their door, there is nobody home. We have to carry not only, as I said, the entire worldwide military program, but also the economic aid program.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. I shall reserve 5 minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 15 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, sometimes we become the victims of semantics and terminology. Long ago there were set up such categories of aid as military assistance, defense support, direct forces support, development assistance, and so forth. Had it been given to me to do, I believe I would have divided the aid program into two broad categories. One would have been economic assistance, and the other military assistance.

I make that point because what the distinguished Senator from Louisiana proposes to do in the series of amendments which are now pending and which are being considered en bloc, is to cut 3 items of defense support and 1 item of development assistance. That means that his amendments would cut defense support, which, in my judgment, is directly related to the whole military assistance program. He would cut roughly \$12 million from the appropriations in four categories. One is defense support for Europe, another is defense support for the Near East and Greece and Turkey, the third is defense support for Asia, and the fourth development assistance.

With respect to defense support for Europe, the President requested \$78,700,000. The authorization bill cut that amount by seven and a half million dollars. The House cut it by another seven and a half million dollars. The figure which came to the Senate committee was \$15 million under the President's request. The Senate committee put back half of that, or seven and a half million dollars.

What are the facts involved with respect to defense support for Europe? Only two countries are involved. One is Spain and the other is Yugoslavia.

The Committee on Appropriations recommended \$50 million for Spain, with at least half of it to be used for surplus commodities. The appropriation recommended by the committee is below the President's request so far as Yugoslavia is concerned.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am unable to yield at this time.

Mr. ELLENDER. I know that the Senator does not want to make a misstatement.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I believe I am right in what I said.

Mr. ELLENDER. I know the Senator is wrong.

Mr. DIRKSEN. There would be left for Yugoslavia a maximum of \$21,200,000 of an original request for \$30 million. That amount would go for machinery and raw materials and fuel. In the original request there was an item of \$20 million for cotton and for wheat. So it would be for surpluses.

If we cut defense support, we cut military assistance, because these impoverished countries have difficulty in carrying on a consistent military program over and above their economic base unless we also give them some defense support.

The Senator from Louisiana proposes to cut defense support for Europe, meaning these two countries, by 10 percent.

Then he proposes to cut defense support for the Near East and Greece and Africa. The original request was for \$170 million. Evidently the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs were persuaded, because in the authorization bill they honored the entire request.

The House cut the appropriation, but the Senate restored it to \$170 million. Therefore the item which appears in the bill is the same item that came from the committee and the same amount which was authorized.

What are the facts about cutting defense support for the Near East and for Greece and Turkey? First, they are friendly countries. They have been in our corner and they are in a very feverish area. Let us take them one at a time.

Greece is a member of NATO. She is a member of the Balkan Pact. There is a pact among Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Greece. Are we to impair the pact and its effectiveness by reducing the defense support for an impoverished country like Greece? We get along very well with her. The present Government of Greece has been more than cooperative and favorable to the Western countries and to the United States. It has given us facilities rights in Greece. In addition to all that, the \$25 million of the original authorization for Greece was earmarked for surplus commodities. We have given to Greece or will give to Greece a very substantial amount of military assistance. But how can we make military assistance effective unless some defense support is provided, so that the economy of a small rural country can sustain the military forces which are a part of NATO, a part of the Balkan Pact, and a part of the free world defense line?

I have grave doubts whether that little country could hang on without the support provided in this bill. And that goes for defense support as well as for military assistance.

The amendments of the Senator from Louisiana would also have an impact against defense support for Turkey. Our military aid for Turkey will be very substantial. We have taken pride in the fact, and the Turkish Government and people have taken pride in the fact, that they have stood in our corner. They are valliant fighting people. They sent a contingent to Korea when other nations failed to do so. Along with everything else, Mr. President, Turkey is a vital part of the so-called Baghdad Pact. We have some bases in Turkey. Turkey has a very difficult economic situation. The fevers of inflation are raging in Turkey at the present time. Shall we now undertake to cut in the very appropriation that is needed in order to sustain the economy of Turkey so that her military forces can be kept intact and made effective as a part of the entire free world?

Those are the items in the pending bill which the distinguished Senator from Louisiana proposes to cut.

Mr. President, let me allude to the defense support item for Asia. It is by far one the largest items in the entire bill. It includes Korea, Cambodia, Laos, the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam.

All those countries are key countries in our Pacific bastion. The bulk of the assistance would go to Vietnam and to Korea. Those countries must be sustained economically if they are going to support forces that are in being.

Probably, I am not at liberty to use figures as to the number of effective troops that are on duty in Korea at the present time, or the number on duty in Vietnam. But I took a look at those countries, Mr. President, not only in 1953, but in 1955, and I know the poverty which prevails there. I know the heroic efforts they are making to hold the line of the free world at the 38th parallel in Korea and at the 17th parallel in Indochina, now referred to as South Vietnam. I think they have done a splendid job. To adopt the amendments offered by the distinguished Senator from Louisiana would, if adopted, impair the military effectiveness of those countries. I have followed through on the defense support items, and I believe they are an integral part of the whole military assistance program.

In addition to cutting defense support for Asia, the Near East, Greece, Turkey, and Europe, the Senator from Louisiana proposes also to cut the development assistance items. Those items, as is known, have been consolidated, except for the President's special fund of \$100 million. It is proposed to cut that consolidated amount from \$293 million to \$278.7 million.

What is the purpose of the consolidated fund? It is to carry on development assistance in the Near East and Africa, in Egypt, in Israel, in Jordan, in India, in Ceylon, and in Indonesia. Then, of course, there is the Middle East contingent fund. In the Middle East we are confronted today with a Soviet chatel.

Notwithstanding the fact that there are funds in the pipeline, so to speak, notwithstanding that there are carry-over funds, this has been a pretty good investment. I might even concede what the Senator from Louisiana says about certain benefits going to private individuals, but I still maintain that this has been a good investment on the part of the United States and has definitely paid off.

I listened with interest to the items the Senator mentioned a moment ago and which he raised in the committee in connection with certain dredging work being done, where some of the spoils were being put on private lands.

Mr. President, I am thinking of a program which is getting underway now for the little country of Cambodia, for the purpose of building a roadway to give them access to the Gulf of Siam. As things stand today, Cambodia has no water outlet unless it traverses the territory of Vietnam.

I should not be a bit surprised, since a long time ago I was a contractor myself, if the riparian or abutting lands should certainly receive some of the benefits. Such lands would be raised above the level of the swampy area. The land could be tilled and cultivated, and I have no doubt that their value would be somewhat enhanced. But would that

be any reason for opposing that kind of a project?

So, even conceding the criticisms which have been made by the very distinguished Senator from Louisiana, to whom I pay a testimony now for his constancy, and for the fidelity of his work, the project is a good one.

I doubt whether the Senator from Louisiana missed a single hearing on any facet of the pending appropriation bill. I tried to be equally loyal in my attendance on the committee. So, between us, I think we heard most of the testimony. We are, however, in sharp disagreement on this question, as we were with respect to the cuts which he proposed in the military program.

Three of his proposed amendments go to defense support, which sustains the military effort, and the fourth amendment goes to the consolidated items of development assistance.

Mr. President, I sincerely hope that the Senate will not now embrace the amendments of my distinguished friend from Louisiana, because I think they would weaken the program and weaken the hands of the President. I hope, therefore, that by a resounding vote, the amendments will be rejected.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL].

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I hope the amendments offered by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] will be defeated. I have the same feeling toward the Senator from Louisiana, as that expressed by my colleague from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN]. The Senator from Louisiana is a faithful attendant at hearings. He goes into subjects very full, and I appreciate his opinions, but I differ with him as to what he is trying to accomplish at this time.

His first amendment would reduce the defense support for Europe by \$70,175,000. The second amendment would reduce support to Greece and Turkey by \$17 million. The third amendment would reduce the far eastern defense support by \$38.2 million. His fourth amendment would reduce development assistance to India by \$14.3 million.

We have found that the defense support item is a very important one to various countries with whom we are associated in NATO. Much of the money goes for military defense. They need development assistance and defense support in order to carry on their economic life. When we think what Spain, which is receiving \$50 million of the aid to Europe, is doing for us now by way of bases and supports, it can readily be appreciated how very important defense support is.

The Yugoslavian program will be discussed later with the military.

So far as the Near East is concerned, the countries affected are Turkey, Greece, and Iran. While the figures, broken down, are secret, it can be said that the aid will go to those three countries. Most of it will go to Turkey.

When we consider what Turkey is doing today, and how much confidence we have in the Turkish military, we should think very carefully before we reduce any aid to Turkey.

Moving into Asia, in the Far East, the countries most concerned are Korea, Vietnam, and Formosa or Taiwan. We should think very carefully of what those three countries are doing. To them there should be added the Philippines and Laos. We are aiding all those countries in a military way; but because of their economic position, as we all know, particularly that of the new countries of Vietnam and Korea, defense support is as vitally important as the military aid.

Taking up the fourth amendment, which relates to development assistance, I am informed that 25 percent of that involves our agricultural surplus products. The Senator from Louisiana would cut the amount by \$6,300,000, mostly from Israel, and some from Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon.

In the Far East we are helping, through the development assistance program, to better the lives of the people, particularly by the use of American surplus agricultural products.

Lastly, the military assistance program is most important, when we consider the overall problem, especially in relation to military aid in the NATO countries and the independent countries of the freedom-loving people in the Far East.

I know that the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana are offered in good faith and are not so far-reaching as the amendments offered by him previously, but I hope, Mr. President, they will not be agreed to.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I wish to add a word to the very able presentation made by my colleagues. As has been stated, 3 of the 4 amendments of the Senator from Louisiana relate to defense support for Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East. This defense support includes aid for Greece and Turkey, whose freedom means so much to the United States. It also includes aid for Iran, a country of great turmoil which is very important to us from the standpoint of its economic resources, especially oil.

In addition, we are providing defense support for Asia, an area of the world which is very close to my heart, because I have been there so many times and have seen the problems in those countries which are trying, to use a slang expression, to "play ball" with us and to stay with the Western Powers.

We must remember that Korea is to get \$300 million for the benefit of the wonderful ROK Army, which is all that keeps South Korea and, perhaps, Japan, from being taken over by the Chinese and North Korean Communists. We cannot very well reduce our Korean support. We have a program of rehabilitation for Korea which must be followed through.

As the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] has said, we face problems in Formosa, where we are trying to sustain a model which will be an example to the rest of China, so far as economic development is concerned. That support is a part of the development of moral values in case trouble

should occur. We shall have friends in China.

Difficult problems confront us in Vietnam, which is an ally, and where there is danger at any time of a raid from the north.

Other problems confront us in Pakistan, Laos, and Cambodia.

We also owe loyalty to the Philippines.

I wish to emphasize a matter which I think cannot be overemphasized, namely, the importance of development assistance, aid to the so-called underdeveloped countries, which is outside the realm of either military aid or defense support. These areas of the world, which are being newly developed, need to have flexibility, and we should be able to help the underdeveloped countries in their yearnings to be free, independent, and self-sustaining.

Development assistance is what I have called, in my previous remarks on the subject, the positive side of our foreign-aid program. The defensive side is military and defense support. But when we come to the positive side, we should consider what it is possible for us to do to help peoples who are seeking freedom, independence, and self-determination. If the amount in the bill is reduced, we shall be very severely limiting our resources in this field. My figures show that already these programs have been cut by 14 percent of the original administration's budget request. The amount which would be left to be appropriated after the proposed cut would be 19 percent less than the original budget request.

It seems as though we are not quite thinking through the significance of the nonmilitary aspect of the program, the uplifting and assisting of countries which are seeking freedom from exploitation from outside control and freedom from colonialism; countries which are struggling to get on their feet and achieve independence and self-determination. They are looking to us for technical and economic assistance to help them in their struggle for a democratic form of government in order to achieve those objectives which we believe mean most to the peace of the world.

I sincerely hope the amendments will be rejected. I say this with great respect for the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], because I feel he is a valuable and splendid watchdog of governmental expenditures. I commend him for making his fights on the floor. However, I regret that I cannot agree with him on these particular amendments, because I feel it is very important that we preserve what we have accomplished, especially in the nonmilitary area.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, how much time remains in opposition to the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seven minutes remain to the opposition.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, its reading clerk, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills and joint resolution of the Senate:

S. 1873. An act to increase the minimum postal savings deposit, and for other purposes;

S. 2634. An act relating to the transportation of mail by highway post office service, and for other purposes;

S. 3616. An act to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide increases in benefits and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 186. Joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for expenses of the Pan American games to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1959.

The message also announced that the House had insisted upon its amendment to the bill (S. 1637) to extend the time limit within which awards of certain military and naval decorations may be made, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. KILDAY, Mr. DURHAM, and Mr. SHORT were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, severally with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 65. An act to amend section 1 (d) of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended;

S. 2569. An act to provide certain basic authority for the Department of State;

S. 3116. An act to provide for the promotion and strengthening of international relations through cultural and athletic exchanges and participation in international fairs and festivals;

S. 3318. An act authorizing the Administrator of General Services to convey certain property which has been declared surplus to the needs of the United States to the city of Roseburg, Oreg;

S. 3467. An act to authorize the conveyance of tribal lands from the Shoshone Indian Tribe and the Arapahoe Indian Tribe of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming to the United States; and

S. 3927. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey to Indian tribes certain federally owned buildings, improvements, or facilities on tribal lands or on lands reserved for Indian administration.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, severally with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 912. An act to amend the act of April 23, 1930, relating to a uniform retirement date for authorized retirements of Federal personnel, and the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended;

S. 2060. An act to amend the act of March 3, 1901, (31 Stat. 1449) as amended, to incorporate in the Organic Act of the National Bureau of Standards the authority to use the Working Capital Fund, and to permit certain improvements in fiscal practices;

S. 3195. An act to authorize the Administrator of General Services to convey certain lands in the State of Rhode Island to the town of North Kingstown, R. I.;

S. 3259. An act to amend the act to promote the education of the blind, approved March 3, 1879, as amended, so as to authorize wider distribution of books and other special instructional material for the blind, to increase the appropriations authorized for this purpose, and for other purposes;

S. 3391. An act to provide for the regulation of the interstate transportation of migrant farm workers;

S. 3430. An act to amend title III of the Public Health Service Act, and for other purposes;

S. 3481. An act to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, and for other purposes;

S. 3879. An act to supplement the anti-trust laws of the United States, in order to balance the power now heavily weighted in favor of automobile manufacturers, by enabling franchise automobile dealers to bring suit in the district courts of the United States to recover compensatory damages sustained by reason of the failure of automobile manufacturers to act in good faith in complying with the terms of franchises or in terminating or not renewing franchises with their dealers; and

S. 3958. An act to improve the health of the people by assisting in increasing the number of adequately trained professional and practical nurses and professional public health personnel, assisting in the development of improved methods of care and treatment in the field of mental health, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 6243) authorizing the construction of a nuclear-powered merchant ship to promote the peacetime application of atomic energy, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 9260) to amend title III of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 800. An act to amend section 1201 of title 18 of the United States Code to authorize the Federal Bureau of Investigation to initiate investigation of any kidnaping in which the victim has not been released within 24 hours after his seizure;

H. R. 4847. An act to prevent discrimination against fiscal year taxpayers with respect to depletion allowance;

H. R. 6586. An act to amend section 7 of the War Claims Act of 1948, with respect to claims of certain religious organizations functioning in the Philippine Islands;

H. R. 7181. An act to provide for the designation of Mikveh Israel Cemetery, in Philadelphia, Pa., as a unit of the Independence National Historical Park;

H. R. 7728. An act to provide that the Department of the Navy shall not be required to reimburse the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the transfer of certain real property at Columbus, Ohio;

H. R. 9874. An act to authorize Canadian vessels to be employed in the coastwise transportation of coal to Ogdensburg, N. Y.;

H. R. 10252. An act to amend the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands;

H. R. 10332. An act to preserve the Key deer and other wildlife resources in the Florida Keys by the establishment of a National Key Deer Refuge in the State of Florida;

H. R. 10477. An act to prohibit the payment of pensions to persons confined in penal institutions for periods longer than 60 days;

H. R. 10478. An act to amend section 21 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, to provide for the disposition of certain benefits which are unpaid at the death of the intended beneficiary;

H. R. 11911. An act to authorize negotiations with respect to a compact to provide for a definition or relocation of the common

boundary between Arizona and California, and for the appointment by the President of a Federal representative to the compact negotiations;

H. R. 11197. An act to provide for the retention in public ownership of certain lands around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir, Florida and Georgia, being administered by the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission;

H. R. 11571. An act to incorporate the Boys' Clubs of America;

H. R. 11833. An act to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide for a Great Plains conservation program;

H. R. 12027. An act to authorize the city of Rock Hill, S. C., to acquire certain tribal lands on the Catawba Indian Reservation, S. C.;

H. R. 12144. An act to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended;

H. J. Res. 576. Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to establish a commission for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton," approved August 20, 1954; and

H. J. Res. 676. Joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain warbuilt vessels.

HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED OR PLACED ON CALENDAR

The following bills and joint resolution were severally read twice by their titles and referred or placed on the calendar, as indicated:

H. R. 800. An act to amend section 1201 of title 18 of the United States Code to authorize the Federal Bureau of Investigation to initiate investigation of any kidnaping in which the victim has not been released within 24 hours after his seizure;

H. R. 6586. An act to amend section 7 of the War Claims Act of 1948, with respect to claims of certain religious organizations functioning in the Philippine Islands;

H. R. 11911. An act to authorize negotiations with respect to a compact to provide for a definition or relocation of the common boundary between Arizona and California, and for the appointment by the President of a Federal representative to the compact negotiations;

H. R. 12144. An act to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, as amended; and

H. J. Res. 576. Joint resolution to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to establish a commission for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton," approved August 20, 1954; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 4847. An act to prevent discrimination against fiscal year taxpayers with respect to depletion allowance;

H. R. 10477. An act to prohibit the payment of pensions to persons confined in penal institutions for periods longer than 60 days; and

H. R. 10478. An act to amend section 21 of the World War Veterans' Act, 1924, to provide for the disposition of certain benefits which are unpaid at the death of the intended beneficiary; to the Committee on Finance.

H. R. 7181. An act to provide for the designation of Mikveh Cemetery, in Philadelphia, Pa., as a unit of the Independence National Historical Park;

H. R. 10252. An act to amend the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands;

H. R. 12027. An act to authorize the city of Rock Hill, S. C., to acquire certain tribal lands on the Catawba Indian Reservation,

S. C.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 7728. An act to provide that the Department of the Navy shall not be required to reimburse the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the transfer of certain real property at Columbus, Ohio; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H. R. 9874. An act to authorize Canadian vessels to be employed in the coastwise transportation of coal to Ogdensburg, N. Y.; placed on the calendar.

H. R. 10332. An act to preserve the Key deer and other wildlife resources in the Florida Keys by the establishment of a National Key Deer Refuge in the State of Florida; and

H. R. 11197. An act to provide for the retention in public ownership of certain lands around the Jim Woodruff Reservoir, Fla. and Ga., being administered by the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 11833. An act to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide for a Great Plains conservation program; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes, or as much thereof as I may need.

I also pay my tribute to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], because he has been a diligent member of the Committee on Appropriations. I have been privileged to serve with him on that committee for a great many years. He is chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Functions for the Department of Defense. I happen to be the ranking Republican member of that subcommittee. From time to time the Senator from Louisiana and I have alternated as chairman of the subcommittee. But we have been able to work together in bipartisan cooperation for the good of the great public-works projects of the Nation.

I must respectfully differ with the distinguished Senator from Louisiana in regard to his amendments. I hope they will be rejected by the Senate.

It so happens that, in particular, the defense-support amendment of the Senator from Louisiana strikes at some of our major allies, the ones who have stood up and have been counted when the going was very rough. They include the little Republic of Korea, which, during the Korean war, supplied more than 500,000 troops, or approximately the equivalent of the number the United States had in Korea at the time. Korea suffered very heavily in casualties inflicted upon both the military and civilian population.

The reductions proposed by the amendments would strike very heavily at the Republic of China on Formosa, a country which is also on the frontline in the Far East.

I pointed out the other evening—and I reiterate my statement today—that actually in Korea there is not peace in

any real sense of the word; there is in operation only a cease-fire agreement. At the present time, across the narrow cease-fire line, it is estimated that there are some 800,000 North Korean Communists and Chinese Communists. They are there in violation of the terms of the Korean armistice. At the time of the signing of the armistice, there was not a single usable airfield in North Korea. The North Koreans have now built a large number of fields and, contrary to the armistice, have brought jet planes to be operated from those fields. They have brought in a great deal of military equipment, according to all the information available to our own command and the United Nations command in Korea.

While at the present time there is only occasional firing across the Formosa channel from the mainland to the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, nevertheless it goes on, and hardly a week passes when we do not read of some activity by the Communists in that area of the world. Within the past few days there was aerial activity over the island of Formosa, in which four Communist planes were shot down by planes of the Republic of China.

We know, as a result of reports from that area, that along the line from Shanghai to Canton the Communists have built up, for whatever purpose they may desire to use them, a whole series of advance airstrips. It is true that up to the present time they have not moved to those fields great numbers of airplanes, but the fields are there. They are forward bases. Planes could be moved to them overnight and be in a position to strike against the Island of Formosa or the offshore islands.

As the distinguished Senators from Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Illinois have pointed out, in Southeast Asia we have some friends who are associated with us in the Southeast Asian Pact. They include the Republic of the Philippines, with whom we have had long and close relationships over the years, under the able leadership of President Magsaysay.

We have in Thailand a stout nation, which, during the Korean conflict, was the only nation on the continent of Asia, as distinguished from island nations such as the Republic of the Philippines, which sent forces to resist Communist aggression in Korea. They would be adversely affected by the amendments offered by the Senator from Louisiana.

In Vietnam there is a new republic under the leadership of President Diem. President Diem has had a most difficult problem. He took over a country which was divided as a result of the Geneva armistice. When the French left, they did not, as the United States did in the case of the Philippines and as the British did in the case of India and Pakistan, leave a trained civil force. So, in addition to facing the forces of Ho Chi Minh, he was faced with the problem of building up the whole civilian structure. He has made material progress in the intervening months. Recently, the people of Vietnam, by election, set in motion a constitutional assembly and the orderly operation of a constitutional government.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from California has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield to myself 1 additional minute.

Furthermore, as we consider countries across the world, the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana would adversely affect Pakistan, which is the anchor of the Baghdad Pact, and the northern tier of states facing the Soviet Union.

The United States has had no stouter ally than Turkey, which sent to Korea, during the operations there, the largest contingent of forces, outside those of the United States and of Southern Korea, of any individual country.

I include in our consideration the country of Iran, whose Shah has recently been to the Soviet Union. Despite the pleadings, and perhaps the veiled intimations of dire consequences if she did not denounce the Baghdad Pact and his association with this country and the free world, he made it very clear that the pact was purely defensive in character, and that he did not intend to leave his country at the mercy of possible aggression.

The countries I have named would be harmed by the adoption of the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from California has again expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield myself the remaining time, one-half minute.

In those countries we support military establishments larger than their own economies could support. I submit that if those forces were not in being, instead of permitting the United States to maintain our Armed Forces on a reduced scale, we would be compelled to maintain larger forces.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. THYE. Time will not permit me to make a statement. Therefore I should like to associate myself with the distinguished minority leader and other Senators on this side of the aisle who have spoken in opposition to the amendments of the Senator from Louisiana. I think it would be a mistake to agree to the amendments.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. All time in opposition to the amendments has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. MONRONEY], and then I shall yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER].

MR. STASSEN'S SUPPORT OF GOVERNOR HERTER AS REPUBLICAN VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I was much interested in the declaration yesterday by Harold Stassen of his support for Gov. Chris Herter, of Massachusetts to be the Republican candidate for Vice President.

Today it appears that Mr. Stassen, the Republican Administrator for Peace and Disarmament, will have lots of homework

on peace and disarmament cut out for himself.

This exercise of freedom of speech and freedom of choice of elected officials apparently does not extend to the President's official family.

Scarcely had Governor Stassen's word of support for Governor Herter hit the newswires before "President" Hagerty issued a ukase for President Eisenhower to the extent that Governor Stassen "could not make such a statement as a member of the President's official family."

This was apparently done without even consulting "President" Adams regarding the declaration of internal war upon the Administrator for Peace and Disarmament.

President Eisenhower, according to the morning TV broadcast, backed up his loyal palace guard, however, in pantomime, on his arrival here by plane from Panama early this morning.

Peace and Disarmament Administrator Stassen got just a short, quick, and jerky handshake, according to the TV, while Vice President Nixon, clearly in favor with President Eisenhower, got several minutes of private personal conversation.

Is it not wonderful to have such a team and such an Executive that words are not longer necessary from the Chief—but we do it now in gestures, and thus the favor of the Chief and/or the disfavor of the Administrator for Peace and Disarmament can be conveyed to the loyal subjects, and maybe, sometime in the distant future, by the President himself to the press.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MONRONEY. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. What would the Senator from Oklahoma say about prospects for peace and disarmament inside the Republican Party?

Mr. MONRONEY. I think it is a full-time job and will require more than a 40-hour week.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Louisiana on the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. I may need more time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I shall yield the Senator whatever time he needs. I have yielded him 5 minutes. If he needs more time, I shall yield him additional time.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, of course, I appreciate very much the compliments paid me by the distinguished Senator from California and the distinguished Senator from Illinois. I return those compliments, for I think highly of both of these distinguished gentlemen, but I would feel even more affection for them if they could see this question my way. They have been in the Appropria-

tions Committee. They have heard the testimony of our ambitious planners.

Mr. President, I say my amendments would in no way affect this program except to reduce the amount of money which we are being asked to appropriate for economic aid. But the important thing is that these reductions need not affect the program. As I have already pointed out, within the next 2 or 3 days we shall be called upon to provide an additional authorization of \$1½ billion to sell our surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480, the so-called Surplus Disposal Act. This program has worked very well, particularly this year, in providing extra doses of economic aid—the so-called defense support, as it is labeled in the mutual-security program. Incidentally, Mr. President, let us not be misled by the term "defense support," because "defense support" is simply and solely a fancy name for economic aid. That is all it means. It does not mean that ammunition, weapons or any similar items, such as oil, gasoline, and so on is made available to recipient nations, defense support is economic aid of the same variety as poured into Europe under the Marshall plan. It is only another name for economic aid; that is all it is.

Let me say in passing that I understand that my good friend, the Senator from California is going to submit an amendment to take away from Yugoslavia the amount which it would receive under the bill as it now stands. My amendment would cut only a measly 10 percent from the amount which Yugoslavia would get under the bill, in economic aid.

Let us consider again the surplus-disposal program under Public Law 480 to which I alluded a moment ago. During the 1956 fiscal year, Yugoslavia got by and under Public Law 480 a total of \$51 million in military aid. She got also \$9 million in economic aid, that is, out of money paid us for surplus commodities, and then loaned back to Yugoslavia on liberal terms. In addition, she received under the Mutual Security Act, substantial amounts for military aid, plus additional grant assistance for defense support. The same has been true of other nations. For example, no one has stated as I tried to do, in correcting my good friend, the Senator from Illinois—that we still have in the pipeline for Western Europe and countries other than Spain and Yugoslavia \$100 million in unexpended funds—money that is left over from earlier appropriations and which is earmarked for France, Britain, Norway and other nations of that area. It is there; and, as I said last week, until it is actually used, it can be transferred to other areas which may need it more.

It is my proposal that we cut 10 percent from the funds in this bill for economic aid. If extra money is needed for Spain or Turkey or other deserving countries, it can be obtained in two ways—first, by transferring unexpended balances from France and other healthy West European countries to needy areas, or by using Public Law 480, by selling surplus commodities abroad and then lending the proceeds, or large portions thereof, to these countries. There is no

reason why this could not be done, thus saving our taxpayers money.

Of course, our eager planners say they want dollars. They say that some of these countries cannot use surplus commodities. This year, the authorizing legislation requires that only \$250 million of MSA funds be spent for surplus agricultural commodities. Last year the minimum was \$300 million; in 1954 it was \$350 million.

Our planners state that during the 1956 fiscal year they were able to spend \$350 million for surplus commodities only by arranging so-called triangular transactions. They testified this year—with almost tears in their eyes—that \$250 million was the very most they would be able to move under section 402.

Mr. President, the record is clear that even while our ICA missions claimed they were having difficulty moving surplus commodities under the mutual security program last year, a number of nations now receiving aid benefits were supplementing their section 402 grants under the Mutual Security Act with Public Law 480 purchases.

Yugoslavia is a good example. In fiscal 1956 we supplied \$25 million in surplus agricultural commodities to Yugoslavia under section 402 of the Mutual Security Act. In addition, Yugoslavia bought \$71.1 million in surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480.

What did we do with the Yugoslavian currency we received for these Public Law 480 sales, Mr. President? Here is what we did with it.

We spent \$300,000 for market development within Yugoslavia, and we used \$10.9 million to help pay United States obligations in that country. The remainder—nearly \$60 million—was used to procure military hardware for Yugoslavia and for economic assistance loans to Yugoslavia. These items were \$50.9 million and \$9 million, respectively.

All I am suggesting, Mr. President, is that we reduce the economic aid items in this bill by a total of \$126 million, and let this amount be supplied by transfers of unexpended balances from other, less-deserving areas, such as Western Europe, or by loans under Public Law 480. If more defense support or development assistance is required, it can be obtained from these sources, and our taxpayers and our farmers will be benefited, as well.

Mr. President, when we speak of defense support—and it has been referred to by Senators on the other side of the aisle—one would imagine that the money for defense support would be used to buy implements of war—rifles, ammunition, and so forth—or to procure clothing for troops, lubricating oils, gasoline, or similar items. However, defense support money is not used to purchase such things at all. Defense support is just another name for economic aid; that is all it is.

In addition to the amounts in this bill for defense support and development assistance, both of which are economic aid—and I repeat this now, in the hope that more Senators are now on the floor than when I began my remarks—the President will have \$1,500,000 worth of

surplus agricultural commodities to sell, barter, or even give away under Public Law 480, the Surplus Disposal Act of 1954.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is the Senator from Louisiana sure that the money expended under the heading "Defense support" will not go for implements of war?

Mr. ELLENDER. I am positive of it. In other words, defense support is just another name for economic aid. As the Senator from Illinois remembers, such assistance was originally called economic aid—that was before the era of fancy names. But Congress soon began to take a dim view of huge amounts for economic aid, so the men on the Washington level thought of other names, to take the place of economic aid. They began to call it defense support and development assistance. All of it is economic aid—it is the same old scheme in a brand new suit, that is all. It is used for the same purposes that the direct economic aid was used for in prior years, such as under the Marshall plan. I can assure the Senator from Illinois of that.

As I have said, this money will simply be used for such things as the purchase of nonmilitary goods—it may be flour, it may be cooking oil, or it may be some other commodity. We buy these items with dollars and give them to the host government which can sell these materials to its own people. These proceeds are counterpart funds. They are obtained by converting the goods, which we give recipient countries, into local currency. These counterpart funds are used to provide work, to build dams, and even as local government contributions to programs which our Washington planners say are "cooperative undertakings."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield to me 5 minutes on the bill?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes on the bill to the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Louisiana is recognized for 5 minutes on the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator from Texas.

Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois does not have to take my word for the definition of defense support. I now read from the hearings on this bill:

Defense support is economic or nonmilitary assistance.

That is the testimony of Mr. Hollister, appearing on page 33 of the hearings on mutual security appropriations for 1957.

My good friend, the Senator from Illinois, seems to think that if my amendment is adopted, it will hurt the military program that is being carried on. However, that is simply not the case.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Louisiana yield to me?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. In further answer to the question asked by the Senator from Illinois, I suggest that he examine page 4 of the committee report, at the bottom of the page, which deals with the matter to which the Senator from Illinois has referred. The actual details can be obtained from the chairman of the committee, who has the details, but they are classified. Every Senator can look at them, but they cannot be made a part of the public record.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Does the Senator from Massachusetts propose to make an incorrect statement, then? In that connection, let me point out that on page 33 of the hearings, we find the statement:

Defense support is economic or nonmilitary assistance.

So did the man in charge of the ICA make an error in that respect?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. No. As I understand, it is nonmilitary assistance in the form of items which bolster up a government which is devoting more than it should, from its ordinary economy, to military purposes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I wish to make another correction. The Senator from Massachusetts knows that we have in this bill an item called direct forces support. That amount, which is for the purchase of oil, gasoline, and similar items, is lumped with the money for the purchase of weapons under the general heading of military assistance.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. Defense support is purely and simply economic aid.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. That is correct; I agree.

Mr. ELLENDER. It is just another name for the kind of aid we gave Europe under the Marshall plan. As I have stated, the funds are used within the particular country, to enable it to carry on projects similar to those I described a moment ago. They are also used to supplement local government budgets; that kind of aid is called "budgetary support," another fancy name.

As I stated, out the \$1,500,000,000 that the President had available under Public Law 480 to dispose of surplus agricultural commodities, the total amount programmed for the 1956 fiscal year—just 1 year; and, Mr. President, mind you, that program has been on the statute books since 1954—was over \$681,100,000. As Senators know, those surplus commodities are sold to the various countries, and are paid for by them with their own funds. Of this \$681 million, \$356 million was loaned back to the purchasing countries on easy, long-term credit, for economic development. It was put into their treasuries, and then used in order to carry on the same kind of work that was done when economic aid was first placed on the statute books, and which is now done under mutual-security appropriations for defense support or development assistance.

As I have said, Mr. President, calling economic aid by fancy names is another way of— I will not say another way of fooling the people, because I believe the people know about it now—but it is just

another way of taking the sting out of our extending huge amounts of economic aid.

Senators know that the term "economic aid" has fallen into somewhat disrepute. When our people discover that we are being called upon to spend large sums for economic aid they get rather made about it, because, as I have pointed out on this floor, we have spent many, many billions of dollars in order to assist our Western European allies to progress to the point where, we felt, they could assist us in other areas. The plan has not worked that way. When we ask them for a little help in carrying the free world's burdens, they refuse to help. They talk "poor mouth" and want more United States money themselves.

Let me tell the Senators now present that if this amendment is adopted, we shall save, in cash, \$126 million; we shall force the President and his advisers to use more surplus agricultural commodities to replace this amount. That is what will happen.

I am sure the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE] would like to see more surplus milk sold; and I am sure that all Senators from the wheat-producing States would like to see more surplus wheat sold. This is their opportunity to vote for a program which will force the President to use our surplus agriculture commodities in order to carry on the economic development about which we are speaking.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. THYE. Of course, I should like to see our surplus commodities sent abroad; but I do not wish to jeopardize either Greece or Turkey, or the Far East at this time, when we are in such a critical situation diplomatically throughout the world as we endeavor to maintain peace. Therefore, I disagree with the amendments; but, I agree that we should do everything to barter off our surplus. With respect to the amendments of my good friend from Louisiana, I disagree with him.

Mr. ELLENDER. With respect to Turkey, last year Turkey bought \$15.5 million of surplus commodities under Public Law 480. I would encourage that, and so would the Senator.

Mr. THYE. So would I.

Mr. ELLENDER. But we shall never encourage it if we continue to give cash to Turkey, and let her buy whatever she wants, other than surplus agricultural commodities.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Louisiana has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, has all time expired?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. All time has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President has all time expired on the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. All time has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing en bloc to the four amendments offered by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] and the Senator from Arizona [Mr. GOLDWATER] are detained on official business.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 36, nays 54, as follows:

YEAS—36

Anderson	Ervin	McCarthy
Barrett	Frear	McClellan
Bible	Fulbright	Monroney
Byrd	Hruska	Mundt
Capehart	Jenner	O'Mahoney
Case, S. Dak.	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson
Chavez	Kerr	Russell
Clements	Langer	Stennis
Curtis	Long	Symington
Dworshak	Magnuson	Williams
Eastland	Malone	Wofford
Ellender	Mansfield	Young

NAYS—54

Aiken	Hennings	McNamara
Allott	Hickenlooper	Millikin
Beall	Hill	Morse
Bender	Holland	Murray
Bennett	Humphrey,	Neely
Bridges	Minn.	Neuberger
Bush	Humphreys,	Pastore
Butler	Ky.	Payne
Carlson	Ives	Purtell
Case, N. J.	Jackson	Saltonstall
Cotton	Johnson, Tex.	Schoeppel
Dirksen	Kefauver	Scott
Douglas	Kennedy	Smith, Maine
Duff	Knowland	Smith, N. J.
Flanders	Kuchel	Sparkman
George	Laird	Thye
Gore	Lehman	Watkins
Green	Martin, Iowa	Wiley
Hayden	Martin, Pa.	

NOT VOTING—6

Bricker	Goldwater	Smathers
Daniel	Potter	Welker

So Mr. ELLENDER's amendments were rejected.

ORDER FOR RECESS TO 10:30 A. M. TOMORROW

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business

today, it stands in recess until 10:30 a. m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS—AUTHORIZATION TO RECEIVE MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE, REFER BILL TO COMMITTEE, AND REPORT BILL TO THE SENATE

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the recess of the Senate today, the Secretary be authorized to receive a message from the House on H. R. 12350, the second supplemental appropriation bill, that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and that said committee be authorized to report the same to the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the order of the Senate previously entered, the question is on agreeing, en bloc, to the committee amendments beginning on page 2, line 16, through page 3, line 7.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, may we have the yeas and nays on the adoption of the committee amendments?

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. HUMPHREYS], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

On this vote, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. HUMPHREYS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "nay," and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. NEELY] is paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. If present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "yea," and the Senator from Florida would vote "nay."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent.

If present and voting, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 57, nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—57

Aiken	Bennett	Carlson
Allott	Bridges	Case, N. J.
Beall	Bush	Clements
Bender	Butler	Cotton

Dirksen	Johnson, Tex.	Neuberger
Douglas	Kefauver	Pastore
Duff	Kennedy	Payne
Flanders	Knowland	Purcell
Fulbright	Kuchel	Saltonstall
George	Laird	Schoeppel
Gore	Lehman	Scott
Green	Mansfield	Smith, Maine
Hayden	Martin, Iowa	Smith, N. J.
Hennings	Martin, Pa.	Sparkman
Hickenlooper	McCarthy	Symington
Holland	McNamara	Thye
Humphrey, Minn.	Millikin	Watkins
Ives	Morse	Wiley
Jackson	Mundt	
	Murray	

NAYS—33

Anderson	Ellender	Magnuson
Barrett	Ervin	Malone
Bible	Frear	McClellan
Bricker	Goldwater	Monroney
Byrd	Hill	O'Mahoney
Capehart	Hruska	Robertson
Case, S. Dak.	Jenner	Russell
Chavez	Johnston, S. C.	Stennis
Curtis	Kerr	Williams
Dworschak	Langer	Wofford
Eastland	Long	Young

NOT VOTING—6

Daniel	Neely	Welker
Humphreys, Ky.	Potter	
	Smathers	

So the designated committee amendments were agreed to, en bloc.

On page 2, at the beginning of line 16, to strike out "\$63,700,000" and insert "\$71,200,000"; in the same line, after the amendment just above stated, to insert a colon and "Provided, That at least \$50,000,000 on a grant basis shall be available for Spain, exclusive of interregional expenses: *Provided further*, That not less than one-half of the amount available for Spain shall be used for agricultural commodities"; in line 21, after the name "Africa", to strike out "\$165,000,000" and insert "\$170,000,000"; in line 22, after the name "Asia", to strike out "\$865,000,000" and insert "\$882,000,000"; in line 23, after the name "Latin America", to strike out "\$35,000,000" and insert "\$52,000,000"; in the same line, after the amendment just above stated, to insert "of which \$15,000,000 shall remain available until June 30, 1958"; and at the top of page 3, to strike out "of which not less than \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala."

On page 3, line 4, after "201 (c)", to strike out "for the Near East and Africa in accordance with section 201 (a) (1), \$60,000,000, and for Asia in accordance with section 201 (a) (2), \$70,000,000" and insert "\$293,000,000", and in line 7, after the amendment just above stated, to insert "to remain available until June 30, 1958."

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, at the time the unanimous consent agreement was reached, I indicated that I intended to propose an amendment on page 5 of the committee bill, lines 6 and 7, to restore the language which was stricken. The language related to the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa and to assistance authorized by section 420, up to \$100 million.

In talking with the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and with counsel for the committee, I have learned that the sum of \$100 million was incorporated in the total amount indicated on page 3, under the subheading, "Development Assistance." The total figure there is \$293,000,000, and includes several other items besides the \$100 million.

Therefore, since the Near East and Africa fund, which was requested in the mutual-security authorization bill, has been taken care of under the language

"Development Assistance," I shall not call up my amendment.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, out of order, to submit a resolution for myself, the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], and the junior Senator from New York [Mr. LEHMAN], namely:

The Committee on the Judiciary be, and it is hereby, discharged from the further consideration of the bill, H. R. 627, to provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

I also ask that the text of the resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I do not know what time the Senator from Illinois had in which to present his request; but certainly time is available to object. I find this proposal just as obnoxious as it was about an hour ago, if not more so. I object.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, for myself, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], I call up the amendment designated "7-18-56-A," and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Before ordering the amendment offered by the Senator from California to be read, the Chair will put the question on the committee amendment to which the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] referred, which appears on page 5, lines 6 and 7.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, before that is done, if I may back up a bit, since I have time available, I should like to introduce, out of order, and in my own time, a bill for appropriate reference.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. I stand upon my rights as a Senator to hear the title of the bill read before I will consent to its introduction. Bills can be introduced only by unanimous consent.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, I assure my colleagues that this proposed bill would in no way upset the orderly procedure of the Senate.

The bill relates to Indian affairs, and is a companion to a House bill introduced by Representative MARSHALL, of Minnesota, to promote the welfare of the American Indian citizens of Minnesota, and to establish a Minnesota Indian Commission.

Mr. RUSSELL. I congratulate the Senator from Minnesota upon his statement, and I commend him for it. I have no objection.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I may say that if objection is to be made to any proposal to discharge the Committee on the Judiciary from the consideration of the question of civil rights, so that the Senate may have a vote on that measure,

and if resort is to be made to every technicality so as to prevent the Senate from registering its opinion in this matter, then two can play at that game as well as one.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, I withdraw my bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Objection is heard.

Without objection, the committee amendment on page 5, lines 6 and 7, is agreed to.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I call up the amendment designated "7-18-56-A," which I offer for myself and on behalf of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 13, before the semicolon it is proposed to insert a colon and the following: "Provided, That none of the funds made available for military assistance under this act, and none of the funds made available for military assistance under any prior act and remaining unexpended, shall be used to furnish military equipment to Yugoslavia except for maintenance of equipment heretofore furnished or to provide spare parts for replacement purposes."

Mr. THYE. Mr. President—

Mr. KNOWLAND. I have not yielded the floor. I desire to make a brief preliminary statement, if it be agreeable to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Minnesota will state it.

Mr. THYE. Who controls the time?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from California controls the time of the proponents of the amendment; the time of the opposition is in control of the majority leader.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. As I understand, the proponent of the amendment controls the time in behalf of the amendment. The majority leader controls the time in the event he is opposed to the amendment. In the event he favors the amendment, the time is controlled by the majority leader.

Since the majority leader favors the amendment, we are left in a situation in which the minority leader would control the time on both sides.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I was about to make a statement with respect to that situation. In the first place, I have moved from the minority leader's seat to a seat in the rear of the Chamber, so as to make it clear that on this amendment I do not speak for the administration. I yield such time as would be controlled by me as the minority leader under the unanimous-consent agreement to the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] who now occupies the minority leader's seat.

Mr. President, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER] asked to be included as one of the cosponsors of the amendment, together with the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

I yield myself 10 minutes, or so much of that time as may be necessary, from the time of the proponents of the amendment, to make a preliminary statement.

I wish to make it perfectly clear that I have moved to a seat in the rear of the Chamber so that no one will be under any misconception that this amendment is offered on behalf of the administration. The Department of State and the administration are opposed to the amendment. I do not wish any Senator to vote under a misconception in that regard.

Mr. President, I think I have given more consideration to this amendment and the implication of offering it than I have given to anything else I have done in my 11 years as a Member of the Senate. I have fought on the floor for the foreign policy of the administration. I have supported the foreign policy of the Democratic administration in relation to the Greek-Turkish aid program, the mutual assistance program, the Marshall plan, and the great pacts which have been entered into both in Europe and in Asia.

I have not been unmindful of the situation which confronts me as the minority leader of the Senate in presenting the amendment. If I had not given serious, and, I may say prayerful, consideration to the subject matter, I would not be on the floor now offering the amendment.

Regardless of what may happen to the amendment, I have a deep conviction, a conviction based on principle, that the amendment is fundamentally right and should be agreed to and attached to the bill.

The Senate has engaged in considerable discussion of the Yugoslavian situation. During the consideration of the mutual security authorization bill, an amendment was offered which would have cut off technical assistance, military assistance, and all other types of assistance to Yugoslavia. That proposed amendment to the authorization bill was rejected.

Other amendments have been offered which would cut off all aid under the appropriation bill. The amendment now under consideration does not go that far.

The amendment was offered in the Committee on Appropriations and was defeated by a vote of only 11 to 10, with 2 Senators not voting at that time. One was absent, and one abstained from voting, as was his right.

What does the amendment do? It provides:

That none of the funds made available for military assistance under this act, and none of the funds made available for military assistance under any prior act and remaining unexpended, shall be used to furnish military equipment to Yugoslavia except for maintenance of equipment heretofore furnished or to provide spare parts for replacement purposes.

In other words, it does not affect economic aid. It does not affect the supply-

ing of a carburetor or a replacement part or a part needed for maintenance of the equipment which we may have, for better or worse, supplied to Yugoslavia heretofore.

Mr. President, we have been very generous to Yugoslavia. Since the Korean war, and only since the Korean war, we have sent approximately \$500 million in foreign grants and credits to Yugoslavia.

What has been the change in the situation since the Senate of the United States last acted on an appropriation bill dealing with mutual aid? What has happened is that dictator Tito of Yugoslavia has made a visit to Moscow, and there he said publicly—and it has been printed in the Soviet press and in the press of the free world—that he had come to a general agreement with the men of the Kremlin and would march side by side with them in peace and war.

When he returned to the outside of the Soviet borders and realized the impact his statements had upon American public opinion and opinion in the free world, an attempt was made to explain the statements away; but I submit they are there for anyone to read who desires to read, and the only implication can be that Tito has at least gotten in bed with the leaders of the Kremlin to that extent.

During the previous time in which we had given aid to Yugoslavia, there at least could be made the argument that here was a Communist country—undoubtedly so; a Marxist Communist country—but it had broken with the Kremlin and it was in danger of attack by the Soviet Union or its satellite states, and therefore we as the Congress of the United States were asked to take a calculated risk, even though it was assistance to a Communist dictatorship, to prevent that country which had broken with the Kremlin from a doctrinaire point of view, from being overrun by the men of the Kremlin in the Soviet Union. Upon that basis, a valid argument could be made that, despite the Communist background of Yugoslavia, we would be justified in supplying military equipment to her. But, Mr. President, when Tito visited the Kremlin and issued the statements he did, it seems to me we were presented with an entirely different situation.

We have been generous to nations throughout the world. We have supplied more than \$50 billion to build a system of collective security. For what purpose? For the purpose of assisting the free world maintain its freedom, because we recognize there can be no compromise between tyranny and freedom. It was for the purpose of assisting the free world to maintain a free world of freemen.

Mr. President, as I have said, when Tito goes to the Kremlin and makes his bed with the men in the Kremlin, then an entirely different situation confronts us, as contrasted with that which previously prevailed. Tito has publicly gone on record as being opposed to the collective defense systems which we have built in Asia and in Europe, and has taken a position directly contrary to the foreign policy we have been asked time and time again to support. Within the past week or two Tito has again come out publicly,

along with certain of the other neutralist and Soviet powers, and said he favors the admission of Communist China into the United Nations, though the public policy of this country, which was ratified by a unanimous vote of the House and the Senate within the past few days, sets forth that the admission of Red China would be detrimental to our interests and the interests of the United Nations, because it would undermine the moral position of the United Nations. Yet Tito is going around the world attempting to gain votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations to admit Communist China into that organization.

Mr. President, he has time and again publicly backed up the demands of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, and said that, in his opinion, the island of Formosa should be turned over to the Chinese Communists. This would mean, as all freemen know, that 9½ million Chinese would be liquidated and forthwith disposed of by the ruthless men in Peking who are working hand in hand with the Kremlin.

Under all the circumstances, I for one, in good conscience, cannot vote to supply new military equipment to Yugoslavia. Tito apparently does not need it to guard himself from the Kremlin, because he has made his peace with the Kremlin. We certainly are not going to attack him, because we have only the friendliest feeling for the people of Yugoslavia.

Mr. President, I have heard the argument made that Tito had jeopardized his life in order to break away from the Kremlin at the time it was under the control of Stalin. My answer to that argument is that he may have jeopardized his life, but I recall that Mihailovich gave his life in order to try to maintain freedom in Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, what will be the effect of sending arms to Yugoslavia under the situation which now exists? It will permit Tito to continue to prevent the people of Yugoslavia from ever getting their freedom, because it will put such power into the hands of the Communist dictator that the people will never be able to throw off the yoke of the oppressor.

Secondly, what will be the effect on the non-Communist countries that have large Communist parties within them? Will Mr. Togliatti, in Italy, and the equivalent Communist head in France be able to say to the electorate of Italy and France, the next time they go to the polls, "Look, there is no danger in voting for Communists. There is no danger in establishing a Communist government, because we can show you Yugoslavia. The United States not only gives Yugoslavia economic aid, but it gives Yugoslavia replacement parts, and sends Tito new jet planes and guns and howitzers, and other equipment."

What will be the effect on countries behind the Iron Curtain? If Hungary,

Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland follow this new party line and say, "We are not dominated by the Kremlin; we are going to act independently," will it be our policy to supply military equipment to those satellite countries merely on their statement that they have broken with the Kremlin, when, indeed, they are following line for line the Soviet policy?

I think these are matters which must have the attention of the Senate and the attention of the country.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I wish to commend the Senator and those who have associated themselves with him as cosponsors of the amendment. I myself would have been most happy to join as a cosponsor. I merely wish to make this observation. There are in the pipeline some jet planes. How many are there?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I do not feel at liberty to disclose some information which has come to us in a confidential capacity.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Whether the number be 1 or 500—

Mr. KNOWLAND. There are additional jet planes in the pipeline.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Whether the number be 1 or 500, I think we can determine what we should do on this vote simply by asking ourselves one question: "Would we vote today to send those planes to Russia?" If we would not, then certainly we should vote not to send them to Yugoslavia. If Yugoslavia proposes to march side by side with Russia in time of war, then we in effect are making a contribution either directly or indirectly to Russia? Mr. President, to send these planes to Yugoslavia does not make sense. To do so is clearly against our national interest, and I shall vote against giving jet planes to either Yugoslavia or to Russia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BIBLE in the chair). The time of the Senator from California has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. KENNEDY. When this question was previously before the Senate, there was a proviso that the expenditure of the money would be subject to the discretion of the President. In view of that limitation, why would not the Senator from California be willing to let this matter be handled in the same way, particularly when the President must report to the Congress within 3 months?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, let me say to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts that I have the highest respect and regard for the President of the United States; and he still will have that discretion, insofar as economic aid is concerned. If my amendment is adopted, the President still will have discretion insofar as the use of the funds for spare parts for replacement purposes is concerned, and the President

still will have discretion as to the use of the funds insofar as maintenance is concerned. But in this instance—where, for the first time, to my knowledge, we have supplied arms and equipment which, fundamentally, have been "sold" to the American people as being for the protection of the free world and for the establishment of the collective security system—inasmuch as now we know clearly that Tito has gotten himself in line with the Kremlin, it seems to me the Congress has a responsibility which it should not pass on to the President alone. I believe that Congress should make a declaration in its own right. That is why I have offered the amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY. Do not the President and the Secretary of State desire to have that discretion left to the President?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Perhaps the Senator from Massachusetts was not in the Chamber when I began my remarks. At that time I said that the President and the State Department are opposed to my amendment, and I believe that is a clear indication that the President wishes to have full discretion left to him.

Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, in speaking for this amendment, I am going to be very brief, because I think this situation calls for action, instead of words. I am awfully tired of ambiguous words that only give lip service to principle, and I am awfully tired of double talk.

I believe that it is very misleading to say that Congress should not have any voice on the Tito issue; and I deplore the talk that we should not exercise our independent judgment, but, rather, that we should surrender our authority over the matter, and should shift our responsibility to the President.

If that be the case, then why have a Congress? Are we to become merely a rubber stamp, like the Soviet Supreme in Communist Russia? Is Congress to abdicate all to the President, as the legislative body in Yugoslavia has to Tito?

If that be the case, then just what good is our foreign aid, if it is for the purpose of fighting communism throughout the world—if it is for the purpose of trying to stop communism abroad, so that it may not take over our country and make it a dictatorship with the legislative body merely rubber stamping the orders of the Chief Executive of our Government?

I grant that in a case where the coming to a foreign-aid decision is difficult, there is justification for delegating power to the President and foreign relations experts.

But who is to say that no Member of this body is qualified to make a decision? Who is to say that every Member of this body is so lacking in knowledge and judgment that he cannot decide for himself, but has to let the President decide for him on the Tito issue?

Surely, after sitting for years on the Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services and on the Appropriations Subcommittees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] and the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] are not mere amateurs on this subject, and so lacking in experience and study that they are not capable of independently making a decision of this issue, instead of surrendering to the Secretary of State and the President the right to make the decision.

I am puzzled by the portion of Secretary Dulles' letter on Thursday to Chairman HAYDEN, in which the Secretary wrote:

I have heard that a number of Senators have been disturbed by reports, some of which have appeared in the press, that the Departments of State and Defense are planning to ship a large number of jet fighter planes to Yugoslavia within the next 90 days. I can assure you that this is not the case.

I do not know what the Secretary of State calls "a large number of jet fighter planes to Yugoslavia." I recall the number he stated to the committee when he appeared before it on this bill, and I consider the number he stated to be a large number—especially a large number to send to Tito, whom we may well find using the planes against this country, if he marches side by side with Russia, as he has been quoted as saying he would do if war came.

I do know that some of the newspapers have carried news stories that nearly 400 planes are scheduled to be sent to Tito.

I regret that there are some who would have the people of our country believe that voting to cut off aid to Tito is an act of disloyalty to the President of the United States. My only comment on that, Mr. President, is that such is a sad commentary on how unrealistically some persons have come to regard the Tito issue.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I rise to the point of order that the amendment of the Senator from California is in violation of paragraph 4 of rule XVI, in that it proposes the addition of general legislation to an appropriation bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised that the point of order raised by the Senator from Massachusetts is not in order until all time on the pending amendment has either been used or yielded back, unless by unanimous consent the remaining time is waived.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, if the remaining time is yielded back, and if the point of order is made—and assuming for the moment that the Chair sustain the point of order—shall we then be back where we began, and shall we then have sufficient time, or in that event will no further time be available?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If all time is yielded back, obviously there will be no remaining time under the control of either the Senator from California or the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will state it.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I should like to address my inquiry to the Senator from

California, if I may: If the point of order is sustained, the Senator from California can appeal from the ruling of the Chair. In that event, if a majority of the Senate votes not to sustain the ruling of the Chair, the amendment will then be in order. However, the Senator from California could also move to suspend the rule; and the favorable votes of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting would be required in order to carry that motion.

I make this inquiry in the interest of clarity, so we may see where we shall go, insofar as the time is concerned. I am quite willing to debate the matter on its merits and to vote on it on its merits. I should like to have the situation as to the time straightened out; and I should like to address this question to the Senator from California, if I may have consent to do so.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, how much time have I remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California has 10 minutes remaining.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes, in order to make a brief statement at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, while from a technical point of view, the point of order may be valid, inasmuch as it is an amendment to an appropriation bill, yet the amendment applies not only to existing law, but also to previous appropriation bills; and to that extent, the amendment affects measures heretofore passed. I believe that under the rule, that is the only reason why the point of order would normally be entertained.

I believe the amendment is perfectly valid, particularly in view of the fact that half of the debate on this measure has dealt with pipeline funds, unexpended funds, holdover funds from past appropriation bills. The amendment deals with the whole general theory of foreign aid. This amendment is not an extraneous amendment, of the type we sometimes seek to guard against when we enter into unanimous-consent agreements, in order to prevent the submission to a tax bill of an amendment dealing with the construction of a dam in one of the States or the submission of a civil-rights amendment, after a limitation on time has been agreed to, so that the normal prerogative of a Senator to engage in debate would be foreclosed.

This amendment is certainly in the spirit of the entire legislative program, which deals with the subject of foreign aid. This is the only way we can get at the money in the pipeline, estimated at more than \$100 million, still left for Yugoslavia, which can be used for jet planes, for howitzers, tanks, and so forth, as well as for economic aid, or anything else.

Under those circumstances, I would feel justified, if a point of order were made, in appealing from the decision of the Chair, in order to give the Senate an opportunity to vote up or down the amendment I have offered. Otherwise, we cannot affect in this bill the holdover or pipeline funds which have not yet been

expended, and out of which military equipment will largely come.

Before yielding back the remainder of my time, in order to bring the parliamentary situation to a head, I should like to read a telegram which I have received.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The additional 2 minutes of the Senator have expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield myself an additional 2 minutes.

I could have burdened the RECORD with letters and telegrams from all sections of the country and from many States of the Union. I do not care to do so. However, I have just received a telegram dated July 23, which I should like to read into the RECORD. It reads as follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., July 23, 1956.
HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

By direction of the executive committee of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, I have the honor to communicate to you the following resolution adopted by that committee at meeting held June 20, 1956:

"Whereas the recent triumphal tour of the Soviet Union by President Tito,* of Yugoslavia, gives added substance to longstanding doubts as to the advisability of providing military and economic aid to his regime at the expense of citizens of the United States; and

"Whereas the tyranny of Tito's dictatorship, manifested in the persecution of religion and otherwise, does not appear to differ materially from the tyranny which prevails in the Soviet union and its captive satellites: Be it

"Resolved, That the executive committee of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, representing the more than 1 million members of this society, expresses the conviction that Tito neither sympathizes with nor can be relied upon to support the American concept of human freedom and therefore urges the discontinuance of United States aid, military or economic, to his regime."

JOSEPH F. LAMB,
Supreme Secretary, Knights of Columbus.

I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time, in order that the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] may make his point of order.

Mr. SALTONSTALL obtained the floor.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Will the Senator yield, in order to permit me to make a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Certainly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Has the Senator from California yielded back the remainder of his time?

Mr. KNOWLAND. No. I said I was prepared to yield it back, but if the Senator has an inquiry before the point of order is made, I shall be glad to yield him some time.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I have a comment in support of the Senator's amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, how much time have I?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California has 6 minutes remaining.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will yield to the Senator from Wyoming as soon as time has been used on the other side.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. If I make a point of order now and yield back time in opposition to the amendment, and the time of the proponents is yielded back, am I correct in understanding that, if there is an appeal from the decision of the Chair, half an hour to each side will be allowed for debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has correctly stated the situation.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Under whose control will the half hour be, under the unanimous consent agreement?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, 30 minutes will be under the control of the Senator from California, and the other 30 minutes under the control of the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Then I most respectfully say to the Senator from California that I will yield some time now in opposition to the amendment, with the statement to him that I will make the point of order in due course.

I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I have very little to say about this amendment. I digress to remark that this is the finest illustration of why general legislation should not be permitted on an appropriation bill. Even before we completed work on the authorization bill it was reported in the public press that the Appropriations Committee of the House had already acted, and had cut the appropriation below the authorization finally agreed upon by the conference committee. That is the reason why this amendment is clearly open to a point of order, and I hope the point of order will be made in due time.

On the merits of this question, I have very little to add to what I previously said when the same issue was before the Senate, and that is that by taking this action we very definitely, positively, and without the shred of a doubt push Yugoslavia, which today has the strongest army in Europe outside the Kremlin itself, into the arms of the Kremlin.

Yugoslavia may never go into the arms of the Kremlin if we do not adopt this kind of amendment; but if we agree to this amendment, Yugoslavia definitely will become a part of the forces of communism in Europe.

Moreover, we would lose face throughout the world. It would be said in India, it would be said all over southeastern Asia, it would be said in the Middle East, indeed, it would be said everywhere, that unless the United States can be a great imperialistic nation and decide with whom any nation to which she offers assistance shall associate on friendly terms, the United States will have nothing to do with such a nation.

We shall never bring about the peace of the world with that sort of program.

If we adopt this amendment, we admit everything the Kremlin and the Communists have said about us, namely, that what we want to do is to control the thinking and the action of all men.

Last night the President directed that certain messages be sent to some of us. I have one of them in my hand. I wish to read it into the record. It is dated July 23. Similar messages were sent to other Senators, as will be disclosed. The message reads as follows:

JULY 23, 1956.

DEAR SENATOR GEORGE: I appreciate the fact that the Congress by the recently enacted mutual security authorizing law gave me discretion to deal with the matter of our relations with Yugoslavia. Under that law and the discretion which Congress thereby asked me to exercise I intend carefully to review the situation in the light of recent developments and I cannot now predict what course will best serve the national interests. But so many complicated and fluid elements are involved and the relationship of this situation to our hopes for satellite independence are such that I would deplore any abrupt mandatory cutoff involving the military aspects of our Yugoslav relationship. I believe that for the Congress now to take away the Executive discretion which only a few days ago it voted would not be in the national interest.

Sincerely yours,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. GEORGE. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Is it not true that when we voted the President the discretion—

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, it is impossible to hear the Senator. May we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. MORSE. Is it not true that when the Senate voted the President the discretion in the mutual aid authorization bill to which the President refers in his letter, there was language in the bill for which the White House itself had in the first instance asked?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Georgia has expired. Is additional time yielded to him?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I yield 4 minutes to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. GEORGE. I cannot answer the question of the Senator from Oregon. The provision was put into the authorization bill by the House of Representatives. The Senate committee in the first instance and the Senate itself acted on the provision.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. GEORGE. I do not have the time in which to answer the question within the 4 minutes allowed me.

Mr. MORSE. Perhaps after the Senator has finished his statement he may have time to yield for another question.

Mr. GEORGE. Yes. I simply offer this, not for the purpose of suggesting—and I do not suggest it—that the distinguished Senators who are offering the amendment have no faith in the President of the United States. I make no such suggestion, because I know that the Senator from California and the other Senators who are interested in the

amendment are honorable men. They are exercising what they believe to be their better judgment. I say to Senators that if my judgment is worth anything, this is an error of judgment which ought not to be pressed upon Congress at this time.

The President has said that he recognizes his full responsibility carefully to review the situation in the light of recent events, and that he does not and cannot now predict what course will best serve the national interest. That is as far as the Chief Executive, it seems to me, can possibly go, and that ought to be satisfactory to the members of all parties.

If the Senate now adopts the amendment, it not only shoves Yugoslavia into the arms of the Kremlin and into the arms of communism, but it verifies the very charges which have been against every effort we have made to preserve the peace of the world, to wit, that we are mere imperialists and are seeking to control countries by our aid and assistance, and that we have no worthy motives. In that case we might as well abandon the effort.

In my judgment, I cannot make it any clearer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The additional time of the Senator from Georgia has expired.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to call attention to the language of the amendment, so that it will be clearly understood. It reads:

That none of the funds made available for military assistance under this act, and none of the funds made available for military assistance under any prior act and remaining unexpended, shall be used to furnish military equipment to Yugoslavia except for maintenance of equipment heretofore furnished or to provide spare parts for replacement purposes.

That is a freeze. It will simply mean that we cannot send planes, even though they are old or obsolete; that we cannot send tanks, regardless of age, or even though we want to get rid of them because they are not modern or useful; that we cannot send signal or electronic equipment or communication equipment; that we cannot send any combat vehicles or trucks; that we cannot send any patrol vessels or minesweepers.

The amendment would limit the appropriation to replacements and repairs, and it would freeze the size of the defensive establishment of Yugoslavia as of now.

I know the argument for it. I know my distinguished friend, the Senator from California, presents it in the very best of faith. It is not a very palatable job to resist it.

When we voted, on the 9th of July, on the authorization bill, I was described editorially as one of Tito's Senators. I did not like it. I wore the uniform of this country for 2 years in a war that is a generation past. I do not like to have any editorial writer, sitting up in some tower, write about "Tito's Senators."

I believe that there is a challenge involved here, and that I would be derelict in my duty as a Senator if, on the basis of the testimony, I did not utter and did not manifest an independent judgment based upon the testimony both on and off the record.

It is said that Tito is a Communist. I have no doubt about it. Mention has been made—and I suppose this has been of great influence—that he went to Moscow and sat high on the rostrum with Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders, and that they said they would go forward arm-in-arm in peace and war.

I can understand that in the transposition of language, how sometimes a misinterpretation can arise. But other people, entertained elsewhere, have said things; and I do not know that we ought to attach too much significance to what they have said.

I remember when the distinguished Cordell Hull was Secretary of State, he came back from the Moscow conference and, in addressing a joint session of Congress, on the 18th of November 1943, said:

I found Stalin a remarkable personality, one of the great statesmen and leaders of our age.

In the light of hindsight, that is a faulty judgment, and it probably would have been taken back.

Winston Churchill said, in the House of Commons, on the 22d of February 1943:

In Yugoslavia we gave our aid to Tito. Every effort in our power will be made to aid and sustain Marshal Tito and his gallant band.

I could read other similar statements. President Roosevelt, in a radio broadcast on the 24th of December 1943, said to the country and to the world:

To use an ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I got along fine with Stalin. * * * I believe we are going to get on well with him and the Russian people, very well indeed.

One must be very careful about how one uses words. President Roosevelt said to the Polish Ambassador—and for documentation I refer Senators to Jan Ciechanowski's book entitled "Defeat in Victory," at page 231:

Harry Hopkins gets along like a house afire with Stalin—in fact they seem to have become buddies.

I like to be a little careful about words. Our Ambassador to Yugoslavia came before the Committee on Foreign Relations and said, "Well, that was not Tito's intention." What does one do with the translation of words from one language to another? To what extent can we attach undiminished meaning to those words? I am mindful of the fact that the statement has been made. I know that Tito has been called a Soviet puppet. However, he refused to go along, so far as others were concerned, with respect to Eastern Germany.

To be sure, he recognized Red China. So did Great Britain. So did 24 other countries in the United Nations. I hold no brief for Tito, but I believe this story has got to be told.

I have lived too long in friendly intercourse with the distinguished Senator

from California not to know the great swelling, throbbing, patriotic heart he has. But we are dealing with words, not with intentions, and these words will be interpreted in the chancelleries of the world. I am afraid they will say, "The Senate this day passed a vote of no confidence in the President of the United States." Why will they say that? Others will be reading the language in the authorization act. The authorization act provides that 90 days after it becomes law, the President must submit a report to Congress on certain things before aid to Yugoslavia can continue. What are those things?

First, that there has been no change in Yugoslav policies. That is what the committee wrote into that bill on the 9th of July, 15 days ago, and not a voice was heard on this floor against the enactment of that bill. It was sanctioned by every Member of the Senate. It provided that the President must assign his reasons when he sends his report to Congress that there is no change in Yugoslav policies.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I think we are getting to a very basic matter which I think the Senate should clearly understand. The difficulty I find with the language is that it says "no change in Yugoslav policies." No change in what? In the policy as enunciated by Tito upon his return from Moscow? No change in his policy as to Formosa or as to the admission of Communist China into the United Nations?

If there is no change in those policies, we have, for the first time, given aid to a Communist dictatorship that is trying to disrupt our foreign policy.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Section 143 provides that, notwithstanding any other provision of law, no assistance under this title or any other title of the act or under any provision of law repealed by section 542 (a) of the act shall be furnished to Yugoslavia after the expiration of 90 days after enactment unless the President finds and so reports to the Congress, with his reasons therefor, that there has been no change in Yugoslavia policies on the basis of which assistance has been furnished to Yugoslavia in the past.

The relating point is the policies of the past.

That is No. 1.

No. 2 is that Yugoslavia is independent of control of the Soviet Union; that Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world; and that it is in the interest of the national security of the United States to continue the furnishing of assistance to Yugoslavia under the act.

That language is as clear as crystal. It gives to the President discretion. It gives a flexibility to his authority to deal with the question as different situations arise.

It is now proposed definitely to limit that language and say we will send Yugoslavia spare parts and replacements; we can send maintenance, such as screws, bolts, and that sort of thing, but no military equipment.

What will be the answer everywhere in the world? How will the amendment be interpreted? The language in which it is couched is important. What will happen in other sections of the world?

Of course, in my judgment, there will be a rush into print and it will be said, "Senate votes no confidence in the President of the United States. Senate ties the President's hands 15 days after it gave him discretion and flexibility to deal with one of the fever spots of the world."

That is the first reason I assign why this amendment should not be adopted.

The second one is that the authority has previously been wisely used.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Illinois has expired.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I yield the Senator from Illinois 5 additional minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, no equipment is provided for in the current appropriation bill. I looked it over very carefully, and there is no item of equipment. It refers to ammunition and that sort of thing. Six planes were sent in 1956. No planes were sent in 1955. Some reference has been made to 378 planes. The tragedy is, Mr. President, that I cannot stand on the Senate floor today and tell what the whole story really is, as to where those planes were manufactured, where they are now, and how useful they are, or what we have been trying to do with them. That story cannot be told. I did tell it in the full committee, and I think it was very persuasive, but I am not at liberty to disclose the story in the open Senate because it is classified.

So, Mr. President, I think the conclusion is that the discretion has been heretofore wisely used by the Secretary of State and by the President of the United States.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. THYE. The type of planes they have received are not the kind with which a war is carried on. They are only intercepter-type planes, as I understand from all the testimony.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The distinguished Senator from Minnesota heard my complete memorandum as to what was involved, which was read to the full committee behind closed doors. It simply brushed away entirely some of the things we are seeing in print at the present time as to what the equipment is and how dangerous it would be to this country to ship it to Yugoslavia.

Mr. President, latitude and discretion are needed. They may not be used. The President stated in the letter which the Senator from Georgia read, that he wants to explore the whole matter, that he does not know the answer at this moment. We do not know what it is. So, Mr. President, he is entitled to this flexibility at a time like this.

Mr. President, the American Ambassador to Belgrade came before the committee, and I said to him, among other things:

Mr. Ambassador, on the basis of your 3 years' experience in Yugoslavia, is it your

firm opinion that we should continue with this program?

Then the Ambassador, who has had a fine record in the Foreign Service, a man of great discernment and capacity, said he thought the discretionary power should continue.

Here is a wise and able man, a long-time friend of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL], who has been in Belgrade for 3 years. He has been on the ground. Who of us has been in Belgrade? Who of us has been there to interpret conditions?

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. Let me continue for a moment.

Here is our Ambassador, with a distinguished record, saying, "I think the discretion and the authority should continue."

Mr. President, I wish to impress upon the Senate the fact that others will interpret the words, not the intention, of the distinguished Senator from California, as a vote of no confidence in the Commander in Chief of the United States.

The discretion given to the President has been wisely used, and it is needed, according to our own able and observing Ambassador. Under the circumstances, shall we now, after 15 days ago conferring upon the President discretion to explore, to make a finding, assign the reasons, and report to the Congress—shall we now tie the hands of the President of the United States?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Illinois has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY].

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, if the Senator from Illinois needs some additional time, I shall yield him time.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Will the Senator give me 10 minutes?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California has yielded 3 minutes to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I trust that my distinguished friend from Wyoming will permit me to proceed.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I shall be delighted to yield to my distinguished friend from Illinois.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I am grateful to my gracious and magnanimous friend.

Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to my friend, the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, first, I may say that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] is one of the Members of the Senate whom I respect most highly—as highly, I think, as any Senator. So I hope the fact that I ask him questions will not be interpreted as a fight on my part.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Do not make the questions too long.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator was talking about the information which was given by Ambassador Riddleberger, the Ambassador to Yugoslavia, and about the high type of man he is.

I wonder if the Senator from Illinois was present in the hearings of the Committee on Appropriations when we were speaking about the shipment of 100-ton vertical and horizontal drill presses which could be used to make other machine tools necessary to construct weapons of war. Ambassador Riddleberger, who the Senator says is so positive, made an answer to the question when I asked about it. He said, "What can a little drill like this do in a war machine?"

Mr. DIRKSEN. I have no recollection that he answered in that way, but Ambassador Riddleberger's testimony is contained in the hearings. I will ask the Senator to find it, if he can.

Mr. McCARTHY. No, that testimony was corrected, and some deletions were made. I merely wondered if the Senator from Illinois was present.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I will ask the Senator from Wisconsin to find the place where the testimony was deleted. I was present; I did not hear that statement. I did not leave the committee room, I may say to my friend from Wisconsin; I was there all the while.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator from Illinois has an excellent record of attendance in the Committee on Appropriations, for which I give him much credit. In fact, his record, I must admit, is better than mine—considerably better. But if the Senator was there, he should remember my question. The Ambassador showed abysmal ignorance of what was being shipped to Yugoslavia.

I thought that should be made a part of the RECORD, in view of the Senator's well-meaning statement that Ambassador Riddleberger was so well informed.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I have no objection to making Ambassador Riddleberger's testimony available for the RECORD.

Mr. McCARTHY. Will the Senator make the Ambassador's original testimony a part of the RECORD, and not the corrected testimony?

Mr. DIRKSEN. If the original testimony can be found, I should be delighted—more than delighted—to make it a part of the RECORD.

Mr. McCARTHY. As I have said, the Senator from Illinois has the greatest integrity of any Senator I know. Would he take the original transcript, read it, and compare it with the corrected record?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I shall be delighted to place the original transcript in the RECORD, if it can be obtained.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, certain information which went into that hearing was classified. There was a specific request by the Secretary of State, Admiral Radford, and others that the record be edited, and the portions of it which were classified be deleted. Therefore, there is a part of the testimony given by Ambassador Riddleberger which could not be disclosed or placed in the public records of the Senate.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The Senator is entirely correct.

Mr. President, I have assigned three reasons why I think the amendment should be rejected. The first is that it will be interpreted as vote of no confidence in the President. The second is that the discretion has been wisely used. The third is that the material will be needed in the days ahead because of the fluent situation which prevails abroad.

The next reason I assign is that, in my judgment, if we cut this kind of aid, we will destroy the hopes and aspirations of people who still have their eyes on the stars, even though they are in thrall and enslavement today. It is a fact that Tito jeopardized lives when he became a heretic in the eyes of Stalin and carried on an independent course. But there is a difference between communism in Yugoslavia and in the Soviet Union.

I ask my friend, the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], to listen. One of the questions asked by the Senator from Mississippi was, "Is it correct that the people in Yugoslavia own their own land?" The answer was, "Yes." A great point was made of that. They can own their own land, and the farmers do own their own land.

Complete freedom is not always embraced in a single step. It is necessary to pry some of the satellites loose from international communism. That is the first step.

Then comes the second step, the step of encouraging the lamps of freedom to come alight again. But to cut off the aid will destroy hope; and the people will say, "It is futile to revolt. Why revolt? The United States will abandon us. The United States will forsake us."

Mr. President, there is a ferment of liberation in the world. Consider the Poznan riots in Poland. Similar things have been happening in East Germany. The hearts of people are rising again to the ideal of freedom and are beating against the stifling forces of enslavement. Are we now going to cut off the hopes of those people and destroy them? Oh, Mr. President, what a tragedy, what a blunder, that would be.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. What was used to put down the revolt in Poznan? Tanks. It is true, presumably, that the tanks were furnished by the Soviet Union. But the tanks could be used in Yugoslavia to put down the desires of the people of that country for freedom, as well as they could be used anywhere else where we might feel they should not be used.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The latest information I have seen is that the tanks in Poznan were manned by Soviet troops, not by Yugoslavian troops.

Tito has an army of which he is proud. I think his principal fear must necessarily be that he will be attacked by the Soviet Union. But the Senator's amendment proposes that that establishment be frozen. That would be the end of it. Nothing new could be furnished; all that could be sent would be replacements, when something gave out,

such as spare parts when a tank or something else could not run. The equipment could be used only for maintenance, such as when a signal system would not work. Everything else would be frozen, and Tito would be in a desperate situation.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I fully agree that the amendment would freeze jet planes, tanks, howitzers, and military vehicles—and it is intended to freeze them.

We are both in a difficult position, and the Senate is in a difficult position, as the Senator from Illinois has pointed out, because much of the information is classified. But both of us have had access to the same information.

I feel certain that the Senator will agree with me that while the types of planes to which the Senator has referred are not necessarily the latest types of planes which we ourselves are using in our forces nevertheless they are jet planes, they are combat planes, and they happen to be planes which were secured under offshore procurement. I cannot go into that part of the matter, and I am certain the Senator from Illinois would not want anything but the full facts, so far as security would permit, but I do not think he would want to leave the impression that the planes were noncombat planes, because that is not in keeping with the facts.

Mr. DIRKSEN. My friend will remember the memorandum I read about the disposition difficulties which were encountered with respect to those planes. The Senator will remember the memorandum very well.

It is too bad that a Senator has to have his hands tied; that he must make his case under difficult circumstances, and not be able to use a confidential, authenticated document which would nail down the case.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Illinois has expired.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me an additional 5 minutes?

Mr. GORE. I yield 5 more minutes to the Senator from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. That will give me time to make one more point. Let us not forget that Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey are each a part of the Balkan alliance. In this very bill there is a provision for military aid for Greece. In this very bill there is a provision for defense support for Greece. In this very bill there is a provision for military assistance—and lots of it—for Turkey. In this very bill is a provision for defense support and defense assistance for Turkey.

So, for 2 of the 3 members of the Balkan alliance we are going almost overboard with economic and military assistance. But for the third member of the alliance we say we are going to shut them off except for parts, repairs, and maintenance. What will be the effect? If the Soviet Union could then move in on Tito, what would happen to the Balkan alliance? What would happen to Greece, after all our efforts in her be-

half? What would happen to Turkey, whose soldiers stood so resolutely in the valleys and on the hills of Korea beside our own soldiers and battled for the free world? What would happen to that alliance?

Now we know what the President means when he says this is a difficult matter, because if that is what we are going to do, then we shall multiply ad infinitum the problems and perplexities and difficulties of our Commander in Chief and the Secretary of State.

I should like to make one other point, Mr. President. We have been plowing a long furrow. My friend, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] will remember the term which was used during the celebrated hearings in which the counsel from Boston participated. He said, "We have to plow a long, hard furrow." It has been a long, hard furrow. The cold war had been in process for 7 years before President Eisenhower became the occupant of the White House. Now, after he has done so much toward developing a spirit of tranquillity in so many sections of the world, that not a single young American has lost his life by enemy gunfire on a battlefield, are we going to say, "15 days ago we voted you discretion and latitude. This afternoon we are going to take it back"?

Is that the way the Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, is to pursue the golden ideal of peace? Oh, indeed not. We must encourage these other countries to break away. It is a long, hard, painful business. I have seen the haunted and disillusioned look in the eyes of people in so many areas of the world where there was no freedom and where the lamps of liberty were extinguished long ago. They are looking hopefully now. Aspirations are beginning to stir in their hearts. Are we going to deny to the President of the United States the discretion and the authority to do this job? All the bill proposes is to give him authority to make a finding and assign his reasons and report to the Congress what he has in mind, and follow the criteria which we, not he, wrote into the authorization bill, in accordance with which the appropriation bill is before us today.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I should like to complete my statement. Then I shall try to yield.

A short time ago I read the summation in Winston Churchill's *The Gathering Storm*. He recapitulated all the blunders and all the mistakes we made over a period of years. Finally, he said, we could not hear the larks for guns, and then we found ourselves fighting on a battlefield not of our choosing.

Are we going to do that with our President? Not I, no matter what my political fortunes may be. As Edmund Burke said to a constituent in England a long time ago, "I must respect the opinions of my people, but when the time comes to decide, I owe to myself to put one thing over and above everything else, and that is my independent judgment."

This afternoon, the junior Senator from Illinois, having sat patiently in the

committee room day after day, exercises, on the basis of the testimony, his independent judgment for what he thinks is the security and the well-being of the country for which he once fought. I resist the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Wyoming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I find myself obligated to make a few brief remarks upon this subject, because when the authorization bill was before this body I offered an amendment to the section of the bill dealing with aid to Yugoslavia. In the amendment which I offered I wrote language to require the President to find that Yugoslavia is not only independent of control by the Soviet Union but that Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world.

Why did I write that language into the amendment? Because the opening sentence of the section states that—

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no assistance under this title or any other title, or under any provision of law repealed by section 542 (a) of this act shall be furnished to Yugoslavia after the expiration of 90 days following the date of the enactment of this section unless—

Why the 90 days? It was explained to us in committee, on the floor of the Senate, in discussion, in editorials, that the 90 days were required in order to deliver material which was already en route. Nowhere at that time was it said by anybody, speaking for the administration or speaking for the committee, that there were jet planes en route to Yugoslavia.

Why does Yugoslavia want or need jet planes, and why should we furnish them?

The effort has been made in this debate today to make it clear that there are really no jet planes going to Yugoslavia. I hold in my hands the letter of Secretary Dulles addressed to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], on July 19. This was after my amendment requiring the President to certify that Yugoslavia had not changed. In the letter, which has been read on the floor, Secretary Dulles states as follows in the concluding paragraph, and I ask the Members of the Senate to listen. Remember, the Secretary is a great lawyer. He knows how to use words to set forth the facts, but, at the same time, not reveal the whole story. That is the art of the great lawyer who is an advocate. But the Secretary of State, great lawyer that he is, ought to be an advocate of all the people of the United States in the great position which he holds. This is what he wrote—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from Wyoming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Secretary Dulles wrote:

To give you some idea of what this might entail in the military field—

This denial or this limitation—

I may say that during 1955 no jet fighter planes were sent to Yugoslavia, while in 1956 only two have been shipped.

Why did he not add "and none are in the pipeline which will be shipped during the 90 days provided in the law"?

Why does he not answer that question? Until he answers that question, Mr. President, I shall vote for the amendment of the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Yes, if the Senator from California will yield me the time in which to do so.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Yes, I yield time from the time available on the bill.

Let me say that in fairness to the Secretary of State, I think the Senate should be advised that he wrote that letter based on the latest information he had at the time from the Department of Defense. Subsequently, on July 23, he addressed to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] a letter in which he pointed out that he had made a mistake, and that 4 additional jets had been shipped, in addition to the 2 mentioned in the other letter.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. What about the published news story that the fact was that 380 jet planes were being shipped?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will say to the Senator from Wyoming that I am not in a position—for reasons he understands—to discuss the details.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Of course.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Except that I say there are planes in the pipeline.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 2 minutes yielded to the Senator from Wyoming have expired.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield an additional minute to me?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 1 minute on the bill to the Senator from Wyoming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 1 minute on the bill.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I wish to say to my friend, the Senator from California, that what he says now is only proof of the fact which I sought to point out before, namely, that we are legislating with blinders on. The operations and the method of management are not being disclosed to us because the officers and administrators of the administration will not answer the questions put to them by the Senate committees.

Mr. President, I also wish to point out that this amendment deals only with military matters. It permits the exportation of economic aid. To the exportation of economic aid, I have no objection; and I congratulate the Senator from California for the fact that his amendment does not seek to stop economic aid to the people of Yugoslavia. We should be offering economic aid to the people, not arms to the dictators.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wyoming has again expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, because the Senator from Wyoming has used more time than I had originally allotted to him, and because I had promised time on the amendment to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], I yield 5 minutes on the bill to the Senator from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized for 5 minutes on the bill.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, my views on this subject are well known, because I have joined in offering the amendment.

At this time I should like to clear up some of the impressions which may have been left by the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], for both of whom I have great respect.

It has been emphasized over and over again that when discretion was previously given to the President, our aid to Yugoslavia was shut off for a period of 6 months. Let me point out, Mr. President, that was not done as a result of action taken by the President. Instead, that shut-off occurred because of action taken last year by the Senate Appropriations Committee—directing that it be done—when, the committee found out that for 1 year, the officials of the United States Government were not allowed to inspect the end use of our military assistance to Yugoslavia. That situation had been going on, and because of weak-kneed administration of the program it was continued.

Let me read, so the RECORD will be clear, the position taken by the Appropriations Committee of the Senate:

The committee is insistent on proper inspection of the aid sent under the mutual security program to all countries in order that the United States may be as certain as possible that United States aid is put to the use for which it was furnished. Otherwise, the committee directs that aid be withheld until the United States inspection officials are satisfied that they are permitted to make the proper inspections. Specifically, the committee has been advised that Yugoslavia has not been complying with the following provision:

"Section 142 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended:

"Agreements.—(a) No assistance shall be furnished to any nation under this title unless such nation shall have agreed to—

"10. Permit continuous observation and review by United States representatives of programs of assistance authorized under this title, including the utilization of any such assistance and provide the United States with full and complete information with respect to these matters, as the President may require."

That is why no aid was sent to Yugoslavia for 6 months. That was due to the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee, which was endorsed by the entire Senate. Only after that was done was aid to Yugoslavia shut off. Previously, despite the provision of law I have read, the administrators of our aid program had continued, nevertheless, to

send aid to Yugoslavia for about 1 year, and thus they violated the law of this land.

Mr. President, I have read the law; I have read the action which the Appropriations Committee took, and which the Senate as a whole adopted. That is why no aid went to Yugoslavia for 6 months; the credit for that should be given to the Senate, not to the administrators of the program.

I want to repeat for emphasis that for 1 year, those who administered our country's foreign-aid program allowed Yugoslavia to receive our aid, and they did not carry out the letter nor the spirit of the law.

Mr. President, I should like to discuss 1 or 2 other matters which have been mentioned during the debate.

The distinguished Senator from Georgia said that if this amendment is adopted, we shall force Yugoslavia to become a part of the forces of communism in Europe.

Mr. President, I do not believe the distinguished senior Senator from Georgia meant that, because he knows as well as any other Member of the Senate does that Yugoslavia already is part and parcel of the Communist movement. Yugoslavian policy centers on the Communist movement, and Tito reiterates it day after day. No action on our part could drive that country farther into communism.

The Aswan Dam has been mentioned as an exercise of administrative discretion. I think the decision not to give aid for the construction of that dam was the best foreign-policy decision our country has made for some little time. I am gratified that our officials had the courage to take the step to shut off aid for construction of the Aswan Dam. Once again I think the Senate Appropriations Committee rates an assist for the strong language it wrote into its report and the correspondence with Secretary Dulles, which the distinguished minority leader, as a member of that committee, inserted in the RECORD. The reaction to that announcement on the Aswan Dam indicates that Americans now hold their heads a little higher and it establishes the fact that our foreign-aid administrators can well take a second look at some of the countries we assist, rather than to be completely taken in.

The other day, when I submitted my amendment to cut off all military aid to Tito, the argument, by those opposed to the amendment, was that if we were to shut off the shipment of spare parts and the furnishing of maintenance, we would drive Yugoslavia into the Soviet orbit. Mr. President, the amendment submitted by the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] for himself, the Senator from Maine [Mrs. SMITH], myself, and other Senators avoids that argument, invalid at it was. In the present amendment we do not require that the furnishing of maintenance and the supplying of spare parts shall be stopped. Under the amendment, the United States will do what I think my friend, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], has indicated we should do. He asked whether

this amendment would freeze the situation as far as Yugoslavia is concerned. I say, Yes, that is absolutely correct, this would free the Yugoslavian military machine exactly where it is as far as our equipment is concerned and would allow no further build-up of such advanced weapons of warfare as jet planes.

Mr. President, that is why I favor adoption of the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time yielded to the Senator from New Hampshire has expired.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes on the bill to the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SCOTT].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, according to reports by the Associated Press, the United States delegation to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations meeting in Geneva, has thrown cold water on proposals to establish a World Food Bank.

This is consistent with a policy of the Eisenhower administration which was expressed only recently by officials of the State Department when they testified before a special subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

At those hearings, which were held in May, officials of the State Department were emphatic in their view that a World Food Bank would be needless, too difficult to administer, and in conflict with normal world trade.

These are the identical arguments that were used by the Eisenhower administration more than a year ago when members of the Senate Agriculture Committee proposed a soil bank for the farmers of this Nation.

Today the same Eisenhower administration yields to no one in laying claim to the soil bank as an election-year salvation for the farmers of America.

The soil bank theory was just as sound in 1955 as it is in 1956. It simply took a year for it to soak into the gray matter of the masters of the administration.

I should like to make it clear that I am not being critical of anyone who might disagree with the specific way a problem should be approached.

Even though the soil bank has been given the blessing of the administration, there is no absolute guarantee that it will be perfect or there will be unanimous approval throughout the land.

In the case of the soil bank, the administration has at least been willing to explore the program and find out if it will help answer some of our farm problems.

I only wish the same could be said of the proposed World Food Bank.

More than a year ago, two resolutions were introduced in the Senate calling on the Executive Branch of the Government to explore the possibility of establishing a World Food Bank or International Raw Materials Reserve through the frame work of the United Nations or similar world organizations.

Without any apparent investigation whatever, the Eisenhower administration, through the State Department, declared with all speed and emphasis that

no such program was needed to help bring about a better distribution of food and other farm products to the hungry millions of people of the free world.

Actually, the two resolutions—one offered by me and the other by the Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY]—were very simple.

They proposed that those nations of the free world who are blessed with abundance should pool their surpluses and make them available to less fortunate nations.

In times of shortages, the plans proposed, needy nations could make withdrawals from the surplus deposits and repay them later in cash, other raw materials, or in kind. It would be a normal, businesslike operation, like the operation of a bank from which all of us from time to time borrow money. It would be operated like the well-known blood bank, with which all of us are familiar.

We have learned—and all the world has learned—that an international bank, conceived and operated along democratic lines and principles, can and will operate successfully for the mutual benefit of all participating nations. I refer specifically and directly to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This institution for the betterment of mankind and for the promotion and maintenance of peace, grew out of the Bretton Woods Conference held in July of 1944.

Today the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has 56 members, and its balance sheet—the measure of the peaceful services it has rendered in a world torn with strife—tells a graphic story of what nations can accomplish when they work together toward a common goal.

I wish to reemphasize that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is not a charitable organization engaged in a giveaway program, just as the proposed World Food Bank is not designed to operate as a giveaway institution. The record shows that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development not only pays dividends in good will among the participating nations and peoples, but also in dollars and cents. Its net cash income last year, over and above all operating expenses, ran something over \$20 million. But the Eisenhower administration says that there is no need for a World Food Bank.

It is difficult for me to understand how such a conclusion was reached when the officials of the State Department know, as all of us know, that each and every night almost one-half of the free world's population goes to bed hungry.

In the flowery language of so-called diplomacy, the United States chief delegate to the Geneva conference told the other nations of the free world that the needy nations of the world could better be served through two-way agreements rather than through an international organization.

If this be true in the case of food and clothing, it should also be true in the case of all international relations. A logical conclusion from that argument

would be that there is no need for the United Nations itself.

In all frankness, I cannot understand why the Eisenhower administration refuses to have any part in exploring the possibilities of a World Food Bank so long as there are hungry millions who want and need the food and raw materials which we have in abundance.

In fact, the farmers of the United States are growing poor because of an overabundant production, and, at the same time, millions of people of the free world are sniffing the false temptations of communism because they are hungry and ill clad.

Yet we, the United States, the democratic hope of all freedom-loving men, sit by and refuse to make an attempt to work out a practical system of distribution.

The Eisenhower administration begs and pleads with Congress to approve record-breaking funds for foreign aid, but the same administration refuses to consider using our vast surpluses of farm products for the same end.

In the eyes of many, we are fast becoming the greedy giant who tries to buy men's minds while the pangs of hunger gnaw their stomachs.

It is high time for us to wake up to the fact that the battle between democracy and tyranny will be settled ultimately by the hungry peoples of the world. Try as we may, we cannot choose our battleground with human nature.

If the American people knew what the attitude of the Eisenhower administration is toward a world food bank, they would not stand for it. It is contrary to our old-fashion sense of good business. So far as I am concerned, I intend to do what I can to see that the public will decide what attitude is right.

When the chips are down, I am confident that the people of this Nation will recognize that what is our burden of today can be a blessing for others, for someday the shoe may be on the other foot.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes on the bill itself to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from California. I will take only about 2 minutes at this time. I heartily support the amendment of the Senator from California. Although I do not believe it goes far enough, it does accomplish a great deal. However, I intend to offer an amendment after the pending amendment is disposed of, either favorably or adversely, to cut off all aid of every kind to Yugoslavia.

Nonetheless, I want it to be clearly understood that I do support the amendment of the Senator from California.

I may say that I will take only a few seconds on the amendment at this time, because I will take a considerable length of time on my own amendment. I do wish to say now, however, that it makes me sick way down deep inside when I hear competent Senators—and I do not question their sincerity—stand on the floor and say that unless we build up the military machine of a Communist country we will demonstrate a lack of con-

fidence in the President of the United States, or that we might force this Communist country into the arms of communism. I may say that if Yugoslavia is not in the arms of communism now, after Tito has said, "Nothing will ever separate our two countries marching along the path of Marx, Engels, and Lenin," then there is no such thing as being in the arms of communism.

I have mentioned this several times, but unfortunately a number of people do not understand what is meant by Leninism. I should like to take another 10 seconds to explain what Tito meant when he said he is in favor of Leninism. Whereas Marx, in his 1848 manifesto, said, "We can communize the world without a bloody revolution in the United States or England," Lenin said, in 1914, "That is not true. There must be a bloody revolution in the United States and in England." Tito understands this when he says, "I am in favor of Leninism." Stalin approved it in 1947, and Tito in 1956. I thank the Senator from California very much.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. How much time remains on the amendment, pro and con?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No time remains on the amendment so far as the Senator from California is concerned. His time has expired. The Senator from Massachusetts has 6 minutes remaining.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I yield the remaining 6 minutes, plus 4 minutes on the bill, with the consent of the minority leader, to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. -Mr. President, I first wish to observe that it is very difficult for me to find myself in opposition to two of the best friends I have in the Senate, namely, the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], the distinguished minority leader, and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the chairman of our policy committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order so that the Senator may be heard.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I do feel, however, that it is very important to make a complete record on this subject. I welcome the debate today. I think it has been a splendid debate. However, I could not help but feel, when we reviewed all the facts on this subject, that to support the amendment would definitely be a vote of lack of confidence in the President of the United States. I will develop that point as I go along.

As I begin my remarks I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point in my remarks section 143 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956, which has already been read into the RECORD. That section provides for the 90-day period and provides conditions under which the President can continue aid to Yugoslavia. I wish to have it printed in the RECORD at this point for reasons of sequence. I shall not read it.

There being no objection, the section of the Authorization Act was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEC. 143. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no assistance under this title or any other title of this act, or under any provision of law repealed by section 542 (a) of this act, shall be furnished to Yugoslavia after the expiration of 90 days following the date of the enactment of this section, unless the President finds and so reports to the Congress, with his reasons therefor, (1) that there has been no change in the Yugoslavian policies on the basis of which assistance under this act has been furnished to Yugoslavia in the past, and that Yugoslavia is independent of control by the Soviet Union, (2) that Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world, and (3) that it is in the interest of the national security of the United States to continue the furnishing of assistance to Yugoslavia under this act.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I wish briefly to outline the origin of aid to Yugoslavia before I go further into a discussion of the merits of the amendment. Years ago it was my privilege to travel in Europe, and I had the opportunity to travel in the various areas of Europe which are now dangerous spots. One of those areas is the Danube Valley and the Balkan States. I have always felt, ever since World War I, that the Balkan area would be a key area in any future war.

I was very much distressed, when I went to Greece some years ago, that Yugoslavia was on the Russian side and was giving us difficulties in the Grecian picture. At that time we were aiding Greece and Turkey.

Then suddenly, after we had had those difficulties, and after Yugoslavia had been against us, and after Tito had been allied with Moscow, there was a change.

On June 28, 1948, the Cominform issued a denunciation of Tito, which signaled a complete break between Yugoslavia and the Soviet bloc.

We were suspicious then, as we are now, of Tito's real plans and intentions. We did determine at that time that we would give such aid as might be helpful to this revolt by Tito against Moscow. In 1949 and 1950 the Export-Import Bank, under our direction, extended 3 loans totaling \$55 million to Yugoslavia. Then later, in 1950, Yugoslavia suffered a severe drought, and the United States extended additional money for emergency relief in that critical situation.

Because of her continuing need for assistance, military and otherwise, Yugoslavia was included in the mutual security acts beginning in 1951. I have figures showing exactly what was given to Yugoslavia in the nature of loans and grants, for the buildup of the military organization in Yugoslavia during that period. A good deal of the material is classified, and I shall not go into it now, but if any Member of the Senate wishes me to show him some of the classified information on those loans and why we made them, and what the developments were, I can show it to him privately.

Suffice it to say, in total, from July 1, 1945, to March 31, 1956, a substantial sum of money was given to Yugoslavia.

The figures for military assistance are classified, but I can give them to individual Members of the Senate. We cannot talk about them publicly or for the benefit of the press.

Mr. President, another important point in this debate, which has not been answered is: What did Tito actually say on his last trip to Moscow? I have been very much troubled about that, because I have heard various interpretations. One of our witnesses before the Committee on Foreign Relations—I will not use any names—was asked the following question about what Tito had said in his speech in Moscow:

Did he say that he would march with Russia in peace and war?

The answer of the witness was "No; that Tito did not exactly say that. What Tito said was that they had been allied during the Second World War" and "As we were allied in war, so shall we be allies in peace."

In other words, Tito did not say that they would fight shoulder to shoulder. That is what Zhukov said. Those are the words that Zhukov evidently put into Tito's mouth. Tito apparently made this clear to our representatives in Moscow.

Now Tito may have tried to change what he had actually said. However, the feeling in our Embassies is that we would be moving too fast to assume that Tito had gone back to the other side, on the basis of his comments in Moscow.

In that same connection I wish to read a quotation from the State Department's bulletin of July 9, 1956, dealing with the June 27 press conference of Mr. Dulles. I wish to get this into the RECORD because it has a great bearing on what we should do now on this subject. The question was asked of Secretary Dulles:

Mr. Secretary, would you give us your assessment of Marshal Tito's visit to Moscow and whether you believe he has in any significant way changed his position vis a vis the Soviet and the West?

Mr. Dulles' answer was the following:

The question that you put is one which is receiving very close study by this Government. We have not yet come to any final assessment of what was the significance of Marshal Tito's visit to Russia. He is not yet back in Belgrade, nor have we had the opportunity to have a quiet study, with full information, as to just what took place there. I would say this, we do not believe that anything that has happened conclusively shows that Tito has gone back to any role of subservience to the Soviet Union.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Jersey yield?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I should like to finish, and then I shall be glad to yield.

I continue reading from the letter:

There is no evidence at all of that, and to my mind it would be almost incredible that he would have assumed that relationship because, after all, he risked a great deal—including perhaps the most precious thing that a man has in many respects, his own life—to maintain independence for himself and his country. Why, under present conditions, he should have given it up I can't see; nor do I find in what has been said any evidence that he did give it up.

Very strenuous efforts were made by the Soviet hosts to trap him into statements, to

interpret Tito's own statements, in a sense that would give that implication. But we do not feel that there is any evidence which satisfies us so far that he has given up his independent role. And I would think it would be a very grave mistake indeed, so long as the matter at least is subject to reasonable doubt, if action were taken which would make it impossible for us to proceed on the assumption that he was still independent or to help him to maintain his independence. In other words, the verdict is not yet in. And until we have a much clearer view of the situation I would hope very much that there would be no congressional action which would foreclose the issue.

Mr. President, I shall be glad to yield for a moment to the Senator from Wisconsin. I do not wish too much time taken out of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I do not wish to encroach upon the Senator's time. I wonder if someone will yield half a minute to me.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute on the bill to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator from New Jersey says there was doubt about what Tito said in Moscow. I assume the Senator will not question the authenticity of the New York Times story on page 2 of the June 3 edition, where Tito is quoted as saying:

We were greatly pained, but we believed that the time would come when everything separating us would be overcome and when our friendship would receive a new and still more firm foundation. This time has come, thanks to the Leninist policy of the Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union * * * [the recent visit of Soviet leaders to Belgrade and] the courageous and far-sighted foreign policy of the collective leadership of the Soviet Union are, in my profound conviction, a guarantee that nothing of the kind will ever happen again between the two countries marching along the path of Marx, Engels, and Lenin * * *. Long live the Soviet Union. Long live the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

I wonder if the Senator questions the authenticity of that quotation, and if he does not, will he not agree that it makes little sense to talk about driving Yugoslavia into the arms of the Soviets. I did not hear the Senator from New Jersey make that particular statement, but I have heard it on the Senate floor and in committee, and, as I have said before, it makes no sense at all.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New Jersey has again expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield an additional 2 minutes to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, we have heard certain letters read on the floor with regard to the 90-day period and the immediate delivery of jet planes. I wish to address myself to that subject at this time. There is a sequence of letters which may take longer than the time I have been granted.

On the 19th of July 1956 Mr. Dulles wrote a letter to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and I shall read the entire letter because it has never been

placed in the RECORD. Certain parts of it have been placed in the RECORD, but the entire letter never has been put into the RECORD. The letter is as follows:

JULY 19, 1956.

DEAR SENATOR HAYDEN: I have heard that a number of Senators have been disturbed by reports, some of which have appeared in the press, that the Departments of State and Defense are planning to ship a large number of jet fighter planes to Yugoslavia within the next 90 days. I can assure you that this is not the case.

As you know, the Mutual Security Act of 1956 requires the cessation of all deliveries to Yugoslavia of supplies purchased with mutual-security funds on a date 90 days after the enactment of that law, unless the President determines, in accordance with certain criteria specified by the Congress, that aid should continue. While this provision of the statute, technically speaking, does provide a legal basis for the continued transfer of United States military equipment to Yugoslavia for the next 3 months, I am very conscious of the intent of the Congress that a careful review be made of American policies towards Yugoslavia prior to undertaking any new assistance programs for that country.

The important thing at this juncture is that the executive branch be authorized by the Congress to exercise its discretion on all questions in the very complex situation related to Yugoslavia. As I have testified, there may be sound reasons for continuing some assistance programs to Yugoslavia, and, in fact, I have pointed to the favorable circumstances that the Yugoslav Government apparently prefers to rely entirely on the United States and other Western countries as sources for its heavy military equipment.

However, these substantive considerations are secondary at the moment and will first be taken up during the studies in the executive branch directed towards providing the President with background information for his findings. The primary point now is that you and the Senate may be confident that, until the President has acted with respect to military supplies, nothing but small, routine and long-planned deliveries of mutual security supplies will be made to Yugoslavia. To give you some idea of what that might entail in the military field, I may say that during 1955 no jet fighter planes were sent to Yugoslavia, while in 1956 only two have been shipped.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The additional time yielded to the Senator from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 3 additional minutes to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, a few days ago the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] made the statement in the Senate that jet fighter planes were being shipped. I rose and said I know that no jet fighter planes were being shipped at this time, and the Senator took issue with my statement.

I have been making careful inquiries about this matter, because there is confusion about it, and I think the Senate should know all the facts. I have taken the question up with the Department of State and with the Department of Defense, and have asked whether I was wrong in my statement that no jet fighter planes are being shipped at the present time.

Yesterday I received a copy of a letter sent to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], which fills out the picture.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New Jersey has again expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I have a letter dated July 23, 1956, from Acting Secretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., to the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], which reads as follows:

DEAR SENATOR HAYDEN: In his letter to you of July 19 concerning the shipment of aircraft to Yugoslavia, Secretary Dulles indicated that, until the President has decided what determination he should make under section 143 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, nothing but small, routine, and long-planned deliveries of mutual security supplies will be made to Yugoslavia. He added, to illustrate what this might entail in the military field, that in 1955 no jet fighter planes were sent to Yugoslavia while in 1956 only two have been shipped.

At the time Mr. Dulles wrote, this was the latest information available to the Defense Department in Washington. We have just received a report from the field that four additional planes, which were reconditioned in Europe, after serving in NATO, were delivered on July 18. I should like to bring this further information to your attention for the record.

Confirming Secretary Dulles' statement, I am informed by the Department of Defense that present plans do not call for shipment of additional jet fighter planes to Yugoslavia pending the outcome of the Presidential review contemplated by section 143 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.

Sincerely yours,

HERBERT HOOVER, JR.,

Acting Secretary.

Those are the latest figures, and they mean that in 1956 a total of six jet fighter planes has definitely been shipped. The last four were shipped by our people in the field. I am told that what happened was that one of our NATO allies asked for new planes and Yugoslavia received some of the replaced planes after they were reconditioned overseas. This transaction enabled us to meet commitments we had made to Yugoslavia for some plane deliveries, in order to fill up their divisions.

That is the situation in which we now find ourselves, and these are the latest, most authentic facts. I wished to clarify the statement I made the other night. As a matter of fact, my statement was correct, because the planes had been shipped prior to the time I made the statement. But I do not want any misunderstanding to arise.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair regrets to inform the Senator from New Jersey that his time has expired.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I should like 2 additional minutes.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 2 additional minutes to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I do not wish to yield now.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. But the Senator from New Jersey has used my name.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. That will be sufficient. I read from a letter written by Herbert Hoover, Jr., the Acting Secre-

tary of State, which the Senator from New Jersey has cited. I call attention again to the carefully guarded words of the diplomat:

Confirming Secretary Dulles' statement, I am informed by the Department of Defense that present plans do not call for shipment of additional jet fighter planes to Yugoslavia pending the outcome of the Presidential review contemplated by section 143 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.

I call the Senator's attention to the word "present plans." The plans may be changed tomorrow. Who is the Department of Defense to tell the Secretary of State what he shall do about the negotiations? If these officials would talk in straight, open, public language, language that the man on the street could understand, there would be no doubt. But they refused to talk, and they will not answer the questions asked by the committees.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I shall say only a few more words before I sit down. I said earlier that I have made a study of the Balkan area. I think it is one of the most critical areas in Europe. If it should go behind the iron curtain and into the Russian orbit, there would be nothing to prevent Russia from taking over Italy, first, and then the other western European countries.

Since Yugoslavia broke away from Moscow, we have had a bulwark against that happening. It has been one of the greatest sources of strength for the entire NATO area.

I admit there is doubt about this matter. I admit that all deliveries should be cut off now, and remain cut off until it is determined what the situation is.

But I submit to cut off all military shipments permanently as the amendment provides, except the shipment of replacement parts, does not give the President of the United States, who is the military commander in chief, and his military staffs, the ability to appraise the situation and determine whether Tito has really gone over to the Soviet side, or whether the Yugoslavs are still maintaining their independent position with the Western group.

As I said previously, there is 1 chance in 10 that the situation can be salvaged. We must take that chance and not let it go simply because of some misinterpretation of what Tito recently said in Moscow.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield me 1 minute that I may ask him a question?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. LANGER. What disturbs me is that if we give military aid to Tito now, what is there to stop the rulers of Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan from visiting Moscow, making statements similar to those which Tito has made, and then asking us to continue our military aid to them?

Mr. KNOWLAND. While I do not anticipate that any of those countries will go to the Russian side, still if a country—it might be any country the Senator might name—should get a Communist government, and went to the Soviet Union claiming that it was semi-independent, even though it had a Commu-

nist dictatorship, it could point to Yugoslavia as a precedent for our furnishing both arms and equipment.

Mr. LANGER. I agree with the Senator as to the precedent.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts will state it.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Has all time on the amendment expired?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time of the Senator from California and all time in opposition to the amendment has expired.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, may I have 5 minutes on the bill?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, if a point of order is made or if a motion is made to suspend the rule, or if an appeal is taken from the ruling of the Chair, how much debate would then be permitted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One hour on any of the methods which might be used.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. If the Senator from Minnesota will permit, in order that we may make headway, I should be glad to yield time to him after I have raised my point of order. We can listen to him after that time.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, if the acting minority leader would yield me a few minutes now, I should like to make my statement so that it will appear with other statements in support of and in opposition to the amendment. All the statements will then appear at about the same place in the RECORD. But if a point of order were made now, my statement and whatever colloquy might occur would appear in the RECORD following the point of order.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I suggest that 5 minutes be yielded to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. THYE. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. President, only the historians will be able to determine which ones of us are right on the Senate floor this afternoon. We will not be able to prove that to the satisfaction of one another by the statements we make here today.

The Committee on Foreign Relations placed within the authorization bill an amendment to the Mutual Security Act which would prevent the Administrator from doing what Congress would not approve. The committee provided a period of 90 days within which to evaluate the international situation following Tito's visit to the Soviet Union.

The President has asked that he have a period of 90 days within which to meet in conference with the leaders of other nations in an endeavor to evaluate the diplomatic situation which has arisen because of Tito's friendly expression to the Soviet Union during his personal visit to Russia.

Delegations from the United States have gone to Russia. Delegations from Congress went to Russia last year. The Iron Curtain has been lifted. At the time we became allied as a friendly na-

tion with Yugoslavia, the curtain was down. We welcomed the friendly territory of the Yugoslavian Government so that we might stand there and use it as a listening post to determine the situation behind the Iron Curtain.

If Senators will examine the record of the hearings in the Committee on Appropriations, on page 309, they will find that Secretary Dulles said:

Now I would like to say a word about Yugoslavia. I strongly urge upon this committee and through this committee upon the Senate that we should be allowed a certain measure of discretion still as regards Yugoslavia. That is a difficult and delicate situation. I am absolutely certain of this: First, that Yugoslavia still stands as a symbol of independence in the satellite world and that if that symbol were pulled down and if Yugoslavia went back again 100 percent into the Soviet camp, it would make it infinitely more difficult to carry out our program which seeks the liberation and freedom of the satellite countries. It would be a terrific setback to all of our hopes and all of our plans in that area.

If we turn to the next page, page 311, we find Admiral Radford's statement pleading with the committee, in much the same language, that we permit the Secretary of State and the President to evaluate the situation in Yugoslavia before we close off all our military assistance to that country.

So, Mr. President, I say only the historians will determine which of us was right this afternoon, but I am determined that I shall do my utmost to stand with the President, to stand with the Secretary of State, and to stand with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are asking that opportunity be afforded them to determine the diplomatic situation we are confronted with in that area of the world.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time must be yielded on the bill, since there is no time remaining on the amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield myself 3 minutes on the bill.

I desire to say, first of all, the matter of the discretion of the President can be carried to an extreme, and I am speaking now of any administration, Republican or Democratic. If it were desired to give complete discretion to the President, the thing to do would be to appropriate as a lump sum the \$4 billion, or whatever amount the mutual aid bill may carry, and put it in the hands of the President without any strings attached. I think a substantial argument could be made that that should be done, regardless of where the money might go, or to whom he might transfer the funds. He could use them for military equipment, for economic aid, for replacement parts, and for technical assistance. If the desire is to put complete and final authority and discretion in the hands of any President, that is the way to do it. But the Constitution also states that the Congress of the United States is the legislative arm

of the Government, and under our constitutional responsibility, we take money away from the American people in taxes, and control the purse strings, and appropriate money out of the Public Treasury. In our constitutional exercise of that power do we have the right to lay down certain conditions? Of course, we do. We say a certain amount of this aid shall be economic, a certain amount of it shall be technical assistance, a certain amount shall be spent in Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, and we put restrictions on the spending. It is entirely proper that we do so, regardless of who the President might be. We have done it during the past 10 years of the mutual aid program and the Marshall plan, and we have quite properly done it in that regard.

The fact of the matter is that the amendment I have offered is the only way we can get at the more than \$100 million of military and other types of equipment which are in the pipelines and which have not yet been shipped to Yugoslavia. If certain Senators do not want to impose such a restriction, they are privileged to vote against the amendment. I am not quarreling with a single Senator who wishes to exercise his judgment in that regard. There are honest differences of opinion. On this subject I happen to feel as I have indicated, but I recognize that other Senators, who are just as patriotic feel differently, and I do not quarrel with them.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. THYE. I should like to ask the Senator if it is not a fact that the Secretary of State and the President have used good judgment concerning shipment of military equipment to the Yugoslavs in the past 18 months. That certainly is a fact, is it not?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will say to the Senator that up to the time Tito went to the Soviet Union, the President and the Secretary of State were conforming with the then law as passed by the Congress, and aid to Tito had been granted because Yugoslavia was threatened by aggression from the Soviet Union.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from California has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield myself 5 minutes on the bill. I am raising no question as to the discretion exercised by the Executive of either the last administration or the present one in expending the funds appropriated by the Congress for Tito, up to the point that Tito went to the Kremlin.

Mr. THYE. The Senator does not feel he can, in good conscience, criticize the President or the Secretary of State or Admiral Radford in any of their administrative actions concerning military aid to Yugoslavia, does he?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I have not questioned their action with respect to the whole worldwide situation, and as the Senator from Minnesota knows, I have supported the administration's program, and have stood on the floor day after day, hour in and hour out, fighting for it.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, no one has devoted more time, study, effort, and work than has the Senator from California, the minority leader, both to this matter and other matters relating to the mutual security program. That is why I find it extremely embarrassing and difficult to be opposed to him on this question today. But I sat through all the hearings, and the Senator from California likewise did. My convictions are that the President, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Secretary of State should be given a little leeway, so they may evaluate the diplomatic situation with which the world has been confronted since the Russians opened their Iron Curtain and invited Tito in. The situation in Russia is different today than it was 18 months ago. I think we had better take heed and give the President, the Secretary of State, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff a little latitude in making decisions as to what they may want to do tomorrow.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I will say to the distinguished Senator from Minnesota that, in the first place, so far as latitude is concerned, under the amendment they will have latitude with respect to economic aid. They will have latitude in furnishing replacement parts. They will have latitude in furnishing maintenance. That kind of latitude is not affected by the amendment. As the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] pointed out, the amendment puts a freeze during this period of time on the sending of additional howitzers to Communist Yugoslavia under Dictator Tito. It prevents the shipment of additional big guns. It prevents the shipment of tanks. It prevents the shipment of jet fighter planes. It prevents the shipment of bombers, be they old type bombers or jet type bombers, or whatever they may be.

To be sure, let us review the situation; but, if the amendment should be adopted, when Congress reassembles next January we shall still be able to feed the hungry people of Yugoslavia if they need food. We shall still be able, under the amendment, to give them economic aid. We shall still be able to see to it that their equipment does not rust and become useless, because we shall be able to furnish replacement parts, such as carburetors, new tires, and other needed parts.

There are some who question that the furnishing of such replacement parts is advisable. But if, after a resurvey is made, the President desires to come to the Congress and state, "I believe it is in the interest of the United States and the preservation of the free world to furnish such equipment," in the first supplemental appropriation bill which will be considered in January next year, funds can be appropriated for that purpose. We shall have an opportunity at that time to examine into the question of whether we want to do it, and whether it is a sound thing to do. But I say again, most sincerely, and I respect the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, who is my good friend, and who has served with me on the Appropriations Committee and otherwise, my own conviction is such

that I cannot justify to the people of California, or the people I represent as a Senator of the United States, taking money out of our treasury and furnishing new war equipment to Dictator Tito at a time when this issue is very much in question, and until the issue has been amply clarified to the satisfaction of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. FLANDERS. I thank the Senator from California. I shall need but 1 minute. On July 9, by voice and vote, I tried to prevent a shipment of war materials to Yugoslavia. Later in the debate it was determined by the vote of the Senate that the responsibility for deciding whether such material should be sent to Yugoslavia should be left to the discretion of the President. The President has accepted that responsibility. I am not an "on-again off-again gone-again Fin-nigin." The President has accepted that responsibility, and I am not going to vote to take it away from him. I shall, therefore, oppose this amendment.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, in the remarks I previously made, I intended to include in the RECORD an item from the New York Times of June 21, relating to the speech Marshal Tito made in the Soviet Union—a matter to which several Senators have referred. I think this additional information should be available to the Senate prior to taking the vote. In the New York Times of June 21, Marshal Zhukov is quoted as having said:

Soviet and Yugoslav military forces fought shoulder to shoulder against German fascism. Soviet and Yugoslav military forces are struggling to maintain peace, but should war be imposed upon us we will struggle shoulder to shoulder for the benefit of mankind.

That is the Marshal Zhukov statement, which is in general conformity with the one previously attributed to Tito.

The New York Times of June 21 also says, in connection with the quotation I have just read:

President Tito, hereby, nodded and gripped Marshal Zhukov's hand firmly.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield 3 minutes to me?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I am glad that the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], has returned to the floor, because I think one matter should be clarified for the RECORD, and in that connection I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Georgia. Earlier this afternoon, he and I engaged in colloquy as to what the RECORD shows regarding the position of the White House and the action taken on the Yugoslav issue.

It will be recalled that previously in the debate it has been stated over and over again that the bill provides not only what the State Department wanted,

but also what the White House wanted. I think that is beyond successful dispute. But in order to make the record perfectly clear, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the letter submitted to the Foreign Relations Committee by the Secretary of State, under date of June 13, 1956.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 13, 1956.

DEAR SENATOR GEORGE: I welcome the opportunity presented by your letter of June 6 to make it clear that the Department vigorously opposes Senate bill 4001 which seeks to cut off all United States assistance to Yugoslavia.

Within the past 6 months, the executive branch of this Government, with the participation of the President, has reviewed the question of United States policy toward Yugoslavia, and both the programs now being implemented and those proposed in the mutual security bill before your committee are consonant with and in support of the national policy thus established.

During the deliberations at all levels which preceded the final formulation of United States policy in the executive branch, all of the many and frequently complicated factors which enter into United States relations with Yugoslavia were given the most careful attention. In their own independent deliberations on mutual security programs for Yugoslavia, the members of your committee, and of the entire Senate, may find helpful the following summary of the principal considerations which weighed most heavily with the executive branch in determining the final policy adopted.

It was agreed that the American attitude toward Yugoslavia had to be formulated in the context of the overall foreign policy of the United States which seeks to meet the basic challenge to American national security and economic well-being emanating from the Soviet Union. The expansionist tendencies of the U. S. S. R. have been particularly apparent in Europe, where the U. S. S. R. now sits astride the middle of the continent and has stifled all but the illusory sovereignty of a number of once independent countries in Eastern Europe. In this area, only one nation, Yugoslavia, has had both the opportunity and the steadfastness to stake its virtual existence as an independent state on a defiance of Moscow's ambitions to dominate it, and the United States can take satisfaction from its record of support for Yugoslavia during the recent years of crisis.

It is natural, of course, that the focus of attention today rests on Yugoslavia's present position, which is symbolized in part by the visit of President Tito to the U. S. S. R. In essence, however, this visit, like the widely noted trip of the Russian leaders to Belgrade in May 1955, marks an acceptance by the Soviets of the defeat of their efforts to press Yugoslavia into the satellite mold. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Kremlin is trying to gloss over the failure of its anti-Tito policies from 1948 through 1953 by assiduously wooing Belgrade and by working to undermine the manifold Yugoslav ties with the West built up since 1948.

Since the Yugoslav regime is a Communist one, it is understandable that its leaders now look hopefully to the Kremlin to rescue the U. S. S. R. and the worldwide reputation of communism from the disrepute to which the totalitarian system perfected by Stalin brought it. In that sense, the United States cannot overlook the tendencies in Yugoslavia toward rapprochement with the Soviet Union induced both by ideology and by the memories of long Communist Party collab-

oration prior to 1948. Also to be taken into account is the weakness of the Yugoslav economy which still requires much help from abroad and which cannot afford to pass up the relatively generous offers of credits and trade from the Soviet orbit. Finally, the Yugoslavs have welcomed and seek to take advantage of the normalization of their formerly beleaguered frontiers with the neighboring Soviet-orbit countries.

None of this obscures the fact, however, that decisions on Yugoslav Government problems and policies are being made in Belgrade and not in Moscow. To be sure, many of these decisions in the foreign-policy field do not correspond with our own. This is partly understandable in the light of Yugoslavia's different geographical, economic, historical, and ideological circumstances. Yet there has been no credible evidence that President Tito wishes or is going to enter into a subservient status vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Moreover, it is illogical that he should wish to do so, especially in view of his presently favorable international position vis-a-vis East and West, and of his record since 1948, unless dire economic necessity forces him to become overdependent on the U. S. S. R. without the alternative availability of American assistance. The Yugoslav portion of the pending mutual-security legislation is designed to contribute toward preventing that situation from arising. Its enactment would also be a sign to other West European countries, almost all of which have cordial relations with Yugoslavia, that the United States, as of the present, sees no cause for a major shift in its Yugoslav policy. Such an American judgment would coincide with the conclusions reached lately by a number of responsible West European statesmen.

It is evident that the state of United States-Yugoslav relations has important implications for Eastern as well as Western Europe. Docile as they have been in Soviet hands, the satellite chieftains cannot fail to have secretly admired Belgrade's resistance to Moscow in the cause of national independence and to be envious of Moscow's present generosity toward Yugoslavia as compared with its parsimony toward themselves. Undoubtedly, these rulers will be anxious to take advantage of whatever greater degree of independent action is permitted them by the new Soviet leadership, and it may well be useful for them to know that the United States is holding to its record of assisting nations, such as Yugoslavia, which make efforts to assert and preserve their independence.

I am aware that there is considerable criticism in this country of the system of government now prevailing in Yugoslavia. Properly speaking, the nature of another nation's regime is of no official concern to the United States Government, provided that such regime is not associated with the worldwide movement still directed from Moscow with the aim of subverting the independent states not in the Soviet bloc. Yugoslavia does not now seem to be cooperating with this phase of Soviet endeavor and, indeed, gives indications of its disapproval of the continued Soviet effort to expand its orbit and "export" its revolution. Still, I should make clear that this Government recognizes that a dictatorship prevails in Yugoslavia and that an unfortunate denial of some human freedoms still persists there. On the other hand, fairness requires that this situation be compared with the Soviet-type political conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia 8 years ago, and any such comparison will demonstrate that there have been substantial ameliorations for the average citizen brought on both by the regime's critical reexamination of some of its own tenets and practices and by the influence of its expanding official and unofficial contacts with the West.

In reviewing the elements which have entered into the recent formulation by the executive branch of United States policy toward Yugoslavia, I have to be sure, not meant to imply that this evaluation was final and definitive for the Executive. As you know, procedures are in operation within the executive branch to insure that all policies toward individual countries are kept under continuing review regarding their effectiveness and correctness, and this applies, of course, to the Yugoslav case. It is our aim to remain alert to the implications of new international developments for existing programs and, before new appropriations were obligated for Yugoslavia, the Department would in any event review the then-current situation, whether there were a congressional mandate to this effect or not. It is my hope, however, which I know the President has shared, that the Congress will not want to deprive us of the instrumentalities and funds whereby the executive branch will be enabled to pursue the flexible policy toward Yugoslavia which is needed to counter the present Soviet drive to retrieve its own failure in Yugoslavia since 1948.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to read 1 or 2 short paragraphs of the letter, as follows:

I welcome the opportunity presented by your letter of June 6 to make it clear that the Department vigorously opposes Senate bill 4001 which seeks to cut off all United States assistance to Yugoslavia.

Within the past 6 months, the executive branch of this Government, with the participation of the President, has reviewed the question of United States policy toward Yugoslavia, and both the programs now being implemented and those proposed in mutual security bill before your committee are consonant with and in support of the national policy thus established.

Then, Mr. President, at the end of the letter, the Secretary of State wrote:

It is my hope, however, which I know the President has shared, that the Congress will not want to deprive us of the instrumentalities and funds whereby the executive branch will be enabled to pursue the flexible policy toward Yugoslavia which is needed to counter the present Soviet drive to retrieve its own failure in Yugoslavia since 1948.

Mr. President, when the bill was marked up in the Foreign Relations Committee, there was supplied to each member of the committee a digest of the testimony on this matter by the spokesman for the administration. At this time I wish to read what was supplied to us; and it was an accurate statement of facts, based upon the testimony of the witnesses from the executive branch on the position of the executive branch on this issue:

The executive branch—

(1) Favors the 90-day period allowed by the Senate bill in order that the President may have sufficient time to consider the new findings that are required.

(2) Has no objection to the requirement in the Senate bill that the President report his findings to Congress with his reasons therefor.

(3) Understands the additional finding required by the Senate bill to mean that Yugoslavia is not acting as an instrument of Soviet policy for the Communist conquest of the world and has no objection to it.

Mr. President, the last point I wish to make is that the letter which the

chairman of the committee read to the Senate today, which I understand came from the White House, certainly leaves no room for doubt that the President of the United States himself wants the flexible program which we voted the other evening that he should have; and therefore, of course, the President must be considered as being opposed to the Knowland amendment.

Mr. President, if there is any feeling that that is not the position of the President of the United States, then I think we owe it to the President to have a statement made at this time regarding whether that is or is not the position of the President of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time yielded to the Senator from Oregon has expired.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I should like to have 1 minute.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Georgia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Oregon is entirely correct. With respect to the matters which he said were before the committee at the time when the committee voted to report the bill, I am sure the Senator from Oregon is correct. I think he is also correct in all his other statements.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has been used.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield to me 5 minutes on the bill?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts 5 minutes on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 minutes on the bill.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, we have heard patriotic Senators make statements on both sides of the pending question. At this time I should like to speak briefly to it, and I shall endeavor to be realistic.

Mr. President, all of us realize that Tito and Yugoslavia are Communist. Although at the present time he is friendly to Russia and the Soviets, we have no knowledge that he has turned Yugoslavia back toward the Russians. In fact, there is clear indication that Yugoslavia still is an independent Communist country.

Some time ago we agreed on the sending of aid to Yugoslavia. That aid has been sent. Lately it has been greatly reduced in amount. The sending of that aid was a calculated risk. We knew Yugoslavia was Communist, but we knew that Yugoslavia was independent of Russia, when we sent the aid. That was I repeat, a calculated risk.

In my opinion, the nub of this debate is: Are we ready at this time to say that our calculated risk has gone bad? Are we ready to say that we made a bad bet, and that we must declare that our effort in that respect has been a loss? If we do that, and if at this time we cut off all aid to Yugoslavia, and if we do not

give the President the right to use his discretion in this case—and such discretion is worth a great deal—then we shall force Yugoslavia to turn to the Russians, for the equipping of the Yugoslav Army, for in that situation either the Yugoslav Army will become obsolescent or it will be equipped by the Russians.

Are we to take the position that at this time all we have done for Yugoslavia is lost? Three weeks ago we voted on the authorization bill on this subject. Inasmuch as the President was, in that bill, given the discretion, subject to the 90-day period provided for, to decide whether aid should be given to Yugoslavia, then, under that measure, the President must do this:

First, find there has been no change in Yugoslavia policies on the basis of which the assistance has been furnished in the past, and that Yugoslavia is independent of control by the Soviet Union.

Second, find that Yugoslavia is not participating in a policy or program for Communist conquest of the world.

And, third, find that it is in the interest of the national security of the United States to continue the furnishing of assistance of Yugoslavia under this act.

In other words, the President must so find, and must so report to the Congress, within 90 days.

Since this debate began, we have received communications on this subject from the Department of State and from the President himself. That matter has been referred to by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and other Senators. As a result of those communications, our aid would practically be stopped within the 90 days.

The question is simple. Are we willing to say that our calculated risk has gone wrong, or are we willing to trust the discretion of the President of the United States, whose discretion has proved to be sound in other instances, and whose judgment and knowledge of European conditions are as fundamental as those of anyone else in the world? Are we willing to trust his discretion? Must he report to Congress? Are we willing to say that our bets have gone bad, that our calculated risk is no good, and that we must stop everything?

It seems to me that is the question we must decide in this debate. I am not willing to say that our calculated risk has gone bad; and I, for one, am willing to trust the discretion of the President.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask that I may have 2 minutes on the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, after listening to the debate on the Knowland amendment, I think it would be a mistake to adopt it. The reasons I take that position are three-fold.

In the first place, in my opinion, the language placed in the authorization calling upon the President to submit a report to Congress in 3 months, and requiring Yugoslavia to meet three conditions, is extremely firm. In my opinion Yugoslavia may well be unable to meet those conditions. But at least we would have a clearer picture in 3 months.

Under the stipulated conditions, we ask the President to certify that Yugoslavia is independent of control by the Soviet Union; second, that Yugoslavia is not participating in a policy for the Communist control of the world; and, third, that it is in the interest of the United States security that the United States continue aid to Yugoslavia.

I do not think anyone could say with finality that Yugoslavia would be able to meet those standards today. I do not think she may be able to do so in 3 months. But I do not think it is possible for Congress to conduct the foreign policy of the United States on a basis when none of us knows the evolution of that policy, particularly as it may concern the relationship between the Soviet Union and her satellites, and the relationship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Yet the amendment would require that the United States, without alteration regardless of changing circumstances, follow a certain course for a year.

The letter of Mr. Herbert Hoover—and I think we agree that the language could have been more precise—states that no planes will be shipped during the period the President is reviewing the policy, which will be for 3 months, and therefore no assistance will be given to Yugoslavia until the President has made a report to the Congress at the end of 3 months. It seems to me that the Congress, acting in a responsible way, has all the protection necessary to protect us from irresponsibility in this area of our foreign policy. If, after that, the President makes a finding and reports his finding to the Congress, the Congress and the President can take appropriate action. For the Congress with all of the protection of the language of the authorization not to permit the President this flexibility at this time, I believe, would be a mistake.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield me 3 minutes?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 3 minutes to the junior Senator from Oregon.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I intend to oppose the amendment which has been offered by the Senator from California. I intend to do so because, in a matter such as this, the judgment and knowledge of the President of the United States and of the Secretary of State are far better and more expert than mine. I intend to support the President and the Secretary of State on this issue.

However, I should like to call something to the attention of our distinguished friends across the aisle. I voted with the President several weeks ago on the question of the mutual-aid authorization. Because of this, I have been receiving letters from Republicans in my State denouncing me as an alleged leftist. I am sure that if I had voted against the President, I would have received letters from the same people accusing me of not supporting our great President of the United States.

This is not the first time our friends across the aisle have tried to have their cake and eat it too. Only this morning I consulted the hearings transcript on the nomination of Wesley D'Ewart to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior. I was lectured by some of my friends across the aisle because I opposed Mr. D'Ewart, inasmuch as I disagree with him on certain vital questions of conservation.

Some of my friends across the aisle said to me, "On an appointment such as this, the President of the United States is entitled to name a person in whom he has confidence." Lo and behold, some of the same friends who thus lectured me voted against the President of the United States only recently in connection with the nomination of Paul G. Hoffman. On that particular occasion, it did not seem that the President of the United States was entitled to have someone of his own choosing, in whom he has confidence.

According to the Congressional Quarterly, during 1955 I voted with President Eisenhower 80 percent of the time on questions of foreign policy. According to the same Congressional Quarterly, one of the Republican Representatives from my State voted with President Eisenhower 25 percent of the time on foreign policy. When I got home that man criticized me for not supporting the great President of the United States.

I think it is well to have the RECORD today show—and I am glad the senior Senator from Georgia read the President's letter into the RECORD—that those of us who are opposing the amendment which has been offered by the minority leader are supporting the policies presented by the President of the United States and his Secretary of State.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield me 1 minute?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. At the time of the authorization for mutual security I supported the language in the committee bill, which placed the responsibility for the final determination of aid to Yugoslavia, in the hands of the President and the Secretary of State. I have neither seen nor heard anything since that would cause me to change my mind.

While Members of Congress may feel that they have all the secret information at their fingertips, and while we may feel that we have all the national security problems immediately before our eyes, it is true that in matters of high policy, such as our relationships with a specific country, we do not get all the information. I wish we did, but we do not. I do not believe that we have had all the vital and secret information about Yugoslavia. I do not believe that we have had all the information with respect to Tito. I think the only ones who have such information are the President of the United States and the members of the National Security Council.

I cannot understand what makes the Senators on the other side of the aisle so suspicious of the President. Is there

some reason why they do not trust his judgment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, may I ask for an additional minute?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield an additional minute to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Is there any reason why our colleagues on the other side of the aisle should feel that the President's judgment in this connection would be in any way warped? After all, we have been aiding Tito until the present day. The President has asked that he be granted the right to make the decision as to whether or not continued aid to Yugoslavia is in our own national security interest.

I heard one of my colleagues say that he was not an off-again-on-again-gone-again Finnigan, but even before the mutual-security authorization vote the President had been conducting foreign policy with Czechoslovakia. Aid had been cut off for a period of time, and then had been restored.

The simple truth is that we have not all the facts. No Senator can rightfully claim that he has seen all the facts. No member of the Foreign Relations Committee, save possibly the distinguished chairman, can rightfully say that he has witnessed all the material.

On that basis, inasmuch as the President and the Secretary of State feel that this is a matter of the highest policy, a matter of most delicate concern, and of extreme importance to our foreign relations, I think we should give the President the benefit of the doubt in this particular instance, unless, before the conclusion of the debate, someone can come forward with some new information which has not been made available to the committee. The language in the bill does not automatically grant aid to Tito. In fact, it denies and withholds such aid unless the President specifically finds that aid is of urgent importance to our own national security.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I make the point of order that the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from California proposes general legislation on an appropriation bill, and is therefore in violation of paragraph 4 of rule XVI.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I should like to be heard on that question. I do not intend to appeal the decision of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will hear the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senate and to the Presiding Officer that the subject matter of this amendment relates solely to mutual aid. The amendment does not go into any extraneous field of any type or character. In connection with the pending bill, which contains approximately \$4 billion in aid, statements have been made from the very start—as was also true in connection with the authorization bill—that what we did in relation to the ap-

propriation should be related to whatever might be in the pipeline and in unexpended balances.

Senators may honestly differ on the point as to whether an unexpended balance has been obligated for buying equipment which is needed, but for which the bill has not yet been paid. However, it is certainly germane to an appropriation bill. The technicality—and I am not going to argue it—upon which the point of order rests is that the amendment is in violation of rule XVI in that it applies not only to the pending bill, but also to the unexpended balances, to wit, the nearly more than \$100 million in the pipeline for Tito and Yugoslavia, out of which jets, tanks, howitzers, and other type of equipment might come.

While I do not intend to appeal from the ruling of the Chair, I call attention to the fact that under rule XVI of the Senate I have filed notice of a motion to suspend the rule. Although a two-thirds vote is required to sustain it, I shall ask for a ye and nay vote on my motion to suspend the rule, after the Chair has ruled on the point of order.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. When did the minority leader file the notice of a motion to suspend the rule?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I believe it was on the day I submitted the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). The Chair finds that the notice was filed on July 19.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] has made a point of order against the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] on the ground that it is general legislation on an appropriation bill.

The present occupant of the chair is informed that the precedents of the Senate and House are practically uniform that an amendment in the form of a limitation, when it applies to appropriations in some other act, is legislative.

Inasmuch as this amendment deals with funds in other acts, the Chair must sustain the point of order.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, in accordance with the notice which I have previously filed, I now move that rule XVI be suspended for the purpose of permitting a vote to be taken on the amendment.

I urge Senators, even though they may, for their own reasons, intend to vote against the amendment, at least to afford the Senate an opportunity to have a direct vote on the question of the amendment which I have offered. The only way that can be done is by suspending paragraph 4 of rule XVI.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from California to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI.

Mr. JOHNSON and Mr. KNOWLAND requested the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thirty minutes of debate is allowed to each side.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back my time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I am prepared to yield back my time.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question? Will he yield 1 minute?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I shall vote against the Knowland amendment, but I shall not vote against the motion of the Senator from California to suspend the rule. I do that in accordance with my view that the Members of the Senate should have a right to vote on important legislation like the pending proposal if there is no other way in which a vote can be reached on the issue in question. Members should not be esopped from voting on vital legislation. That is why we have a rule providing for the suspension of the rules. And that is why I regret the invocation of technicalities to prevent even the submission of a motion, as we saw happen earlier today, with the motion of the senior Senator from Missouri. I would not be consistent if I now voted against the suspension of the rule in order to prevent a vote on a highly important matter, when that is the only way to reach a vote on this subject. Despite my opposition to the basic proposal of the minority leader, I shall vote for the suspension of the rule.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I wish to address a question to the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from California whether I am correct in my understanding that under the wording of his amendment funds which have been committed for military assistance, though they have not been expended, would nevertheless be cut off, notwithstanding the fact that our Government was committed to furnishing such assistance?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I may say to the Senator that it is correct they would have to be cut off, but only in the same way that any tentative programs we may have in other areas of the world would have to be cut off if Congress cut the appropriation by a billion dollars, for example. In such a case we would have to revise our programs. Certainly the amendment would require revision of the commitments which have been made so far as new equipment is concerned, but not in connection with replacement parts or maintenance.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. What disturbs me is this: The wording of the Senator's amendment seems to apply to all funds which remain unexpended, rather than only to funds which have not been committed. The Senator from Florida feels that under the wording of the amendment, in the event our country has committed funds under prior appropriations for military assistance to Yugoslavia, our good faith would be violated under the wording of the Senator's amendment. I will ask the distinguished senior Senator what his impression is as to that point.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I fully understand the Senator's position. However, I do

not believe that any commitment can be made, even to our close allies, except subject to appropriations made by Congress. I do not believe that a commitment should be made except with the understanding that the commitment is dependent upon an appropriation from Congress and the control of the purse strings by the legislative arm of the Government.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield further?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. The point which I fear the distinguished Senator from California has overlooked is that commitments which have been made have been made under appropriations heretofore made by Congress.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The Senator is correct. However, I believe the testimony before our committee is quite clear that in the event, for example, Congress in its judgment—and let us now take an extreme example—were to cut the bill down to a billion dollars—which, of course, I would resist, as I have resisted amendments which would have cut the appropriation by a smaller sum our programs all over the world would have to be readjusted. So far as I know, even with our staunchest allies we have never entered into a type of commitment which would prevent the United States from changing the program, if a shifting in the situation required a change, or required a change in emphasis on the Far East rather than on Europe, or on Europe rather than on the Far East. That course has been consistently followed ever since we have had a mutual-aid program. There has never been one iota of testimony presented which would indicate that we have an unusual type of agreement with Tito, different from any other kind of agreement with other countries.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one further question.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Is it the Senator's position that the administrative officers of the United States, those in the executive department, from the President on down, who act in this field, were without authority to make a firm commitment to Yugoslavia under appropriations made last year and the year before last?

Mr. KNOWLAND. No; I am merely saying that to the best of my knowledge and belief—and I have not heard any testimony to the contrary, either before the Committee on Foreign Relations or on the Committee on Appropriations, of which I am also a member; nor has such information been brought to me as minority leader of the Senate by any responsible head of the Government of the United States—there is no evidence which indicates that our Government has a type of commitment with Tito which is different from other types of allocations that have been made elsewhere in the world. I would be very much surprised if there was any such understanding.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California has 11 minutes remaining.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield me 1 minute?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I shall vote for the motion to suspend the rule, because I think the Senate should vote on the merits of the amendment directly and that each Member of the Senate should be recorded on the merits of the amendment.

I also wish to say that the Senator from California has extended to me, innumerable times during my almost 12 years in the Senate, one parliamentary courtesy after another, and I think he is entitled to the parliamentary courtesy I shall extend to him when I vote for the motion to suspend the rule, because I think he should have the opportunity to have a record made on the merits.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I merely wish to make this statement without any criticism of the Appropriations Committee, but out of my abundance of observation and opportunity to see things happen: I believe it would be one of the most dangerous steps this Congress could take to allow general legislation on a general appropriation bill or on any appropriation bill, unless there were really dominating reasons, such as to correct a clear mistake or to prevent some inequity. But when we put into the hands of the Appropriations Committees of the Congress the power to write general legislation in their bills, we are taking one of the most dangerous steps that a legislative body in a free country can take.

Therefore, Mr. President, I shall vote against the motion to suspend the rules.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote!

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I am prepared to go likewise.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from California to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] would vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. PORTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent and, if present, would vote "yea."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 59, nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—59

Allott	Ervin	Martin, Pa.
Anderson	Frear	McCarthy
Barrett	Goldwater	McClellan
Bennett	Hennings	Millikin
Bible	Hickenlooper	Morse
Bricker	Hill	Mundt
Bridges	Hruska	O'Mahoney
Butler	Jenner	Pastore
Byrd	Johnson, Tex.	Purtell
Capehart	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson
Carlson	Kerr	Russell
Case, S. Dak.	Knowland	Schoeppel
Chavez	Kuchel	Scott
Clements	Laird	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Langer	Symington
Curtis	Lehman	Wiley
Douglas	Long	Williams
Dworshak	Magnuson	Wofford
Eastland	Malone	Young
Ellender	Martin, Iowa	

NAYS—33

Alken	Hayden	Monroney
Beall	Holland	Murray
Bender	Humphrey,	Neely
Bush	Minn.	Neuberger
Case, N. J.	Humphreys,	Payne
Dirksen	Ky.	Saltonstall
Duff	Ives	Smith, N. J.
Flanders	Jackson	Sparkman
Fulbright	Kefauver	Stennis
George	Kennedy	Thye
Gore	Mansfield	Watkins
Green	McNamara	

NOT VOTING—4

Daniel	Smathers	Welker
Potter		

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President on behalf of the authors of the amendment, I now desire, as I understood I have the right to do, to modify the amendment, as follows:

On line 3, after the comma, strike out beginning with the comma through the comma on line 5. The amendment would then read:

Provided, That none of the funds made available for military assistance under this act shall be used to furnish military equipment to Yugoslavia except for maintenance of equipment heretofore furnished or to provide spare parts for replacement purposes.

The amendment would be modified by striking out the language applying to prior appropriations acts and would apply to the only funds to which we now have access, which are the relatively small funds in the bill.

The amendment would still permit economic aid, maintenance, and replacement parts to be furnished out of the approximately \$25 million or \$30 million in the bill, but, of course, would not touch the discretionary authority of the President or the \$100 million in the pipeline. It is the most that can be done under the circumstances.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, offered by the Senator from California for himself and other Senators.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I shall not debate the proposal beyond saying that the issue is exactly the same with respect to the quantities in the present act and in the pipeline.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield for a question?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. KUCHEL. What is the amount of money in the appropriation bill which is earmarked for Yugoslavia?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I believe the amount to be covered by the committee amendment now would not exceed in the neighborhood of \$25 million or \$30 million, as distinguished from the \$130 million which it would have been possible to earmark had the rule been suspended.

Mr. KUCHEL. It applies to military aid from the new funds.

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct; to new and additional military equipment.

Mr. President, while there is a good attendance of Senators, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment, as modified.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Does the Senator from California agree with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], who spoke earlier in the day, that the amendment is necessary because the administration will not furnish accurate information to Congress?

Mr. KNOWLAND. No, I do not agree with that point of view. So far as I know, in the Committee on Appropriations we obtained all the information we requested. That was true also in the Committee on Foreign Relations. I have not been denied any information which I myself have requested.

Our problem has been that some of the information furnished—and I can understand the reason; and I do not disagree with the policy—was of a classified nature and could not be freely discussed on the floor. But the information has not been withheld from the committee; rather, because of its nature, it cannot be publicly discussed.

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator is correct. I believe the committees of Congress have been furnished with as full information as it is possible for the administration to give them. But when the Senator from Wyoming based his support of the amendment on the ground of no confidence in the administration, I wished to make it clear for the RECORD that the Senator from California and other Senators were not also basing their support of the amendment on the same ground.

Mr. KNOWLAND. No; that is not my own position in that regard. Neither in the Committee on Appropriations nor in other committees upon which I serve have we been denied the information which we requested.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, of the Senator from California, for himself and other Senators. This is not a new amendment. All time for debate on the amendment has expired.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield me 1 minute on the bill?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield 1 minute on the bill to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. To what extent will the amount of the appropriation be reduced?

Mr. KNOWLAND. If the amendment shall be agreed to, I am not certain that the appropriation will be reduced at all. It will, as a matter of policy, serve notice on Tito and the Yugoslavian Government that there is concern in the American Congress.

All of this amount, for all I know, may be used for maintenance purposes, which would be entirely within the discretion of the President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time has again expired. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified, offered by the Senator from California, for himself and other Senators. The yeas and nays having been ordered, the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent, and, if present, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 42, as follows:

YEAS—50

Anderson	Frear	McClellan
Barrett	Goldwater	Millikin
Bible	Hill	Monroney
Bricker	Hruska	Mundt
Bridges	Jenner	O'Mahoney
Butler	Johnson, Tex.	Pastore
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Purtell
Capehart	Kerr	Robertson
Case, S. Dak.	Knowland	Russell
Chavez	Kuchel	Schoeppel
Clements	Laird	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Langer	Symington
Curtis	Long	Wiley
Douglas	Magnuson	Williams
Dworshak	Malone	Wofford
Eastland	Martin, Pa.	Young
Ervin	McCarthy	

NAYS—42

Aiken	Green	Martin, Iowa
Allott	Hayden	McNamara
Beall	Hennings	Morse
Bender	Hickenlooper	Murray
Bennett	Holland	Neely
Bush	Humphrey,	Neuberger
Carlson	Minn.	Payne
Case, N. J.	Humphreys,	Saltonstall
Dirksen	Ky.	Scott
Duff	Ives	Smith, N. J.
Ellender	Jackson	Sparkman
Flanders	Kefauver	Stennis
Fulbright	Kennedy	Thye
George	Lehman	Watkins
Gore	Mansfield	

NOT VOTING—4

Daniel	Smathers	Welker
Potter		

So the amendment, as modified, offered by Mr. KNOWLAND for himself and other Senators, was agreed to.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from New Hampshire to lay on the table the motion of the Senator from California.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BUSH subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD immediately following the vote on the Knowland amendment, a statement prepared by me.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BUSH

I opposed the Knowland amendment despite the fact that I have a profound distrust of Marshal Tito, the Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, and deeply feel that all aid to that nation should be cut off completely should it be determined that Tito has firmly allied himself with Communist Russia.

I opposed the Knowland amendment because the Senate today was not in a position to determine whether Tito has so allied himself, or whether he may yet remain independent of Communist Russia.

During the next 2 or 3 months, after the Congress has adjourned, events will help President Eisenhower to decide which side Tito will choose. The President felt it essential that he have this time.

When the mutual-security authorization bill was under consideration, I voted for a requirement that the President cut off all aid to Yugoslavia unless he determines and reports to the Congress that:

1. There has been no change in the Yugoslavian policies on the basis of which assistance has been furnished to Yugoslavia in the past, and that Yugoslavia is independent of control by the Soviet Union;

2. Yugoslavia is not participating in any policy or program for the Communist conquest of the world; and

3. It is in the interest of the national security of the United States to continue the furnishing of assistance to Yugoslavia.

The Senate received, during today's debate, positive assurances that in the 90-day period during which the President must make that determination no jet fighter planes will be sent to Yugoslavia.

I was confident that President Eisenhower, during that 90-day period, would allow the shipment of no other supplies to Yugoslavia which could be used against the best interest of the United States and her allies.

Under these circumstances I believe that the amendment would display a lack of confidence in the President. It would weaken his position in the eyes of the world. It might have the disastrous effect of driving Yugoslavia into the arms of Communist Russia while there yet remains a chance, slim as it may be, that she will retain her independence.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I desire to call up my amendment identified as "7-17-56-A," which I propose on behalf of myself and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator desire to have the amendment stated?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I wish to have the amendment stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the proper place, it is proposed to insert a new section as follows:

SEC. . Inasmuch as (1) the Constitution of the United States provides that no money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law and that "a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time," and (2) section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 directs each standing committee of the Senate and House of Representatives to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any law within the jurisdiction of such committee, and (3) certain other constitutional and statutory provisions confer functions upon the Congress relating to the expenditure of public funds, it is essential in order for the Congress to exercise its constitutional and statutory functions that it have access at all times to full and complete information concerning the expenditure of the public funds. Accordingly, all persons engaged in the expenditure of funds appropriated under this act or in the administration of the laws under which such funds are expended are required to furnish to the Committees on Appropriations of the respective Houses and to all other appropriate committees of the Congress such information as may be requested by them relating to the expenditure of such funds or to the programs or projects with respect to which such expenditures are made. In any case in which a person engaged in administering any program or project for which funds are appropriated under this act, refuses to furnish to any such committee any information requested by it concerning such program or project, and the branch of Congress appointing such committee by resolution, notifies the Comptroller General of the United States of such refusal, none of the funds appropriated by this act shall thereafter be available for obligation of such program or project unless such committee notifies the Comptroller General that the information requested has been furnished to the committee.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, so many Members have requested that I yield to them, in order that they may insert irrelevant matters in the RECORD, that I desire to give notice to Senators to whom I may yield, and also to other Senators, that I shall yield only 10 seconds to any 1 Senator, and that I shall yield to not more than 4 Senators, so that my time on the amendment will not be consumed by such yielding. I want Senators who are in the Chamber to know that I intend to make a few remarks which may have some real bearing on the issues which are before the Senate. I may even mention Secretary of State Dulles.

With that understanding, I yield now to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD, at a point just following the vote last taken, a statement by me on the amendment of the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STENNIS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, let me inquire what it is that my good friend, the Senator from Connecticut, wishes to insert in the RECORD.

Mr. BUSH. A statement of my reasons for opposing the amendment of the Senator from California.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I should like to have the Chair rule whether such an insertion would be a violation of the rule.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois refer to the yielding of time for that purpose?

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; I ask whether the making of the insertion the Senator from Connecticut requests would be a violation of the rule.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, insertions may be made at any point in the RECORD that Senators may request.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I have explicitly stated that I am yielding only for the insertion in the RECORD of irrelevant matters; I do not yield for discussion of my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I wish to know the purpose for which Senators request that I yield. I shall yield only for the insertion in the RECORD of irrelevant matters. I have stated that I would yield to four Senators only, to permit them to request the insertion in the RECORD of matters irrelevant to the pending amendment. If Senators merely wish to make insertions in the RECORD, so that they may then depart to the lobbies, that is another thing.

Mr. PURTELL. I thought perhaps the Senator from Wyoming would like to have Senators remain in the Chamber, to hear his remarks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that minority views on Senate Bill 728 may be printed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, was a ruling made on my request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Let there be order in the Senate.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I withdraw my consent. It is perfectly obvious that if I yield further to Senators, the purpose of the limitation upon debate, in connection with the pending bill, will be completely defeated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Let the Chair inquire whether there was objection to the unanimous-consent request which has been made by the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a point of order.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I should like to proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wyoming yield, to enable the statement of a point of order?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I do not, Mr. President.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, at the appropriate time, I intend to submit a point of order on the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming, which clearly is subject to a point of order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will be able to do so at the appropriate time.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, at this time I desire to discuss this amendment briefly. The amendment is an important one.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Wyoming indicate how much time he wishes to use?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I yield myself 12 minutes, beginning now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 12 minutes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, this amendment deals with one of the most important functions of the Government of the United States; namely, the independence of the legislative branch of the Government. When the Founding Fathers drafted the Constitution under which we serve, they sought to establish a government of three separate branches, the first being the legislative branch. They gave to the Congress all the legislative power contained in the Constitution. They also established the executive branch and the judicial branch.

The purpose of the amendment which I have offered is to guarantee to the Members of the Congress of the United States the right to have responses from those who will administer the huge appropriations being made by means of the pending bill. My amendment is submitted in the form of a limitation upon the appropriation. The amendment simply provides that if any of the subordinates or administrators declines to answer a question with respect to the programs or projects for which money is appropriated in this bill, or to give information requested by Congress concerning the project, the branch of Congress appointing such committee by resolution shall notify the Comptroller General of such refusal, and thereafter none of the funds appropriated shall be available for obligation under the program unless the committee notifies the Comptroller General that the information requested has been furnished to the committee. That is a limitation.

I invite the attention of Senators to the fact that when the Government began to grow so great that it was difficult to control appropriations, Congress, during the administration of President Harding, passed a Budget Act, authorizing the President to establish the Bureau of the Budget, which would recommend to Congress the expenditures which the executive branch felt it should be allowed to make. Then, because of the difficulty Congress had encountered in supervising and following expenditures, the same act created the Office of Comptroller General; and to that Office, whose head served under a 15-year appointment, was granted the power which I ask in this amendment, namely, the power to examine the expenditures made by the various agencies and determine whether or not the contracts were fairly carried out in accordance with the appropriations. That makes the amendment a limitation on an appropriation. That language will be found on page 2, lines 15 to 25. The remainder of the amendment is a preliminary recitation of the constitutional power of the legislative branch of the Government to know what the Exec-

utive is doing with the money which is appropriated.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I was interested in the statement of the distinguished Senator from Wyoming about the sacredness of the right of the Congress to know about the programs for which it appropriates. I agree that Congress should maintain that right, generally speaking. But in the development of the right of Congress to obtain information, the Senator will recall that the House of Representatives has a so-called resolution of inquiry, a very highly privileged resolution which may be introduced by the lowliest Member of the House; and if it is not reported or acted upon within 7 days, as I recall, the Member may call it up as a matter of right. However, the customary wording of such resolutions of inquiry always includes a phrase something like this: "If not inconsistent with the national security." It seems to me that the language which the Senator has drafted does not include any such provision.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. No; it does not. It was not intended to do so, because I did not think it was necessary for Congress to have enacted the other provision.

When the President of the United States declines to give information with respect to the negotiation of a treaty; when he declines to give information with respect to charges which may be filed against an individual in a department, or something of that kind, there can be no question about his right to do so. However, I have before me a quotation from Thomas Jefferson, who was present at the meeting at which the first President of the United States, George Washington, set the precedent from which we have been veering broadly ever since. This is what Jefferson said:

First, that the House was an inquest, and therefore might institute inquiries. Second, that it might call for papers generally. Third, that the executive ought to communicate such papers as the public good would permit, and ought to refuse those the disclosure of which would injure the public.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. If the Senator will note what he has just read—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I am sure the Senator will pardon me. What I am pointing out is that the evidence before us that we are dealing with matters in which the ruling is made, not by the President at all, but by some subordinate.

In the case of the appropriation which was made for the purchase of coal in 1954, Mr. Stassen, head of the agency which had control of the foreign-aid money, stepped out of the President's office early in October and said that a directive had been granted for him to spend money which had been appropriated by Congress for the purchase of coal in coal-producing districts in which unemployment existed.

Events show that there was no such directive. I have the letter of Mr. Hollister before me, in which he said the directive was issued December 9, 1954, and, in Mr. Hollister's words, there were

only oral directions given by Mr. Stassen for the expenditure of the funds. There was not a written document governing that expenditure.

In connection with the expenditure of the appropriations which we are making, undoubtedly there will be many examples of money being expended without the knowledge of the President, for which exemption will be claimed. I merely ask that we have a check, as the constitutional fathers directed, upon the expenditure of these funds, wherever they may go.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement which I have prepared relating to the so-called King bill, which passed the House recently. It deals with theater-tax exemption.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two statements, together with a telegram, in relation to the amendment which has just been agreed to.

I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement on behalf of the Spanish-American War veterans and their wives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, may I ask if this material could normally be introduced into the RECORD outside the morning hour except by unanimous consent?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised that unanimous consent is required to insert any material in the RECORD at any time, entirely apart from any rule on the particular subject.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am very fond of my good friend from Wisconsin. I do not like to seem unobliging to him; but inasmuch as we have been deprived of the privilege of having a morning hour, and since attempts by several of us to bring up proposed civil-rights legislation have been objected to, I must reluctantly say that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and that hereafter I intend to object to any such requests.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the remarks of the Senator from Illinois as an objection, but must rule him out of order with respect to any further remarks because of the time limitation.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I merely wish to point out the absolute proof, which was revealed upon the floor of the Senate this afternoon in the debate on the Knowland amendment, that not even the Secretary of State knows what is going on or will be going on with the appropriations made under the pending bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I yield myself 3 additional minutes. This was the letter written by the Acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., on the 23d of July, to correct a statement in the letter written to the chairman of the Committee on

Appropriations by his chief, the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles. The Secretary of State had stated that in 1955 no jet-type planes were sent to Yugoslavia, while in 1956 only two have been supplied.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, Jr., Acting Secretary of State, says in effect, "My chief was wrong. He did not know what he was talking about. He had not been sufficiently advised by his subordinates, and he did not know what the actual record was." So Mr. Hoover says, "We have just received a report from the field that four additional planes, which were reconditioned in Europe after service with NATO, were delivered on July 18." That is, delivered to Yugoslavia.

So here we have the Secretary of State and the Assistant Secretary of State confessing that in connection with this most important matter they had to depend upon the Defense Department for information as to what they were doing. Does the Secretary of State conduct the foreign affairs of the United States for the President of the United States, or does he not? Does the Defense Department do it? Here is evidence which shows, I submit, that it is absolutely essential, unless we want parliamentary government to go down the drain—in this instance into the hands of the executive department—that this amendment, drawn with care to require a resolution to compel testimony, should be adopted.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I yield myself 3 minutes.

I invite the attention of the Senate to the fact that what is requested is unlimited authority for the Committee on Appropriations and all other appropriate committees to request information. The language offered by the Senator from Wyoming reads:

Accordingly, all persons engaged in the expenditure of funds appropriated under this act or in the administration of the laws under which such funds are expended are required to furnish to the Committees on Appropriations of the respective Houses and to all other appropriate committees of the Congress such information as may be requested by them relating to the expenditure of such funds or to the programs or projects with respect to which such expenditures are made. In any case in which a person engaged in administering any program or project for which funds are appropriated under this act, refuses to furnish to any such committee any information requested by it concerning such program or project, and the branch of Congress appointing such committee by resolution, notifies the Comptroller General of the United States of such refusal, none of the funds appropriated by this act shall thereafter be available for obligation for such program or project unless such committee notifies the Comptroller General that the information requested has been furnished to the committee.

That is an absolute requirement. There is no conditioning or modifying of the request. In the language which the distinguished Senator from Wyoming quoted from a journal or from some writing of Thomas Jefferson, he did not place emphasis upon the clause on which I would have placed emphasis. The clause on which I would place emphasis is:

Such as the public good will permit.

There is no such qualification proposed in the amendment of the Senator from

Wyoming. The request is for whatever information the committees may request. In the illustration to which I alluded earlier in the colloquy with the Senator from Wyoming, when a resolution of inquiry, which is a very highly privileged resolution, is used in the House of Representatives, it is customary in the phraseology of it to include such language as this:

If not inconsistent with the national security.

That is very close to what the Senator from Wyoming has omitted to emphasize in the quotation from which he read: "Such as the public good will permit." That qualifies the meaning. If such a clause were contained in the amendment, it would not be so objectionable. It seems to me that the executive department must clearly have the right to refrain from giving out information which would be inconsistent with national security.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I should like to say that no legislation is required to protect the constitutional power of the President. If the President should find that such information would be contrary to the public good, there is no doubt in the world that Congress would accept that adjudication. I am pointing out that in the present situation, as has been exemplified over and over again, the refusal has been based upon reasons which the President did not even know about.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield myself 2 additional minutes.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. If we were to accept the amendment suggested by the Senator, it would make the amendment legislation on an appropriation bill. I did not want to leave the amendment subject to that point of order.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. The distinguished Senator from Wyoming says that if the matter were referred to the President and the President should speak, the information might be protected. However, I speak on this particular matter out of experience, which runs back to one of the early years I spent in the House of Representatives. It was at the time that an American ship was fired upon deep in the heart of China, on the Yangtze River. I introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives directed to the Secretary of State, not to the President. The resolution of inquiry was framed in consultation with William Tyler Page, who was, as my friend, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], will recall, one of the highly respected parliamentarians of the House of Representatives.

William Tyler Page advised me that the resolution of inquiry addressed to the Secretary of State requesting information was privileged, but that it should contain the phrase "if not inconsistent with national security."

The illustration which the Senator from Wyoming has used related to the inquiry for some information from the Secretary of State. If the Secretary of State felt that the disclosure of the information was incompatible with national security, I myself would think that he was within his rights in refusing to give it.

Although opinions may differ as to whether the disclosure of information is incompatible with the national security, under our Government, in which full faith and credit must be given among the three branches of it, in my opinion some allowance will have to be made for the judgment of the Secretary of State or of other representatives of the executive branch.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I gladly yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. The first precedent, set by George Washington, was established when he was presented with a resolution by the House of Representatives requesting him to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States who negotiated the treaty with Great Britain, and the documents and correspondence relative to that treaty.

Obviously, a treaty is a very different thing from the contracts which are made by subordinates in the Government with foreign potentates, with foreign governments, and with individuals in foreign governments, for spending money for which the people of the United States have paid their heavy taxes.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I have every sympathy with the right of congressional committees to request such information as may be necessary for meeting their responsibilities, but I think that to write into this appropriation bill a requirement that the information should be whatever the committee requests, without recognizing the proprieties as well as the principles involved of permitting the executive branch to withhold information if the giving of it would be incompatible with the national security, makes the amendment deficient.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I should like to inquire of the Senator from South Dakota if he does not recognize that a committee of the Senate or of the House, because it requested information which had been denied, could not act to stop the expenditure of the funds. The committee, under this amendment, would have to come to the House or to the Senate which appointed it, and which had jurisdiction of it, and present a resolution from the committee declaring that the information had been refused, and the Senate or the House, as the case might be, would have to adopt a resolution directed to the Comptroller General before any action could be taken to stop the funds. Thus, there is a check against any reckless or rash act of a committee, because the committee would have to present its case to the parent body.

The Senator's remarks left the impression that a committee could simply take that action. But if information had been refused it, it would have to apply to the House or to the Senate, as the case might be, and have a resolution adopted to that effect.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I think, under the language of the amendment, that is correct.

Mr. McCLELLAN. So, it would not be merely the independent action of any committee that might make a determination that it needed the information which had been refused.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Except that the statement ahead of that in the amendment is that all persons engaged in the expenditure of the funds are required to furnish such information as may be requested of them. It does not give them the right to withhold information on the basis that its disclosure would be incompatible with the public interest.

Mr. McCLELLAN. But one branch or the other of the Congress would have to take affirmative action by adopting an appropriate resolution. Is not that correct?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, may I inquire how the time stands?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota has used 12 minutes. He has used all the time heretofore allotted to himself.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator from Arkansas will yield 1 minute so that I may ask him a question.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield a minute to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. In connection with the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming, which I heartily endorse, may I ask the Senator from Arkansas this question: Is it not true that his committee has been hampered a great deal by the refusal of information which had nothing whatever to do with the national security?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I would say that in some instances that is correct. That was particularly true when we undertook to investigate certain transactions in Pakistan. We did not have the cooperation which the committee required in order to ascertain what had transpired. Fortunately, I think, we happened to get information outside of the agency itself, which information, when produced under oath, clearly established that collusion had been engaged in and the Government of the United States was about to make an expenditure which was not justified and which would have been terrifically extravagant based upon what was to be received in return. I think that is a statement of the facts.

Had we been compelled to rely only upon the information given us by the agency involved and by officials involved, the situation would not have been discovered. I may add that, as the Senator knows, the project was never consummated, and, thus, approximately \$2 million was saved to the Government in that one instance.

Mr. McCARTHY. Am I correct in saying that that unusual public servant, Mr. Stassen, when asked for information concerning activities in which his agency was engaged, activities which had nothing to do with national security, arrogantly and arbitrarily refused to give the committee any information?

Mr. McCLELLAN. He took the position that he made the decisions. Of

course, we could not find out about those things without obtaining information in the possession of others. Had he been able to sustain his position and say, "I take the responsibility; you cannot investigate, and my staff cannot talk to you; we are not going to give you the records"—had he been able to sustain that position—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The allotted time has expired.

The Senator from Illinois is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, from an administrative standpoint, the amendment seems to me to be unwieldly, completely unworkable, and frightfully involved. In addition to that, it is legislation on an appropriation bill. It contains a contingency. In addition to that, I deem it to be unconstitutional because it is an indirect veto upon executive powers and upon the authority to obligate money.

When all the time has been yielded, I shall submit a point of order.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, I shall say only that in my judgment, based upon the fact that Congress passed and the President signed the General Accounting Act for the express purpose of enabling the Congress to supervise and examine expenditures, the amendment is an amendment to an appropriation bill and is not legislation and is not subject to a point of order.

With that, Mr. President, since the reception for our noble senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], who is about to leave us, will soon begin, I yield back all my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from California yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I was out of the Chamber temporarily. Did the Senator from Illinois make a point of order?

Mr. DIRKSEN. I did.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I shall yield back the remainder of my time, because I am quite sure a point of order does lie against the amendment offered by the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I make the point of order on the ground that the amendment is legislation on an appropriation bill, it contains a contingency, and I think it is unconstitutional.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, Congress has been steadily delegating away its powers to represent the people. Our Government is becoming an executive government and not a popular government. The funds which are appropriated by this bill will be expended by subordinates, and not by the principal.

As shown by the letters of Secretary Dulles and Acting Secretary Hoover, neither of them, as the heads of the Department of State, was aware of what the Department of Defense was doing, and they so confessed.

This is a limitation upon an appropriation bill; but if it is not added to the bill, it means that once more Congress will go down the road to the surrender of the legislative power granted to it by the Constitution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. STENNIS in the chair). The Chair has

advised with the Parliamentarian on the point of order made by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] against the amendment of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the point of order being made on the ground that the amendment is legislation on an appropriation bill.

The amendment requires certain persons to furnish to the Committee on Appropriations certain information, which brings the amendment within the precedents of the House of Representatives under appropriations and, in the opinion of the Chair, is what is called an affirmative direction which may not be coupled with a limitation.

Upon that conclusion, the point of order, for those reasons, would be sustained as violating rule XVI, paragraph 1, the clause thereof which provides:

The Committee on Appropriations shall not report an appropriation bill containing amendments proposing new or general legislation or any restriction on the expenditure of the funds appropriated which proposes a limitation not authorized by law if such restriction is to take effect or cease to be effective upon the happening of a contingency.

So the Chair sustains the point of order as being legislation on an appropriation bill.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I appeal from the ruling of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin appeals from the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. McCARTHY. On my appeal, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate? On this question the yeas and nays are requested.

Mr. McCARTHY. Upon second thought, Mr. President, I understand there is to be a party for the senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] at 5 o'clock. The yeas and nays would take much longer than that, so I merely ask for a division.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A division is called for. The Chair will restate the situation.

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] offered an amendment. A point of order was made against the amendment by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the point of order being, allegedly, that the amendment is legislation on an appropriation bill. The point of order was sustained by the Chair.

The question now is, Shall the ruling of the Chair be sustained by the Senate? On this question, a division has been requested by the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

On a division, the point of order was sustained.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, out of order, I ask unanimous consent—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a point of order. Is not the Senate operating under a time limitation?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, have I been recognized by the Chair?

I ask unanimous consent, out of order, to introduce a resolution for myself and on behalf of the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's request has already been rejected.

Mr. DOUGLAS. How does the Chair know what request I am now about to make?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is referring to a request to introduce anything out of order. The Senate is still operating under a unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is it true, Mr. President, that a Senator, apparently, cannot rise in the Chamber, and open his mouth, but that an objection is made?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senate is operating under a time limitation. Time must be yielded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the point. The Senate is operating under a unanimous-consent agreement, under which the time is controlled.

There are other amendments to be considered. Does the junior Senator from Wisconsin have an amendment?

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I understand the majority leader desires to make a suggestion.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Will the Senator from Wisconsin call up his amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes; under the rules, an amendment must be presented.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I offer an amendment and ask that it be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 6, between lines 3 and 4 it is proposed to insert the following: "Provided, That none of the funds made available by this act shall be used for aid to Yugoslavia."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized. How much time does he allot himself?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, if the Senator from Wisconsin will yield to me, I shall allot myself 1 minute on the bill for the purpose of making an announcement.

Mr. MCCARTHY. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. At the suggestion of the distinguished Senators of the minority, and with the full approval and concurrence of the Senators of the majority, the Members of the Senate have arranged a brief reception, to be held between the hours of 5 and 6 o'clock, for our beloved colleague, the President pro tempore of the Senate, WALTER GEORGE.

The reception is to be held in the Old Supreme Court Chamber.

It will be my purpose to move that the Senate take a recess at 5 o'clock, subject to the call of the Chair, so that Senators who have made their plans may attend the reception. At the conclusion of the reception, the Chair will call the Senate back into session, and at that time the Senate will proceed to consider the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Wisconsin in accordance with the unanimous-consent agreement, and for the purpose of permitting other Senators to make statements on the bill under time allotted to them for that purpose.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I have yielded, first, to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Circus TV Show Hinges on Test of Special Interest."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I must object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I do not hear all that the Senator from Maryland said.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland asked unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think that is not new business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix of today's RECORD.]

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I should like to renew my request under the heading "Not New Business."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, that request should be made during the morning hour. We have been refused a morning hour. I must object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD an article—

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask for a ruling of the Chair as to whether this request should not be made during the morning hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous consent rule would apply at any time with reference to insertions in the RECORD. That is the only rule which applies with reference to these insertions. Unanimous consent is required. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. This is matter which normally should be inserted in the RECORD during the morning hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Customarily it is included in the RECORD at any time unanimous consent can be obtained, according to the observations of the Chair.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Chair has not quite replied to my question. Is not this material which is inserted normally during the morning hour?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I do not yield for all this conversation. The Chair has answered the question.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. I am asking for a ruling from the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair rules that objection is heard. The Chair interprets the Senator's remarks

as an objection. The matter may not properly be inserted in the RECORD.

RECESS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think that motion is debatable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A motion to recess is not debatable.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. A motion to recess is not debatable.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I move to strike out the word "recess" and substitute the word "adjourn."

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, the time for this discussion is not being taken out of my time, is it?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, is there not a motion before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair rules that the amendment is not in order.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, may we have a vote on the motion to recess?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, shall the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair?

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the Senate took a recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The Senate reassembled at 6 o'clock p. m., when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. STENNIS in the chair).

KYU LEE

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1243) for the relief of Kyu Lee, which were to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Kyu Lee, Ileana Isarescu, Maria Ileana Habsburg-Lothringen Alexandra Habsburg-Lothringen, Oscar Beregi, Margreth Leiss von Laimburg, Yvonne Rohran (Tung) Feng, Annie Fleg Hildebrand, Hazel Elizabeth Scott, Choh-Yi Ang, Christina Arutjuejan, and Tscheng-Sul Feng shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this act, upon payment of the required visa fees. Upon the granting of permanent residence to each alien as provided for in this section of this act, if such alien was classifiable as a quota immigrant at the time of the enactment of this act, the Secretary of State shall instruct the proper quota-control officer to reduce by one the quota for the quota area to which the alien is chargeable for the first year that such quota is available.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Modesto Padilla-Ceja and his wife, Marla Toscano-Padilla shall be held and considered to have been lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence as of the date of the enactment of this act, upon payment of the required visa fees.

SEC. 3. The Attorney General is authorized and directed to discontinue any deportation proceedings and to cancel any outstanding orders and warrants of deportation, warrants of arrest, and bonds, which may have been issued in the case of Cleopatra Vasilladis. From and after the date of the enactment of this act, the said Cleopatra Vasilladis shall not again be subject

MILWAUKEE, WIS., July 24, 1956.
United States Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Many widows of Hugh J. McGrath Auxiliary No. 2, Department of Wisconsin, send sincere thanks for your support of bill H. R. 2867.

President WILDA WOOD.

OSHKOSH, WIS., July 24, 1956.
Hon. ALEXANDER M. WILEY,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.:

Urge your support on bill H. R. 2867, Spanish War widows' pension increase.

RALPH E. CANNIFF,
Past Department Commander, United
Spanish War Veterans.

FOND DU LAC, WIS., July 24, 1956.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Bill H. R. 2867, Spanish War widows' increase, has passed the House. Highly appreciated if you support this bill. Some are in dire need.

S. D. BOREHAM.

MARINETTE, WIS., July 24, 1956.
Senator WILEY,
Washington, D. C.:

Please expedite bill, H. R. 2867, United States Spanish War widows pension bill, through the Senate.

SPANISH WAR VETERANS,
G. E. DENZIN.

WAUPACA, WIS., July 24, 1956.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY:

Request that you will assist in the passage of bill, H. R. 2867, Spanish War widows pension increase.

Col. CARLL BROSIUS.

BEAVER DAM, WIS., July 24, 1956.
Senator ALEXANDER WILEY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

Request that you support H. R. 2867 for Spanish War widows. Please do all you can to expedite passage of this measure in Senate before adjournment.

H. C. GEITTMAN,
Past Department Commander.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS OPPOSITION TO AID TO YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have before me the text of a telegram which I received today from Mr. Joseph F. Lamb, supreme secretary of the Knights of Columbus, at New Haven. Mr. Lamb conveyed a resolution adopted by the executive committee of the supreme board of directors of that great organization, urging the discontinuation of aid to Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Communist Government.

Mr. President, this issue, on which we shall vote today, is an exceedingly significant one, in that we shall be serving notice to the world as to the future course of American foreign policy.

Mr. President, I have been, and I remain, a supporter of sound mutual security, against the Communist menace. I have been, and I remain, a firm believer in the partnership of anti-Communist nations, against the atheistic tyranny which is communism.

But, at the same time, from the very inception of the mutual-aid program, I have never believed that there was the slightest justification in excusing in the

slightest the Communist government of Yugoslavia, or in pretending that its brand of communism was one bit less worse than the Soviet brand or the Peking brand.

I believe that the United States Government should avoid getting into a position where any government—particularly a Communist government—can say, "You give us financial aid, or else we will cozy up more to the Kremlin."

I do not believe in international blackmail—whether it is blackmail to force us to build a dam in a country, or blackmail of any other sort.

The American people have not forgotten the shooting down in cold blood of American flyers. The American people have never forgotten the outrageous imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinac, or the merciless repression of the forces of freedom and religion there.

I send to the desk the text of the telegram from the Knights of Columbus, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., July 23, 1956.
Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

By direction of the executive committee of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, I have the honor to communicate to you the following resolution adopted by that committee at meeting held June 20, 1956:

"Whereas the recent triumphal tour of the Soviet Union by President Tito, of Yugoslavia, gives added substance to longstanding doubts as to the advisability of providing military and economic aid to his regime at the expense of citizens of the United States; and

"Whereas the tyranny of Tito's dictatorship, manifested in the persecution of religion and otherwise, does not appear to differ materially from the tyranny which prevails in the Soviet Union and its captive satellites; Be it

"Resolved, That the executive committee of the supreme board of directors of the Knights of Columbus, representing the more than 1 million members of this society, expresses the conviction that Tito neither sympathizes with nor can be relied upon to support the American concept of human freedom and therefore urges the discontinuance of United States aid, military or economic, to his regime."

JOSEPH F. LAMB,
Supreme Secretary, Knights of Columbus.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN].

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee of Government Operations, I report three bills favorably.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Should not the reporting of bills be confined to the morning hour?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. At this time unanimous consent will be required.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I request unanimous consent for that purpose.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I object.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THROUGH CULTURAL AND ATHLETIC EXCHANGES

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to S. 3116 which was passed by the House on July 23, 1955. The bill, which was passed by the Senate on March 26, 1956, would authorize the continued participation of the United States, on a permanent basis, in such activities as cultural and athletic exchanges, and in international fairs and festivals.

The House amended subsection 3 of section 3, so as to authorize the United States to participate in the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition, which will be held in Brussels in 1958. The Brussels fair is not a normal trade fair, but is an international exhibition which, under the Paris Convention of 1928, is held every 6 years. Because it requires the appointment of special commissioners by the participating countries, a special provision authorizing it was deemed necessary.

On the assumption that an amendment of the kind mentioned would be adopted by the House in the closing hours of the session, the Committee on Foreign Relations, on Friday, July 20, 1956, considered S. 3116 in the form in which it had been reported to the House, and decided to recommend that the Senate accept the House amendment.

Originally, Mr. President, the executive branch intended to seek authority for the Brussels fair in a separate measure. The House, however, took the view that it should be combined with the trade fair bill, S. 3116, which is now before us.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is this a privileged matter which can be brought up outside the morning hour?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair so understands.

Mr. DOUGLAS. If it is a privileged matter which, under the rules of the Senate, can be brought up outside the morning hour—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Of course it cannot be brought up now unless the Senator from Minnesota is yielded time.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, let me ask what the bill is.

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. I have requested that the Chair lay before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to Senate bill 3116, which provides for the promotion and strengthening of international relations through cultural and athletic exchanges and participation in trade fairs and festivals.

Mr. KNOWLAND. International fairs?

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes.
Mr. KNOWLAND. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 3116) to provide for the promotion and strengthening of international relations through cultural and athletic exchanges and participation in international fairs and festivals, which was on page 2, to strike out lines 13 through 15, and insert:

(3) United States participation in international fairs and expositions abroad, including trade and industrial fairs and other public or private demonstrations of United States industrial accomplishments and cultural attainments: *Provided*, That in order to appropriately represent the United States in connection with participation in the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition to be held at Brussels, Belgium, in 1958, the President is authorized to appoint or designate a Commissioner General, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and not to exceed two other principal representatives, who shall receive compensation, allowances, and benefits as determined by the President but not in excess of that received by a chief of mission at a class 2 post, pursuant to the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended (22 U. S. C. 891): *Provided further*, That no officer of the United States Government who is designated under the foregoing proviso as Commissioner General or as a principal representative shall be entitled to receive such compensation; and

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Minnesota.

The motion was agreed to.

THE STEEL STRIKE

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, after many weeks in which the vital steel industry has been at a standstill, to the detriment of labor, industry, and our country, negotiations are again underway in an attempt to settle the present steel strike.

I trust that at this time responsible leaders in the steel industry will see to it that serious negotiations are conducted, and that arbitrary, standpat, like-it-or-leave-it attitudes are put aside in the interest of the public at large.

It is hard for me to rationalize the difference in thinking in the steel industry which has taken place since the retirement of Ben Fairless. For the past several years, Ben Fairless and Dave McDonald, as leaders of management and labor, actively cooperated, not only for the benefit of their respective groups, but for the benefit of the country at large. Mr. Fairless and Mr. McDonald visited steel plants all over the Nation, and everywhere they went they inspired a spirit of cooperation which greatly increased the productive capacity of the steel industry.

So far as I am able to ascertain, Dave McDonald has approached the present

steel strike in a true spirit of cooperation and negotiation. It is time for leaders of industry to do the same.

The steel industry is fortunate that it is dealing with a union such as the steelworkers, a reliable, trustworthy, and efficient group of American workers which has, under the leadership of Dave McDonald, helped to make the American steel industry one of the most productive industries of the world.

Let us hope that within the next few days responsible industry, dealing with responsible labor, will solve the present problem.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas will state it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. How much time remains on the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is advised by the Parliamentarian that the time allotted for the presentation of privileged matters really should not be charged to either side; whereas the time used for speeches, when the Senator from Texas has yielded for that purpose, is charged to the time on the bill available to the Senator from Texas.

Seventy-two minutes remain for the proponents of the bill; nine minutes remain for the opponents of the bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I wish to thank my friend, the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] for his graciousness and his understanding of the problem which confronts me on both sides of the aisle. I hope I have not delayed him too long. I appreciate very, very much his courtesy.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, before the Senator from Texas leaves the Chamber, I wish to say that I am always very, very glad to do anything I can to cooperate with the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the Senator from Texas knows that, and appreciates it.

Mr. McCARTHY. It so happens that I have some definite appointments, and that is why I have been rushing.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, if the Senator from Texas had known that, he would not have made arrangements to yield to other Senators.

Mr. McCARTHY. I understand.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin yield to me?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, as chairman of the Board of Visitors to the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y., I may submit the re-

port of the Board of Visitors, and have it printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, will the Senator from Maine repeat his request?

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, as chairman of the Board of Visitors to the Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y., I may file the report of the Board of Visitors, and that it may be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. LEHMAN. I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, should not this report be made during the morning hour?

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I do not yield any time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A unanimous-consent request is in order at any time, but this is not a privileged matter.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I do not wish to cut off the right of the Senator from Illinois to ask questions relating to this unanimous-consent request.

Mr. PAYNE. I appreciate very much indeed the courtesies which have been extended by my colleague from Wisconsin. I am afraid that probably under the circumstances no colloquy could take place which would result in the objection to the request being lifted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield a minute or two to the Senator from Maine, if he thinks anything would be gained.

Mr. PAYNE. I doubt very much if, under the circumstances, anything would be gained, so I will wait until another time to file the report.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY]. The Senator from Wisconsin has the floor.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. DIRKSEN. My distinguished friend from Wisconsin has advised me that he proposes to speak for 2 hours, and then use 1 hour more for collateral interpretation and explanation. I make only a very simple inquiry from him, and that is whether or not, in the aggregate, he expects to use 3 hours, or 180 minutes, at this time?

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not like to do this to the Senator from Illinois and to the Senate, but I have checked over the

speech, and I find that it is about 6 hours long. I think it will take me about 2 hours to explain it when I am through.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin has 30 minutes. [Laughter.]

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall require about 10 or 15 minutes.

First, let me say that I was very gratified by the tribute paid to the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] tonight. He is a great Senator, an eminent statesman, and while I have disagreed with him vigorously on occasions, I think, he has made a valuable contribution to the Senate and has rendered exceedingly valuable service to the people of the Nation. I say that despite the fact that on occasion I have very seriously disagreed with him. I think the tribute to him tonight was highly deserved.

Mr. President, I have heard Senators today talk about Tito's statement that he was marching with the Russian Communists. They questioned just what he meant by that. In passing, I should like to remark that he has never said that he was marching arm-in-arm with the United States. He has never denied, however, the statement about marching arm-in-arm with Soviet Russia.

I shall speak very briefly in behalf of my amendment. My amendment provides that all aid to Yugoslavia under this bill shall be cut off. The Knowland-Bridges amendment provided that we should cut off new military equipment under the pending bill. As I stated, I supported that amendment wholeheartedly. I think it was a step in the right direction. I think it notified the people in the satellite nations that we were not inclined to give military aid to Communist-controlled nations. But I would extend the Knowland amendment so as to cut off funds for spare parts, ammunition, and maintenance.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Would the Senator's amendment cut off all the aid in the pipeline, the \$100 million in the pipeline, as well?

Mr. McCARTHY. Unfortunately, I cannot do that by my amendment, because if I sought to do so it would be subject to a point of order. Unfortunately, all I can do is to propose to cut off all aid under this bill. That includes funds for spare parts, for maintenance, and for ammunition—as well as for new equipment. I wish I could go a step further and cut off everything in the pipeline, but I am afraid I cannot.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment, while I insert something in the RECORD?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the major portion of an excellent address by Mr. A. T. Spalding, vice president and actuary of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co. The address, entitled "The Impact of a Changing World on Women's Organizations Economically" was delivered on May 26, 1956, before the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., in Washington, D. C.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I did not hear the request.

Mr. IVES. It was for an insertion in the RECORD.

Mr. LEHMAN. According to the—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, does this come out of my time? I cannot yield further.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think that request should be presented during the morning hour. Therefore I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. McCARTHY. I should like to give the Senator from New York time, but my time is limited.

Mr. LEHMAN. I fully understand.

Mr. IVES. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin for his courtesy.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have already devoted two lengthy addresses to the subject of aiding Tito—at the time when the authorization bill was before us. Therefore my views are already on the record, but I feel I would be derelict in my duty if I failed to make one more plea to the Senate to terminate the unrealistic and immoral policy of sending American aid to a Communist dictatorship.

After listening to the debate on the authorization bill, I am convinced that Senators who are supporting aid to Tito are doing so for 1 of 2 reasons. Either they believe that Tito is still somewhat estranged from the Soviet Union and thus that there is still a chance of keeping him on our side; or they believe, for any number of reasons, that it is unwise to oppose the President of the United States on this issue. Let me deal briefly with each of these arguments.

First, let me say that I cannot believe that more than two Members of the Senate would vote for aid to Yugoslavia if they believed that Communist Yugoslavia were firmly allied with Communist Russia. I may say that when I use the figure "two," I use that figure advisedly, and with previous information. What I cannot understand is that some Senators apparently doubt that this is the fact. I should now like to put these doubts finally to rest by reading from the statement issued by Marshal Tito on his arrival in Moscow on June 2. The accuracy of this statement attributed to Tito has never once, to my knowledge, been challenged by either Tito himself or by the supporters in this country of further American aid to Tito. Referring to the temporary break between Russia and Yugoslavia, Tito said:

We were greatly pained, but we believed that the time would come when everything separating us would be overcome and when our friendship would receive a new and still more firm foundation. This time has come, thanks to the Leninist policy of the Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union * * * (the recent visit of Soviet leaders to Belgrade and) the courageous and far-sighted foreign policy of the collective leadership of the Soviet Union are, in my profound conviction, a guarantee that nothing of the kind will ever happen again between the two countries marching along the path of Marx, Engels and Lenin * * *. Long live the Soviet Union. Long live the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Now I invite any Member of the Senate to explain to me in what respect that

statement falls short of being a pledge by Yugoslavia that she will be allied with Soviet Russia for all time to come. And if that is what the statement does mean, then how can any Member of this body justify sending further American aid to Yugoslavia?

Mr. President, I do not like to impose on any Senator, but it is difficult to talk when a conversation is going on in the rear of the Chamber.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, Tito made a number of such statements while he was in Moscow but I will not take the Senate's time to read them today. I do, however, want to insert in the RECORD a document that I have not yet referred to on this floor—namely, the formal agreement signed by the heads of the Yugoslav and Soviet Communist parties last month. This agreement was published in the June 26th issue of the Communist Daily Worker in New York. I shall read one paragraph from the document, which is illustrative of the tone and content of the remainder of it. I ask unanimous consent that the entire document be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I quote one paragraph from the agreement:

For these reasons (Yugoslav and Russian) delegations have agreed, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to a prompt mutual cooperation and exchange of views in the field of socialist scientific thought both in their mutual relations and in the international workers movement, in general.

Mr. President, I do not like to be repetitious. However, I think it might be relevant at this point to explain again for those who may not have a complete understanding of it, what is meant by Marxism-Leninism. It is very important in view of the action we are about to take.

As the Presiding Officer well knows, in 1848 Karl Marx published his "Manifesto" of the Communist Party. At that time he said that while it is necessary to communize the world, this can be done without having a bloody revolution in England or in the United States.

In 1914 Lenin—and this is where we get the difference between Marxism and Leninism—published his work in which he said that Marx was right as of 1848, but that as of 1914 conditions had changed. Lenin said that in order to communize the world, it would be necessary to have a bloody revolution in the United States and in England.

That doctrine was brought down to date by Stalin in 1947. Tito evidently approves it in 1956. Yet the Senate of the United States in the Authorization Act, voted aid to the man who says, "I am in favor of Leninism."

I shall continue to read from the agreement entered into by the Yugoslav and Soviet Communist Parties:

As regards concrete forms of cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugo-

slavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the delegations agreed that it should be realized by way of personal contacts, written and oral declarations and exchanges of views, through the exchange of delegations, materials, literature, as well as, when necessary, by organizing mutual meetings of party workers with a view to examining current questions of general interest, and generally, by way of constructive, comradely discussion.

Let me turn now to the other argument of the proponents of aid to Tito, namely, that in this instance the wishes of the President must be observed. I was truly amazed, Mr. President, by the number of Senators who rose during the consideration of the authorization bill and stated that they were for aid to Tito simply because the President was for aid to Tito.

The senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] said, "I am willing to leave it to the President."

The senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] said:

In my opinion, this is the most difficult section of the bill * * * [but] I think the doubts should be resolved in [the President's] favor.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] said:

No one knows the situation with respect to Yugoslavia better than does the President of the United States.

In any event, he is our President, our Commander in Chief. We must give him a vote of confidence right now. I maintain that for us to say at this point that we will not give the President discretion, when he is asking for it, and when he knows so much more than any of us do, is unthinkable.

I submit, Mr. President, that it is unthinkable that Congress should surrender its right to legislate. I submit that it is unthinkable that the United States Senators should abjectly abdicate from their responsibilities on the grounds that they are not as bright as the President.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE] said:

I believe that we must stand with our President.

We must stand with the Secretary of State. Those two gentlemen have all the information at their command.

The next day, Mr. President, in justifying his vote on aid to Tito, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] said:

I thought that, at least, inasmuch as the President was as sick as he was, it might be good to give him a little expression of faith.

How on God's earth we can justify giving aid to a Communist country by pointing out that the President is sick, I simply cannot understand. I begin to think of what was said of Alice in Wonderland—"It is getting curiouser and curiouser."

Mr. President, I have considerable respect for the Senators whom I have quoted, just as I have respect for the President of the United States, but I must say that things have reached a sorry pass when the Senate of the United States is unwilling to assert its own views and abjectly defers to those of the President on the grounds that he is all-wise.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE] have stated that the Presi-

dent has more information than we have, that he knows much more about the situation than we do. This is untrue. I have sat at executive sessions of the Appropriations Committee and listened to Mr. Dulles and other Government officials explain what they claim to be justification for the administration's position. They also disclosed to the Appropriations Committee what they claimed to be were all of the relevant facts regarding the Yugoslav situation. Some of the information, Mr. Dulles said at the time, was too secret to put even on the executive record of the committee. But I want to tell the Senate today that there is no argument for supporting aid to Tito, that there is no fact relevant to the situation, which was disclosed to our committee, that has not already been debated on the floor of the Senate. There is no secret information which justifies the administration's fantastic position. The record is all before us. We do have all the information at our command. The only thing we may not have at our command is enough courage and moral stamina to assert and stand for the right as we see it. No member of the Senate needs to ask the President of the United States whether it is moral and right and sound for the United States to send 380 jet planes to Marshal Tito. Each Member of this body can make that decision for himself. How the President of the United States proposes to justify his policy before the American people, I do not know. How the Senators who favor aid to Tito will justify that policy before the American people, I do not know either but I am quite sure that the American people will not be satisfied with the excuse that "I was for aid to Tito because Mr. Eisenhower said that he was for it."

Mr. President, in justice to President Eisenhower, I may say that his name was bandied about on the Senate floor in connection with this matter. It has been claimed that the President is in favor of aid to a Communist country. I personally do not know of any time or any place where President Eisenhower said, "I want to give aid to a Communist country."

It is true that administration witnesses, who came before the committee, urged that; but I am not convinced at this moment that the President of the United States is personally in favor of such aid. I think that Senators who claim they are voting for aid to Tito because it would be a compliment to the President should make sure of the President's personal views. Perhaps the President does personally support the fantastic position advanced by his lieutenants. But I find this difficult to believe. I prefer to think that the President of the United States personally opposes aid to a Communist country.

EXHIBIT 1

THE AGREEMENT FOR CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN YUGOSLAV AND SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTIES

The Daily Worker of June 26 publishes the following agreement of cooperation between the Red Yugoslav and Soviet Russian Communist Parties. This is more important in some respects than the agreement between

the governments of those regimes, signed about the same time in Moscow.

The text follows:

"I. The Belgrade declaration of June 2, 1955, placed the relations between the two socialist countries on sound foundations, and the principles made public in it are finding ever broader application in their mutual cooperation.

"II. Cooperation and the general development of relations between the two countries since the Belgrade declaration, as well as the contact between the political and other social organizations of their peoples, have created favorable political conditions also for cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"Starting with the foregoing conclusions and taking into consideration the concrete conditions under which present-day socialist movements are developing, and in the spirit of the internationalistic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the delegations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have agreed that it is useful and indispensable that the existing contacts between the two parties should continue and develop with the view of cooperation in the interest of the further consolidation and progress of our Socialist countries, with the view of cooperation in the international workers' movement and in numerous matters of the present-day development of socialism, and also with the view of the development of peaceful co-existence and cooperation between peoples of the whole world, irrespective of differences in their social and political system, in the interest of the consolidation of peace, freedom and independence of nations.

"In this, the representatives of the parties are governed by the consideration that the development of ties and cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as the leading parties in countries in which the working class is in power and which have the general aim of building a complete Socialist society in their countries, of insuring the progress of humanity and a firm peace, will undoubtedly contribute to the development of further cooperation between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to the consolidation of lasting friendship between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

"III. Abiding by the view that the roads and conditions of socialist development are different in different countries, that the wealth of the forms of socialist development contributes to their strengthening, and starting with the fact that any tendency of imposing one's own views in determining the roads and forms of socialist development are alien to both sides, the two sides have agreed that the foregoing cooperation should be based on complete freedom of will and equality, on friendly criticism and on the comradely character of the exchange of views on disputes between our parties.

"IV. Placed on the mentioned foundations, cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will evolve primarily along the way of a comprehensive mutual study of the forms and methods of socialist development in the two countries, the free and comradely exchange of experiences and views on questions of general interest for the development of socialist practice and the promotion of socialist thought, and also on questions relating to peace, rapprochement, and linking up between nations and the progress of mankind in general.

"V. The modern material and spiritual transformation of the world, which finds expression in an enormous growth of the socialist forces, in the strengthening of national liberation movements, in increasing

the role of the working class, in solving concrete questions of present-day international development, confronts the international workers' movement with a number of huge tasks. This fact also indicates the indispensability of a scientific analysis of the manifestations and fundamental material and social factors and tendencies of development in the present-day world.

"For these reasons the delegations have agreed, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to a prompt mutual cooperation and exchange of views in the field of Socialist scientific thought both in their mutual relations and in the international workers' movement in general.

"VI. As regards concrete forms of cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the delegations agreed that it should be realized by way of personal contacts, written and oral declarations and exchanges of views, through the exchange of delegations, materials, literature, as well as, when necessary, by organizing mutual meetings of party workers with a view to examining current questions of general interest, and generally, by way of constructive, comradely discussion.

"VII. Representatives of the workers' movement of the two countries consider such mutual cooperation as a component part of all contacts with other Communist and workers parties as well as with Socialist and other progressive movements in the world.

"VIII. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consider that it is in the interests of the struggle for lasting peace and security of the people, as well as of social progress, to insure the wide cooperation of all progressive and peaceful forces, which is increasingly being manifested in the most various forms and on a worldwide scale.

"This cooperation is one of the most pressing needs of modern social development. These ties should be equal, frank, democratic, and accessible to world public opinion. They should aid mutual acquaintance and consultation on different problems of general interest and contribute to mutual understanding on the basis of a patient explanation of attitudes and views of the different sides.

"This means the freedom of action of each individual participant in that cooperation, according to the conditions of his development and in keeping with the general progressive aims to which they aspire.

"The representatives of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are convinced that cooperation between the workers' movements of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union on the basis of the above-mentioned principles and forms will serve the interests of their peoples and the interests of Socialist construction in their countries.

"They are convinced that with this they will give their contribution to a general rapprochement between Socialist and other progressive movements in the world, and this will equally serve the interests of peace in the world and the interests of general progress of mankind."

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment. The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. President, before we proceed—

Mr. McCARTHY. I am not asking that debate be cut off.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. President, will my good friend from Wisconsin withhold his suggestion in order that I may ask a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 1 additional minute. I withdraw my suggestion of the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORE in the chair). The junior Senator from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent that he be yielded 1 additional minute.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Wisconsin on the bill.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I have yielded 1 minute to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LEHMAN. I beg pardon—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator must be presumptuous.

Mr. LEHMAN. The Presiding Officer asked whether there was any objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The junior Senator from Wisconsin asked unanimous consent that his time be extended for 1 minute. At the time the Chair was about to put the question, the senior Senator from Texas said he would yield 1 minute to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield.

Mr. LEHMAN. In view of the fact that the Chair stated that the junior Senator from Wisconsin had asked unanimous consent that his time be extended, I submit that the Senator from New York was quite within his rights to ask—and it was a very natural inquiry—what the question before the Senate was at that time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The Senator from New York was within his rights, but his hearing was not good, because the Senator from Texas had made the statement that he would yield 1 minute to the Senator from Wisconsin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The junior Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I do not desire to use the minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time is yielded back. Does the opposition wish to use any of its time?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. So far as I am concerned, there are no requests for time. I will yield back my time with the understanding that the proponent of the amendment yield back the remainder of his time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY].

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, out of the time on the bill, I yield myself 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The distinguished junior Senator from Wisconsin has been very helpful in the discussion of the amendment which was earlier adopted by the Senate. We had an opportunity

to move to suspend the rule, but the motion failed.

I understand the position which the Senator from Wisconsin took when the authorization bill was before the Senate. The Senator's position in opposition to aid to Communist Yugoslavia and Tito, or to any other Communist country, is very clear. Under the circumstances, the Senator from Wisconsin has ably stated his case.

But I feel certain that the problem which we face concerning the parliamentary situation is such that I wonder if the distinguished Senator would not stand on the vote of the Senate, which I think was decisive. It gave an opportunity to the Senate to express itself.

We are anxious to conclude action on the bill. There is much more important proposed legislation of the administration to be considered. It cannot be acted upon until action on this bill has been concluded.

I hope the Senator from Wisconsin, in view of the situation I have suggested, will withdraw his amendment. I feel certain that the Senate has made great progress today in raising a danger signal, not only to our own country and to the administration, but to Tito and others, to the effect that the sentiment throughout the country and in Congress is very strong in this regard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from California has expired.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield myself 1 additional minute, so that the Senator from Wisconsin may respond.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I am in a difficult position. I am afraid, in view of some of the votes which have been taken, that my amendment might be rejected. Of course, I do not mind losing a contest in the Senate—I have lost a number of contests before—but I am not unmindful of the effect on world opinion of the Senate's actions. I should not want the word to go forth to the satellite countries that the Senate has, in effect, voted for aid to Yugoslavia. An adverse vote on my amendment might be given that construction. On the other hand, I feel so strongly about the giving of aid of any kind to a Communist country that I can see no reason why such aid should be given. I should like the Senators to stand up and be counted on that issue. This is why I find myself in a difficult position.

I hope the Senator from California will bear with me for another half minute.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 additional minute on the bill, to enable the Senator from Wisconsin to conclude his statement.

Mr. McCARTHY. The American people have been told that money is being taken out of their pockets for the purpose of fighting communism. I am confident that the American people are overwhelmingly in favor of my amendment. I feel, at the same time, that the American people want me to do the wise thing with regard to the effect our actions will have on world opinion—especially in the enslaved areas of the world. The Knowland amendment, which has

already passed, is a rebuff to Tito. It is little more than a rebuff, but a rebuff is better than nothing. An adverse vote on my amendment might have the effect—as regards world opinion—of undoing the rebuff.

If the Chair will bear with me for a half minute, I should like to discuss the question with the majority leader and the minority leader.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, with the understanding that the time for the quorum call will be taken out of my time on the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I withdraw my request for the yeas and nays. I agree with the minority leader that we should let the vote on his amendment stand as a rebuff to Tito and a rebuff to the administration. Let me say, however, that I strongly suspect that the Senators who supported the Knowland amendment, but would not support mine, are motivated by a desire to appease their anti-Tito constituents while doing no real damage to our policy of aiding Tito. They want it both ways. I do not include the distinguished minority leader in this category, for I know that he opposes all aid to Tito, even as I do. He demonstrated this by his vote on the authorization bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY].

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I shall not object, but I wish the RECORD to show that I would have voted in favor of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin.

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the bill.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time, with the understanding that the Senator from California will yield back the remainder of his time.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield back the remainder of my time, and I ask for the yeas and nays on the final passage of the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, before the Senator yields back his time, will he give me 1 minute and a half?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield one minute and a half to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. I wish to explain why I shall vote against the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Did the Senator from California yield time to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I have yielded one minute and a half to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I am wholeheartedly in favor of aid to Formosa, to South Vietnam, to South Korea, to Pakistan, and to certain other areas; but I simply cannot bring myself to vote for a bill which gives money to a Communist-controlled country. I want it to be very clear to all the people why I am voting against the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Texas now yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back—

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Texas yield me 1 minute so that I may ask the distinguished minority leader a question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Can the Senator from California tell the Senate the present status of Spain in the bill as it stands?

Mr. KNOWLAND. The status of Spain, as I understand, is that in the Committee on Appropriations an amendment was offered, and is in the bill, which provides that of the amount appropriated for that area of the world, at least \$50 million shall be provided for Spain.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does the Senator from California think that is a satisfactory solution to the question discussed by the distinguished Senator and myself?

Mr. KNOWLAND. To my knowledge and belief, it conforms to the administration's program on Spain. As I recollect, the amount requested was \$44 million or \$45 million. The bill increases the amount by approximately \$5 million.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 additional minute.

I should like to inform the Senate that the House has recommitted the atomic reactor bill and has passed the supplemental appropriation bill, for which we have been waiting. The Senate committee has acted on that bill, and the report and hearings are available. It will be the intention of the leadership to bring that appropriation bill before the Senate at least by Friday, if not earlier. I should like to inform Senators who may desire copies of the report and the hearings that they will be available, and I ask their cooperation. It is the last remaining appropriation bill that is holding up adjournment. If we can dispose of the bill and reach agreement with the House as a result of any changes we shall make, it will be possible to have a sine die adjournment resolution.

I want the RECORD to show that the leadership, after consulting with the minority leader, the ranking minority member of the committee, and other Senators, is today, on Tuesday, giving notice that we plan to take up the bill. So far as I know, there is no controversy about it. We plan to take it up Friday,

if not earlier, if it suits the convenience and plans of Senators.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield 5 minutes to me?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, before this debate closes, I think there should be some reference in the RECORD to the understanding which the Appropriations Committee has with reference to the proposed Aswan Dam in Egypt. In the appearance before the Appropriations Committee of the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, that question was gone into very fully. It is my understanding, and I know it is the understanding of other members of the Appropriations Committee, that this informal agreement was reached with the Secretary of State:

First, that no funds out of prior appropriations are available for the Aswan Dam, are committed to same, or will be so used. Second, that no funds are in the appropriation for that area of the world in this bill for the Aswan Dam, and that none will be so used. Third, that relative to the President's emergency fund, which is contained in this bill and in prior legislation, no funds from that source will be used for the Aswan Dam. Fourth, that in the event there should be any desire on the part of the Executive to go forward with the Aswan Dam in the future, any move toward a commitment in that direction will be preceded by consultations and conferences between the Secretary of State and the Appropriations Committees of the two Houses of Congress. I think this is important, because, first, that proposed dam is by far the largest single project, of which I have heard, in which there was serious intent to enter into on behalf of this country. As I recall, the estimated cost is \$1,300,000,000, with many thinking the ultimate cost will be as much as \$2 billion.

Furthermore, in view of the recalcitrance of the present rulers of Egypt in recent months, their willingness to acquire arms from Russian satellites through the use of cotton in barter transactions, particularly in view of the fact that the United States is holding an umbrella over the cotton-producing areas in the world, and that the very considerable surplus of cotton in the world is now in the hands of the United States, I am sure our committee felt that we were entitled to select where our funds, available for mutual assistance, should be used. We also felt that recent actions of the present rulers of Egypt were not sufficiently friendly to justify such use.

We further felt, in view of the apparent unwillingness of Egypt to participate in any way in bringing about a friendly or peaceful status in the Near East or to recognize any sense of responsibility on its part as a leader of the Arab group in working out peaceful, living arrangements with Israel, and in working with the United Nations and with our country and our allies in bringing about peace in the Middle East, that we were justified in taking that position.

There have been many comments on this subject in the press and elsewhere, but I felt that in the RECORD itself there should be preserved this brief reference to the understanding reached by the Appropriations Committee with the Secretary of State, which I am very sure the Secretary of State will honor in every respect.

I thank the Senator for yielding me time.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

In further answer to the questions raised by the Senator from Montana, I wish to state that, to the best of my recollection, a year ago Spain received about \$50 million, which is the amount provided this year in the bill. While I am not at liberty to give the breakdown of the figures, in addition to that, in our airbase program abroad, there is a considerably greater figure which will be expended for that type of operation, for United States bases in Spain.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I thank the Senator.

Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is it not true that there is the strong possibility—at least there is a rather persistent rumor to the effect—that new bases are being considered in Spain and Portugal, which indicates the strategic importance of the Iberian Peninsula?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I think it has been recognized by our officials that the Iberian Peninsula—which includes both Spain and Portugal—is an important part of our defense line.

TRUST FOR CERTAIN LANDS ADJACENT TO OJO DEL ESPIRITU SANTO GRANT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me so I may submit a conference report?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico for the purpose of presenting a conference report.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5712) to provide that the United States hold in trust for the Pueblos of Zia and Jemez a part of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant and a small area of public domain adjacent thereto. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5712) to provide that the United States hold in trust for the Pueblos of Zia and Jemez a part of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant and a small area of public domain adjacent thereto, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do

recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by the Senate amendment, insert the following:

"SEC. 3. In the administration of the lands to be held in trust by the United States pursuant to this act, together with any remaining lands comprising the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant, the Secretary of Agriculture, or any officer or agency of the United States hereafter administering such lands, shall make the livestock grazing capacity of the land held in trust under sections 1 and 2 hereof available to the Zia and Jemez Indians to the extent of 400 cattle units year-long, and the remaining lands available to the non-Indians included in the provisions of the Executive Order (No. 8697) signed by the President on February 28, 1941."

And the Senate agree to the same.

CLINTON P. ANDERSON,
RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
BARRY GOLDWATER,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

JAMES A. HALEY,
B. F. SISK,
JOHN J. RHODES,

Managers on the Part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate agree to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

TILLAMOOK NAVY BASE AND THE NORTHWEST TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield 2 minutes to my friend the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, splendid use is being made of the Navy blimp base at Tillamook, Oreg. Under the watchful and careful eye of the Tillamook County Naval Airport Commission, since the Navy vacated the base in 1951, the area has become the scene of important and valuable activity.

Last summer, one of the old blimp hangars was turned into a vast grain storage depot by the North Pacific Grain Growers, who poured thousands of bushels of wheat and barley into its cavernous interior. There is also a use which gains the quick approval of citizens increasingly conscious of their heavy tax contributions to the Defense Establishment. The Air Force has contracted with the Northwest Technical Institute to train more than several hundred men annually in the tricky and potentially hazardous business of handling gasoline and other fuels used in modern aircraft. Tourists motoring Oregon's scenic coastal route U. S. 101 may speculate on the activity as they drive by, but any cit-

izen of Tillamook County will tell us he is pleased to see the blimp base continuing to serve the Department of Defense.

An article by Walter Matilla, in the May 27 issue of the Portland (Oreg.) Journal, describes the unique and efficient training provided by the Northwest Technical Institute.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have it included in the body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with a statement extracted from the foreword appearing in "Contract School Report, January 1951 Through December 1955," published recently by Headquarters, Flying Training Air Force. This article is appropriate, Mr. President, because the Northwest Technical Institute is a contractor operation, a very outstanding one, I might add.

There being no objection, the article and extract were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Journal of May 27, 1956]

BLIMP BASE BECOMES FUEL SCHOOL—UNUSUAL
TILLAMOOK SCHOOL TRAINS GASOLINE EXPERTS FOR AIR FORCE

(By Walter Matilla)

TILLAMOOK, May 26.—This community of the full milk pail which is well known for exporting its cheese to world markets is also sending out specially trained experts in handling another important fluid—gasoline—to far-flung bases of the United States Air Force the world over.

There is an individual flavor to Tillamook cheese and there is as distinctive a flavor to Tillamook instruction of Air Force military and civilian personnel in keeping gasoline and other fuel in tanks, pipes, and planes as fresh and clean as Tillamook milk.

It is claimed by Warren McMinimee, chairman of the Tillamook County Naval Airport Commission, that the Northwest Technical Institute, which is now instructing 230 airmen and Air Force employees at the old wartime blimp base, is the only school of its kind.

The institute's director, R. E. Klatt, a former Air Force education officer, explained the novelty of his school by pointing out that he not only furnished instruction for the airmen but also provided them with chow, PX, laundry, hospital, quarters, chapel, recreation, and distributed the mail.

Two secretaries of congressional committees had just dropped in to see how things were getting along under this contract system of specialized training for military personnel.

The Air Force provides airmen students at Tillamook with military commanders, including chaplain service, who drill, pay, and discipline them.

Klatt said that the Air Force does not have a school of its own for training petroleum supply and maintenance specialists. Need for this type of instruction was recently stressed in a fuel survey report to the Assistant Secretary of Defense which recommended "Proper training courses should be provided for all personnel responsible for handling petroleum products. This could be the one recommendation having the greatest effect in accomplishing the overall objective: To deliver clean, dry fuel to aircraft. The major portion of the problem is personnel training."

This report also recommended that military personnel handling petroleum products "be given grade or classification"—which means stripes, more pay, more prestige.

"It is reported," the survey concluded, "that assignment to refueling is sometimes used as disciplinary action by motor pool

operators. Such practice is manifest evidence of a complete lack of the realization of the necessity for taking every precaution to deliver clean fuel." Planes don't fly well on dirty fuel.

Before the Northwest Technical Institute hands out diplomas its air force graduates must know how to check for and remove sludge from gasoline storage tanks. This is necessary every three years and special equipment, including acid-proof boots and a gas mask, are required.

The Air Force also sends its civilian petroleum handlers from large bases to the six-week school.

In addition to instruction on keeping storage tanks clean, students are taught how to transfer properly petroleum products from railroad tank cars to special trucks and finally to aircraft. Much time is given to reducing fire hazards and in fire control.

The institute has the latest equipment in the fast changing system of fuel transfer from storage to aircraft. Recently it began giving instruction on a new multiple pump setup which replaces the big tank truck. Instead a small mobile hosecraft takes over and can pour 1200 gallons a minute through two hoses into a jet or other modern aircraft.

Klatt at first taught aviation mechanics but for several years has devoted his school entirely to teaching how to keep aircraft fuel clean. In all 500 airmen have attended his school since 1952 at Tillamook.

In the meantime the Air Force has desired to add this type of instruction to a school of its own at Amarillo, Tex., but the Tillamook Naval Airport commission has defended the school in Congress. Tillamook doesn't want to have Amarillo swallow the institute.

Klatt receives tuition of \$230 for each student for a six-week course. This three manuals on the petroleum supply specialist are used in the Air Force.

In the meantime the former blimp station which covers 2,000 acres of once-splendid cow pasturelands has contributed substantial payrolls to the community. It is now under lease from the Navy for \$1 a year.

One of the two large blimp hangars—1,080 feet long—houses the Diamond Lumber Co. mill which employs 450. The other hangar whose 14-acre roof has been largely replaced at a cost of \$50,000, has recently received its first shipments of grain for storage. Auto racing is developing on the runways and fields of concrete.

The school now employs 50 and it provides a total payroll, including those of airmen, of \$45,000 a month. Earlier, when the enrollment was higher, this figure exceeded \$100,000.

Before the civilian and airmen students complete their training, they are taken on special tours to cheese factories to acquaint them with the first export of Tillamook.

Klatt admits that when his graduates meet each other in distant parts of the airman's world they recall the cheese, rain, and fish.

[From Contract School Report, January 1951 through December 1955, by Headquarters, Flying Training Air Force]

FTAF LAUDS CONTRACTOR OPERATIONS IN BOOKLET

Perhaps no other single development has had greater impact on training of military skills than has contractor operations. Contract flying training has been developed into a major program by the Flying Training Air Force and today the United States Air Force is the acknowledged leader in utilization of contractor skills and resources. The many benefits of contract training—stability, economy, development and retention of instructor experience, to name only a few—insure continuation of contractor training as an integral part of the flying training pro-

gram. * * * Contract training, as with all training, is not static but is continuously changing to meet the dictates of national defense. Thus, as the experience of General Arnold in pioneering the World War II contract training program was so successfully used to guide the organization and prosecution of our present contract program, review of the experience gained in the past 5 years may possibly furnish guidelines for future training departments.

NEED FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, evidence continues to accumulate of the growing interest in and recognition of the need for political development of the Atlantic Community. Under the leadership of its eminent chairman, the Senator from Georgia, who as Ambassador to NATO will personally assume a leading role on behalf of our Nation in this future development, the Committee on Foreign Relations has recently again held hearings on Senate Congressional Resolution 12, to have Congress call for an explanatory convention among citizens from the Western democracies which originally joined in sponsoring the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Under the impact of the new, less militaristic aspects of Soviet policies, the West is at last making cautious progress toward building a community of free men to transcend some of the limitations imposed on our unity by earlier national rivalries. These efforts will continue to be the most important task confronting us for many years ahead. The outcome may well determine the survival in the world of free democratic institutions as they have developed through the long history of the Western peoples, and as we know and cherish them today.

In view of the unequalled importance of this challenge, it is reassuring to see it increasingly recognized and given the widespread public discussion it demands. To bring to the attention of the Congress some of the most recent comments on the need for imagination and initiative in developing the Atlantic Community, I ask unanimous consent to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from an editorial in Life magazine of May 7, 1956, and a response by Mr. Clarence Streit, both reprinted from the June 1956 issue of Freedom and Union; an editorial in the Washington Post of July 17, 1956; an editorial in The Christian Science Monitor of July 16, 1956, called "NATO Is People," which points out the need to develop popular understanding and sense of unity within the peoples of the Atlantic area themselves; and finally a very thoughtful analysis by Mr. James J. Warburg in the Reporter magazine for June 14, 1956, entitled "Breathing New Life Into NATO," which raises some challenging and important questions of the degree of identification of the Atlantic Community with NATO, which to many people has become too rigidly and adversely identified with militarism, German rearmament, and colonialism.

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Freedom and Union, June 1956]

LITTLE STEPS OR SHOTGUN WEDDING?

Under the caption, "The 'Totality' of NATO" Life magazine on May 7, said in its lead editorial:

"The NATO Ministers are meeting in Paris at a critical point in its career. The Soviets have long sought to destroy NATO, and the closer it comes to being the means of actual German rearmament, the more they hate it. The new Soviet look, which has all but banished the fear of war from Europe, is doing more to undermine the NATO military alliance than Stalinism ever did. * * * To stem the decline * * * Secretary Dulles advanced some fresh thoughts about NATO itself. He hopes it will now grow into 'the totality of its meaning.'"

"What is this 'totality'? Though a military alliance, NATO's charter also contains in article II an invitation to closer political and economic ties among its 15 member nations. * * * Mr. Dulles listed some of the things the NATO nations have in common: religion and morals, democracy and law, freedom of thought, private property and trade. But the question of how to turn these abstract ties into concrete links is something else again.

"At one extreme are Clarence Streit and his fellow advocates of a full Federal Atlantic 'Union of the Free.' * * * The Streit resolution (sponsored by Senator Kefauver) asks for a transatlantic convention to explore the problems of union, a cautious approach which has won it some politically responsible support. But worthy as it may be of theoretical discussion, Atlantic Union is unlikely to get further than that at a time when western civilization does not feel its back to the wall. Certainly those who fear such a union need not let it haunt their opinions of article II.

"At the other extreme are a lot of little ways to implement article II, mostly technical and economic, and mostly explored already by NATO's own council and secretariat with meager results. But this need not foreclose the further exploration that Dulles seeks. Since economic strength underlies military, there is an argument for making NATO a funnel for economic development. North Africa, for instance, needs more public and private capital than France alone can afford; and North Africa is vital to NATO's strategic boundaries."

SUGGESTS LIFE UNDERESTIMATES AMERICANS

Mr. Streit wrote the following comment to Life:

"I wish to thank you for the compliment your editorial paid me in calling the resolution for an Atlantic Exploratory Convention the 'Streit resolution,' but I must point out that this honor should go to others—notably the bipartisan group of 13 Senators and 13 Representatives that introduced this measure in Congress. If any one man deserves it, he should be Senator KEFAUVER, the chief sponsor. I did not draft this resolution. Had I done so, its basic provisions, it is true, would have been much the same, but it would have been worded more strongly.

"Your editorial implies that Atlantic Union is 'worthy' of discussion, but adds that it is 'unlikely to get further than that at a time when western civilization does not feel its back to the wall'—and so meanwhile the best hope lies in 'a lot of little ways' to improve NATO. Is this not a dimmer view of a great civilization than you meant to give? May I ask your readers to say whether they agree that the character of the American people is such that they would accept only half-hearted measures until it is too late to prevent disaster by adequate action, and would reject an Atlantic Union even if a convention of leading statesmen, after exploring the situation, recommended

Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY].

ADDING TO FARM COST PRICE SQUEEZE

Mr. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. Mr. President, it is with surprise and anxiety that I call attention of the Senate today to a recent press release issued by the Executive Office of the White House. This release, dated July 10, 1956, announces a date for hearings to be held on a petition concerning proposed restrictions on the importation of baler and binder twine for the use of the American farmer, commercial twine, and rope.

I am reasonably certain that few, if any, Members of Congress have been aware that the Executive Office of the White House has for some time been studying this petition. It was presented by the Cordage Institute of America and endeavors to establish that their industry is so adversely affected by the import of cordage products that it constitutes a threat to our national security. The Cordage Institute represents some of the industrial producers of twines and rope in America.

During the first session of this Congress, the Tariff Act of 1930 was amended to provide, among other things, that—

(b) In order to further the policy and purpose of this section, whenever the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization has reason to believe that any article that any article is being imported into the United States in such quantities as to threaten to impair the national security, he shall so advise the President, and if the President agrees that there is reason for such belief, the President shall cause an immediate investigation to be made to determine the facts. If, on the basis of such investigation, and the report to him of the findings and recommendations made in connection therewith, the President finds that the article is being imported into the United States in such quantities as to threaten to impair the national security, he shall take such action as he deems necessary to adjust the imports of such article to a level that will not threaten to impair the national security.

As you will recall, Mr. President, section 7 was put in the bill primarily to meet the growing concern of domestic producers of petroleum products. Certainly, so far as I am aware, it was never contemplated that this section was intended to cover material which the Congress has already determined to be so essential to the American farmer that it has placed it on the duty-free list.

My colleagues from agricultural areas are well aware of the important part that baler and binder twines play in the mechanical harvesting of American farm products. Without it our farmers would be dependent on hand methods of harvesting. The domestic production of this twine has never been sufficient to supply all of our needs in peace and certainly not in wartime.

When the same individuals who are today petitioning the White House for protection against imports operated under the benefit of a protective tariff which I presume they managed to have placed on baler twine by the Customs

Service, the Congress in 1951 took specific action to remove the duty and thereby ensure the farmer a proper supply of baler and binder twine at reasonable prices. During the time the duty was on baler twine, Mr. President, you will recall that two things happened: First, domestic supply and imports did not keep pace with demand to the point where farmers could get an adequate supply of this vital material; and, Second, prices for the material advanced from approximately \$10 per 40-pound bale in 1947 to \$15 per bale in 1951. Price inflation in the Korean war period influenced prices in part of 1952, but since the removal of the duty prices have dropped as low as \$8 per bale and the farmers have had all the twine needed.

When legislation was introduced to place baler twine on a duty free basis, extensive hearings were held by the House of Representatives and the Senate. By an overwhelming majority both Houses agreed that the farmer should have the benefit of an unrestricted flow of both baler and binder twine.

In spite of this congressional intent, we now find the administration proceeding under a law which was never designed for this purpose, to undo all the constructive action taken by Congress after such careful study.

The brief on this subject submitted by the Cordage Institute alleges that our national defense is being impaired by the imports of rope and twine. This is, of course, the only way this particular law could be invoked. Yet it would take an extremely careful reading of their brief to realize that it is the imports of farm twine which is causing the concern of the industry and not the rope for military use which is discussed so broadly and freely in the brief.

Mr. President, an analysis of the volume of rope imported into this country shows that it is only 8 percent of the domestic consumption. It is quite clear that this volume is too small to worry the producers of cordage products and their friends in the administration who are so interested in the big business of America. If their own figures can be accepted as accurate, it is clear that what they are primarily worried about is imports of baler and binder twines, which are approximately 50 percent of the domestic consumption. As further confirmation that this petition is aimed at the American farmer, their brief shows clearly that the industry now has more than enough production capacity to produce the rope that the Cordage Institute itself claims is required for national defense purposes. Therefore, there is no other conclusion to be drawn than that the national security aspect, which is the only reason that they can use this law, is literally nonexistent. It follows that the reason for this petition is to protect the profits of certain members of the Cordage Institute from the sale of farm twines.

It is a fact that approximately 80 percent of the baler and binder twines produced by all American companies is the product of two of the companies. These are the Plymouth Cordage Co. and the International Harvester Co. The pro-

duction of the rest of the industry is minor by comparison. It is also interesting to note that International Harvester Co. has not associated itself with this brief, and therefore, under the guise of national security, we find the interests of the American farmer being seriously jeopardized primarily to protect the interest of the one company.

The only reason for my surprise at the action being taken by the administration in this matter is that the law under which they are proceeding, requires that the President of the United States, upon recommendation of the Director of Defense Mobilization, must determine that the facts warrant an investigation of a threat to the national security caused by imports. The fact that the Office of Defense Mobilization has now directed public hearings to be held indicates that the President has made this determination. Yet even the most cursory examination of this case would show it has no merit in fact, is primarily for the interest of only one company in America, and would not only seriously affect our American farmer, but would impair to a great degree some of our basic national security policies.

We have recently, after considerable debate, enacted a bill to give aid to those countries of the free world which are supporting us in our fight against communism. We have, over the years, poured billions of dollars into the NATO structure which is designed to make the free world into one team for defense. Furthermore, we have developed a concept that the North American Continent as a whole is our arsenal to protect democracy and the nations on that continent must work together both economically and militarily to defend the continent. The administration has publicly announced this policy where Canada is concerned and, as my colleagues know, this same approach is being made with regard to our sister republic to the south and to Cuba. If this petition is approved, the immediate effect would be to restrict, if not stop, the flow of baler and binder twine from Mexico, Canada, and Cuba.

If this procedure is established for any given product, not only does it negate our basic national defense policies, but opens the gateway for further restrictions on other products that are used by our American farmer.

Yet, in the petition's stated desire to improve national security they risk hurting it in another direction. Of the 21 cordage production facilities in America, only 13 facilities produce baler and binder twines, without which our farmers cannot operate. Of these 13 production facilities, 10 are located in the critical target areas of America. Using the petitioners own figures, there is already a deficit in production facilities in America, and the recent history of shortages during Korea and World War II bear this out. If an atomic attack is made on the critical target areas in which 10 of the domestic producers are located, we will be even more dependent on imports from our allies on this continent.

Yet, if this petition were allowed, it would undoubtedly restrict and deny to

the United States facilities which during World War II and Korea were available to us and from which imports increased during our greatest time of need.

We, in the Congress, have seen many programs cloaked with the guise of national security and have learned in substantial part to separate the authentic cases from those stemming from purely selfish interest. This particular petition is one of the most flagrant misuses of the national security slogan that I have ever encountered.

I am quite accustomed to the lack of interest displayed by the administration in our farmers, but am amazed that this administration, careless and indifferent as it has been to the needs of the farmer, would encourage the weakening of security programs which they themselves have developed and espoused.

In summation, Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to join with me in calling the attention of the White House to this further threat to our farmers and other established security programs. It would be my hope that the facts, once understood, would require that the hearings not even be held.

If, on the other hand, they are so deeply committed to their industrial interests that the hearings must be held, that the Executive Office recognize that the approval of this petition would result: First, in time of peace a lessening supply of baler and binder twines for our farmers; second, a substantial increase in the cost of the twines they can get; third, a greatly reduced and hopelessly inadequate mobilization base; fourth, an abrogation of the announced security policies where Canada is concerned which have stated that our economic and our defense plans must be coordinated for the common good and that barriers impeding the smooth flow of materials between the nations must be removed; fifth, our endeavors to establish a similar type of working arrangement with the Republic of Mexico, as well as Cuba, will be impeded; and sixth, that these unfortunate results would be brought about primarily for the purpose of increasing the profits of 1 or 2 of our domestic producers of cordage.

If, in spite of these factors, the White House approves a petition of this type, then, Mr. President, I would ask my colleagues to join with me in seeing that this situation is corrected at the earliest possible moment.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, how much time remains on each side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The proponents have 43 minutes remaining, and the opponents have 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back my remaining time, with the understanding that the proponents do likewise.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, we are prepared to yield back the time remaining to us.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time for debate has been yielded back.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Goldwater	Martin, Pa.
Allott	Gore	McCarthy
Anderson	Green	McClellan
Barrett	Hayden	McNamara
Beall	Hennings	Millikin
Bender	Hickenlooper	Monroney
Bennett	Hill	Mundt
Bible	Holland	Murray
Bricker	Hruska	Neely
Bridges	Humphrey,	Neuberger
Bush	Minn.	O'Mahoney
Butler	Humphreys,	Pastore
Byrd	Ky.	Payne
Capehart	Ives	Purtell
Carlson	Jackson	Robertson
Case, N. J.	Jenner	Russell
Case, S. Dak.	Johnson, Tex.	Saltonstall
Clements	Johnston, S. C.	Schoeppel
Cotton	Kefauver	Scott
Curtis	Kennedy	Smith, Maine
Dirksen	Kerr	Smith, N. J.
Douglas	Knowland	Sparkman
Duff	Kuchel	Stennis
Dworshak	Laird	Symington
Eastland	Langer	Thye
Ellender	Lehman	Watkins
Ervin	Long	Wiley
Flanders	Magnuson	Williams
Frear	Malone	Wofford
Fulbright	Mansfield	Young
George	Martin, Iowa	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I suppose this might be called a point of personal privilege. I should like to speak for about half a minute.

This afternoon I may have done an injustice to some Senators when I said there was no evidence whatsoever that President Eisenhower had asked for a continuation of aid to Yugoslavia. I shall not do other than to ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Tito Aid Cutoff Hit in Letter by Eisenhower," published in today's Washington Evening Star, and which came to my attention about 10 minutes ago. It indicates that the President personally favors aid to a Communist country. I believe that fact speaks for itself. I believe that the further fact that certain Senators favor aid to a Communist country on the grounds that the President favors aid to a Communist country also speaks for itself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TITO AID CUTOFF HIT IN LETTER BY EISENHOWER—APPEALS TO GEORGE AS GOP SENATORS TRY TO IMPOSE BAN

(By J. A. O'Leary)

President Eisenhower said today he would deplore any abrupt mandatory cutoff of military aid to Yugoslavia.

His views were contained in a letter Chairman GEORGE, of the Foreign Relations Committee read to the Senate in opposition to the move by two top Republican Senators to ban any more military equipment for President Tito.

The amendment was offered by Senate Republican Leader KNOWLAND and by Chairman BRIDGES of the Senate Republican policy committee. Senator MARGARET SMITH, of Maine, joined as a cosponsor.

Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, said adoption of the amendment would be construed abroad as a vote of no confidence in President Eisenhower. He said it would have this effect because Congress only a few weeks ago gave Mr. Eisenhower discretionary power to decide within 90 days whether aid should be continued or cut off.

"PRESIDENT INTENDS REVIEW"

The President told Senator GEORGE in today's letter that under the discretion given him in that law he intends carefully to review the situation in the light of recent developments, "and I cannot now predict what cause will best serve the national interests."

"But so many complicated and fluid elements are involved and the relationship of this situation to our hopes for satellite independence are such that I would deplore any abrupt mandatory cutoff involving the military aspects of our Yugoslav relationships," the President added.

Senator KNOWLAND left the front row desk he occupies as Republican leader and went to the back of the Chamber to argue for the ban to make it clear he was acting in his individual capacity.

JOHNSON SEES VICTORY

Senator SALTONSTALL, Republican, of Massachusetts, announced he would make a point of order against the amendment as legislation of an appropriation bill. This may bring the test vote on an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Senate Democratic leader, LYNDON JOHNSON of Texas, predicted the ban on shipments to Yugoslavia would win before final passage of the bill.

Earlier today the Senate completed action on the figures which make up the \$4.1 billion total in the bill. In a separate vote it refused to cut \$126 million from the economic aid figures.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina subsequently said: Mr. President, I send to the desk a brief statement on the mutual security bill, and ask that it be printed in the RECORD immediately preceding the passage of the bill.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I believe the debate that resulted from the offering of these amendments will well serve the American people. I was most pleased to see Members of the Senate, normally not opposed to foreign aid, tightening up in their policy and speaking out against aid to Tito. As far as I am concerned, in sending Tito anything, we are furthering his international blackmail game. He will milk our cow until it goes dry and he will milk the Russian cow until it goes dry.

The same is the case for most of the other countries we are aiding. They are just milking a cow that they will lead to the slaughterhouse when it goes dry.

Those who want to keep on giving away all these billions to foreign governments should stop and think of what a ridiculous situation they are creating.

As my able colleagues have pointed out, you urge we give billions to the Titos of the world but not one cent more for poor old grandma. We're willing to make highways out of camel trails in Africa for free, but if we want to put a road from Washington to South Carolina to save lives of American taxpayers, you make them pay through the nose right on the spot.

We want to send medicine and equipment all over the world for doctors, but when it comes to a new hospital or a little medicine

for the poor at home we cannot afford it. It is humanitarianism abroad but socialized medicine at home.

We throw away billions to build airports for foreign governments, but we quibble over the high costs of setting up an air traffic system at home while hundreds of Americans continue to die in unnecessary air tragedies.

We spend millions rebuilding the war-damaged buildings of former enemy countries while our Capital City lies squallering in slums and rotting temporary Government buildings that are so inadequate that we must send American Government workers home for fear of their lives when the weather becomes extreme.

While some yell socialism and waste at attempts to increase welfare programs for our aged and needy, they turn right around and vote to squander billions abroad under the name of mutual security.

There is nothing mutual about such a program. It is security for foreign governments and financial burdening for our people at home.

My people in South Carolina are struggling under a sales tax law, as are other States, to build their school system up. They labor under gasoline taxes to keep their highways among the best in the Nation.

They pay their other taxes for other State and Federal Government responsibilities and services. But I think it is going beyond the duty of a citizen to require him to continue to pay taxes that result him nothing and provide for foreign governments and people things his own Government will not furnish him.

We are reaching a sorry state of affairs when the American Government cannot afford to maintain national shrines marking the birthplace of our Nation, but can pour billions into foreign countries for tomfoolery.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. In my own State of South Carolina they have practically abandoned Fort Moultrie and famed Castle Pinckney for purposes of economy. But they do not hesitate to construct a highway through the heart of Africa that was never used and which the jungle swallowed up in short time. I do not have the record on this before me, but I believe a good many of my colleagues remember the report printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a few years ago which brought to our attention this and many other wasteful features of our giveaway projects.

Some in the Senate are apparently unaware of the resentment that is sweeping America against continuing aid to countries that are neither here nor there with us, such as Yugoslavia. I fear you will become more aware, however, when you return home to the poor farmers which the administration cannot afford to help and the needy people some voted we could not afford to help, and the old folks whom the administration said we could not afford to help. You will find out.

I speak not without fair knowledge of the situation. I also speak as one who consistently has opposed this sort of thing and as one who sincerely grieves for those who are paying and must pay

for these economic sins that are being committed here in Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is: Shall it pass? On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CLEMENTS. I announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are absent on official business.

On this vote the Senator from Texas [Mr. DANIEL] is paired with the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Texas would vote "nay" and the Senator from Florida would vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] would vote "yea."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. POTTER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business as a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

The Senator from Idaho [Mr. WELKER] is necessarily absent, and if present, would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 30, as follows:

YEAS—60

Alken	Hayden	Martin, Pa.
Allott	Hennings	McNamara
Anderson	Hickenlooper	Millikin
Beall	Hill	Monroney
Bender	Holland	Mundt
Bennett	Humphrey,	Murray
Bridges	Minn.	Neely
Bush	Humphreys,	Neuberger
Butler	Ky.	Pastore
Carlson	Ives	Payne
Case, N. J.	Jackson	Purtell
Clements	Johnson, Tex.	Saltonstall
Cotton	Kefauver	Scott
Dirksen	Kennedy	Smith, Maine
Douglas	Knowland	Smith, N. J.
Duff	Kuchel	Sparkman
Flanders	Laird	Symington
Fulbright	Lehman	Thye
George	Magnuson	Watkins
Gore	Mansfield	Wiley
Green	Martin, Iowa	

NAYS—30

Barrett	Ervin	McCarthy
Bible	Frear	McClellan
Bricker	Goldwater	O'Mahoney
Byrd	Hruska	Robertson
Capehart	Jenner	Russell
Case, S. Dak.	Johnston, S. C.	Schoeppel
Curtis	Kerr	Stennis
Dworshak	Langer	Williams
Eastland	Long	Wofford
Ellender	Malone	Young

NOT VOTING—6

Chavez	Morse	Smathers
Daniel	Potter	Welker

So the bill (H. R. 12130) was passed.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. I move that the Senate insist on its amendments, request a

conference with the House of Representatives thereon, and that the Chair appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HILL, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. KNOWLAND, and Mr. DIRKSEN conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed, with Senate amendments numbered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a statement prepared by me, explaining the reasons why I voted against the foreign aid bill.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BYRD

As in the past, I shall always vote for the relief of people in need of food and shelter. Since the hunger and housing emergency following World War II ceased to exist, I have advocated first tapering off and then stopping completely the so-called economic aid.

At the inception of NATO I favored appropriations for military assistance in the belief that in good faith other nations would meet their obligations to this international organization for their own defense.

As a member of the Senate Armed Services and Finance Committees I have observed our own administration of foreign aid programs abroad and I have noted reactions to them by other countries. I have talked to our military commanders overseas and to our ambassadors in Europe and the Near East. I have listened to testimony before Senate committees; I have been briefed in the Pentagon, and I have participated in White House conferences on foreign aid.

A great many aspects of foreign aid programs have influenced my votes on this bill. For this reason I shall confine my remarks to documented foreign aid vital statistics which in themselves justify the obvious lack of faith in the programs at home and their apparent ineffectiveness abroad.

There is nothing more numerous in the way of Federal figures than figures on foreign aid. Others may use foreign aid figures from the sources they choose. But I shall limit mine to those available from the President's budget document, and the official reports of the United States Treasury.

Assuming the President's budget request for fiscal year 1957, \$72.5 billion would have been made available for foreign aid since the end of World War II, including \$66.4 billion in direct appropriations, etc., and \$6.1 billion transferred from old lend-lease funds to start the programs in 1946.

Assuming the President's budget estimate of expenditures in fiscal year 1957, total foreign aid expenditures since the end of World War II would amount to \$60.8 billion.

Assuming the President's estimate of unexpended balances at the end of fiscal year 1957, cumulated unspent appropriations would total \$9.7 billion after deducting annual appropriation lapses to that date.

Postwar foreign assistance, 1946-57: Summary of availability of funds, expenditures, and unexpended balances by categories, showing military assistance and economic and technical assistance appropriations and expenditures

[In billions of dollars]

	Military		Economic		Total		
	Appropriations	Expenditures	Appropriations	Expenditures ¹	Appropriations	Expenditures	Unexpended balances ²
1946:							
Prior year funds available.....			\$ (6.1)		\$ (6.1)		
Current appropriations.....		3.0	1.7	1.4	1.7	4.4	4.4
1947.....	0.1	.3	9.2	8.4	9.3	8.7	3.7
1948.....	.3	.2	4.9	4.4	5.2	4.6	4.2
1949.....	.2	.3	6.7	5.7	6.9	6.0	4.9
1950.....	.9	.1	4.9	4.4	5.8	4.6	6.0
1951.....	5.7	1.0	2.9	3.4	8.6	4.4	10.1
1952.....	5.8	2.4	1.8	2.6	7.6	5.0	12.6
1953.....	4.2	3.9	1.8	1.9	6.0	5.8	12.8
Total, 1946-53:							
Appropriations.....	17.2		33.9		51.1		
Availability.....		11.2	\$ (40.0)	32.2	\$ (57.2)	43.4	12.8
1954.....	3.2	3.6	1.6	1.4	4.8	5.0	12.7
1955.....	1.2	2.2	1.6	2.0	2.8	4.2	10.4
1956 (estimated).....	1.0	2.2	1.8	1.8	2.8	3.9	9.1
1957 (estimated).....	3.0	2.5	1.9	1.8	4.9	4.3	9.7
Total, 1946-57:							
Appropriations.....	25.6		40.8		66.4		
Availability.....		21.7	\$ (46.9)	39.1	\$ (72.5)	60.8	9.7

¹ Includes program expenditures against which authorizations are not shown, for example, Export-Import Bank;

² Includes \$2.5 billion in authority to borrow from Treasury unused to date by the International Bank.

³ Availability figures include balances of prior year lend-lease funds continued available in 1946 for purposes of postwar foreign assistance.

Seventy-two and one-half billion dollars would be nearly three times the total expenditures for all Federal purposes by the United States Government from its beginning to World War I.

The one sure thing that can be said about foreign aid programs since World War II is that they have been incapable of audit. A clear indication of the confusion and lack of direction in these programs lies in the fact that in the 11 years they have been going at least 8 major agencies have been charged with foreign aid administration.

These include: (1) UNRRA, (2) Economic Cooperation Administration, (3) Mutual Security Agency, (4) Foreign Operations Administration, (5) International Cooperation Administration, (6) Institute of Inter-American Affairs, (7) Technical Cooperation Administration, and (8) Department of Defense which assumed responsibility for military aspects of foreign aid last June.

1955: International Cooperation Administration, established June 1955, assumed responsibility for economic and technical aspects of foreign assistance program. Organizationally, it is under the Department of State, but has semi-autonomous status.

Department of Defense assumed responsibility for military aspects of foreign assistance program, as of June 1955.

1953-55: Foreign Operations Administration, established August 1953, combined the functions of the Office of the Director of Mutual Security, the Mutual Security Agency, the Technical Cooperation Administration, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs and a few smaller foreign-aid agencies and assumed responsibility for a unified foreign assistance program including military, economic and technical.

1951-53: Mutual Security Agency and the Office of the Director for Mutual Security, established by Mutual Security Act of 1951 (December 30), assumed functions of Economic Cooperation Administration along with the military aspects of foreign assistance enacted in the Mutual Security Act.

Technical Cooperation Administration, Department of State, administered point 4 program, established in 1950. Transferred to FOA in 1953.

Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State, administered functions of program promotion inter-American cul-

tural and commercial relations. Transferred to FOA in 1953.

1948-51: Economic Cooperation Administration, established by Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, assumed administration of the Marshall plan or the European recovery plan. Abolished 1953, and economic functions transferred to Mutual Security Agency.

The Comptroller General of the United States, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 21, 1956 (p. 768 of hearings) said:

"It should be borne in mind that the nonmilitary assistance program has experienced significant changes over the past several years in the character of its activities and in the organizational structure of its administration.

"The effect of these changes was to create successive conditions of transition which hampered development of a stable fiscal system."

Confusion, lack of direction and fiscal irresponsibility have not been confined to the top agency. They have been continuing characteristics of the system and all of its component programs, top to bottom, and beginning to end.

To start with, most foreign aid appropriations are made to the President. The President passes the money to the major foreign aid agency. The foreign aid agency transfers the funds again to some other agency or agencies who may spend the money or pass it on elsewhere. In some cases, for all intents and purposes, it has been spent by foreign governments after necessary devices were established to bypass constitutional prohibitions.

I personally came into contact with one instance where money appropriated to the President was transferred first to the foreign aid agency, and then to the State Department. The State Department used the money to pay personnel still on the Housing and Home Finance Agency payroll who actually were working overseas under direction of a foreign government.

My sympathy goes out to the Comptroller General in his efforts to trace and audit such transactions.

At present foreign aid money for economic programs, largely appropriated to the President, has been transferred through the foreign aid agency to at least 13 agencies for

actual expenditure. Among others I call particular attention to the fact that foreign aid money is being spent by the Tennessee Valley Authority. Other agencies which, according to the President's budget document, are now feeding at the foreign economic aid trough include:

(1) Department of Agriculture, (2) Corps of Army Engineers, (3) International Cooperation Administration, (4) Department of Commerce, (5) Federal Communications Commission, (6) General Services Administration, (7) Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, (8) Housing and Home Finance Agency, (9) Department of the Interior, (10) Department of Labor, (11) Department of State, and (12) Export-Import Bank of Washington.

Prior to June 1955, a year ago, financing military assistance was an involved hodgepodge, too complex and inefficient for detailed description here. Instead of attempting such a description myself, I shall simply quote directly from the Comptroller General of the United States when he testified on this bill before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 21, 1956 (p. 772 of hearings).

Referring to a General Accounting Office report on foreign assistance programs, submitted April 24, 1953, the Comptroller General said disclosures by Federal auditors at that time revealed "that policies and practices in effect were so irregular that the amount of obligations reported to Congress were overstated, distorted, and misleading to such an extent that the figures could not have been relied on to serve their intended purposes."

In other words, justifications presented to Congress for military assistance appropriations for fiscal years through 1954 were worthless—they were overstated, distorted, and misleading according to the Government's Comptroller General and principal independent auditor.

Mr. W. J. McNell, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), described the situation to the Foreign Relations Committee on May 22, 1956, (p. 873 of the hearings) as "nothing but a mess."

Since that time, Congress by riders on appropriation bills has tried to legislate fiscal responsibilities into the program. To demonstrate how much has been accomplished, I assert without fear of successful contradiction that no one in all the Federal Government of the United States can say now how much foreign military assistance money is under firm contract obligation and for what purposes.

At the moment, foreign military assistance money is flowing out in scores of programs and projects which may be summarized into the following major categories: (1) Supply of materials common to United States requirements, (2) offshore procurement, (3) Navy ship-building in the United States, (4) training of military personnel of allied nations, (5) mutual weapons development, (6) surplus agricultural commodities, (7) loans, (8) contributions to construction of facilities in other countries, (9) contributions to NATO military headquarters.

All together some \$60 billion have been poured out through more than 40 principal foreign-aid programs—economic, technical and military. Among these have been:

1. Defense support: Used to bolster local economies of numerous nations in order to support their own military forces.

2. Development assistance: Used with technical cooperation projects in the form of supplies, commodities and funds.

3. Technical cooperation: Used to provide aid through programs of teaching, training and exchange of technical information.

4. Special assistance-joint control areas in Europe: Used for reconstruction projects in Berlin and technical exchange projects in Germany and Austria.

5. European migration: Used to make United States contributions for the movement of surplus populations from Western Europe.

6. U. N. refugee fund: Used to deal with the refugee problem in Western Europe.

7. Escapee program: Used to provide care for refugees from behind the Iron Curtain.

8. U. N. children's fund: Used to make United States contributions to the U. N. program for children's health and welfare.

9. U. N. relief and works agency: Used for contributions to refugees from Palestine.

10. Ocean freight charges: Used to pay freight on relief supplies donated by private individuals.

11. Ocean freight-surplus agricultural commodities: Used to pay transportation costs on commodities shipped under disaster provisions of the Agriculture Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

12. President's fund for Asian economic development: Used to finance projects to benefit Asian countries.

13. Basic materials development: Used to increase production of basic materials in friendly countries.

14. Contributions to NATO: Used to finance United States share of the cost of the international staff serving the NATO Council.

15. Contributions to U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency: Used to make contributions to assist in Korean reconstruction.

16. Korean program: Used to stabilize and rehabilitate the Korean economy.

17. Mutual defense financing, economic and technical assistance, Europe, program.

18. Defense financing, economic and technical assistance, Formosa, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam program.

19. Mutual defense financing in France program.

20. Mutual defense financing in the United Kingdom program.

21. The production for forces support program (it is not clear, but this appears to be money for aircraft procurement in the United Kingdom).

22. The special economic assistance, India and Pakistan, program.

23. The India emergency food aid program.

24. The special economic assistance, American Republics, program.

25. The investment guaranty program: Used to provide protection for United States investors abroad against risks of inconvertibility and expropriation.

26. The UNRRA program.

27. The assistance to Greece and Turkey program.

28. The Yugoslav emergency relief program.

29. The Philippine War Damage and rehabilitation program.

30. The Displaced Persons Commission program.

31. The Institute of Inter-American Affairs program.

32. The Inter-American Highway program.

33. The Export-Import Bank loan program.

34. The RFC loan program.

35. The contributions to the International Monetary Fund.

36. The contributions to the International Bank.

37. The contributions to the International Finance Corporation.

38. The assistance to Spain program.

39. The exchange student program.

40. The relief and resettlement of refugees entering Israel program: Used to provide consumer goods and for purchasing equipment to implement long-term development projects.

41. The European Payments Union capital fund program: Used to bring into balance trade payments of European nations.

These are some, but by no means all, of the foreign-aid programs. Many are omitted; for example, all of the numerous programs which may be classified under the heading Government and Relief in Occupied Areas, are omitted. The \$3.5 billion British loan is omitted, etc.

Of all the money spent by the Federal Government of the United States, including that which went to the worst of the WPA depression programs, probably none has been characterized by the fiscal irresponsibility which has attended expenditures through these foreign-aid programs. In the name of security, too many of them have by-passed the primary requirements for disclosure. By the nature of many of the programs they have been incapable of audit. Many of them have been accompanied by constitutional evasion. Practically every known device of making money available has been employed, such as direct use of the Federal debt, questionable use of foreign currencies, unorthodox obligations, financing employment and projects of foreign governments, etc.

An outstanding example of unorthodox financing is found in the British loan itself, for which there has never been an appropriation for that \$3.5 billion which was charged directly into the Federal debt of the United States.

Even at present there is a great demand by the administration for the Congress to make foreign-aid appropriations available for more than 1 year. Actually, by use of the so-called "reservations" device now employed, appropriations made a year ago are actually available for expenditure until 1958.

In this connection I quote from the Comptroller General of the United States in his testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee, May 21, 1956 (p. 770 of the hearings), when he said the General Accounting Office had found numerous projects for which funds were obligated had been curtailed or cancelled and funds used to finance other projects.

For years we tried unsuccessfully to find out what an agency meant when it said its funds were "obligated." Actually, in the case of foreign aid we learned that in some cases they classified funds as obligated when a project was in the dreaming stage. Effort has been made in the last 2 years to define "obligation." But whether this definition is now applicable in foreign-aid programs is extremely doubtful. For instance:

Under present procedure, foreign military assistance money is appropriated to the President. He in turn transfers it to the military defense assistance program. In the case of procurement of items which may be used by either our own military forces or those of foreign governments in NATO, MDAP places an order with the appropriate United States military department—Army, Navy, or Air Force—and then marks the money "reserved." The United States military agency involved at the same time purchases items for itself and perhaps some which may be used by NATO. At this point direct appropriations to the military department are being used to finance the order. Theoretically, at some future time when delivery is made, the military department will deliver the MDAP order to NATO and draw down out of the reserve account the actual cost of the items delivered to NATO.

This might not be so bad if it actually worked in accord with the theory. But cases have been found where used or obsolescent equipment has been shipped to NATO in lieu of the new materiel which was ordered. How much the military department drew down out of the "reserved" account probably will never be known. It may have been the price of new equipment. It may have been the purchase price of the old equipment. It may have been the cost of reconditioning the old equipment. It may have been pure fiction.

The question remains as to whether the billions of dollars now in this reserved account are obligated or unobligated. The answer obviously lies in what is to be proved at the moment. But the fact remains that in effect the reserved money invariably is treated as obligated for purposes of continuing its availability for expenditure in more than 1 year. On the other hand the budget document treats these funds as if they were obligated simultaneously with expenditure.

This is the kind of fiscal confusion and irresponsibility which at this moment, in this debate, is still puzzling both the Congress and the public.

I seriously raise the question as to whether the purposes of foreign assistance for the protection of ourselves and our allies is being defeated by our own recklessness with orderly and orthodox fiscal procedures which has been built into these programs.

I seriously doubt, in view of the recent Tito example, whether the kind of security we have purchased is worth the undermining of sound fiscal procedure, full disclosure, and proper audit in which we have indulged.

To this point I have confined my statements to the fiscal aspects of foreign aid programs.

The President of the United States has estimated that foreign-aid programs will start the new fiscal year on the first of July with \$6.6 billion remaining as unspent balances in prior appropriations.

In addition to this \$6.6 billion available in old appropriations, the President requested \$4.9 billion in new appropriations at this time. If his request should be granted in full the total amount available for expenditure in the coming year would be approximately \$11.5 billion.

At the same time the President in his budget document estimated that foreign aid expenditures in the coming year would be \$4.3 billion. Frankly, I believe the expenditure estimate is high. But if we take it at face value it would mean that unexpended balances at the end of the year would total \$7.3 billion.

So we have a situation where, in effect, the President is requesting an increase in unspent balances in appropriations from \$6.6 billion at the beginning of the new fiscal year on July 1 to \$7.2 billion at the end of the fiscal year on June 30 a year from now.

I have neither seen nor heard any justification for increasing unexpended balances for foreign aid by more than 10 percent. Actually, these balances should be curtailed sharply, and the whole program and its relationship with all other elements of our foreign policy should be realistically revised with its practical effects on American labor, American industry, and American taxpayers foremost in view.

For these I am voting against the appropriations for foreign aid.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, its reading clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 8905. An act to amend section 4141 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 for the purpose of repealing the manufacturers excise tax on children's phonograph records retailing for 25 cents or less.

H. R. 10957. An act to provide for the free entry of certain stained glass or prefabricated panels of stained glass imported for use in the construction of a new sanctuary and auxiliary buildings for the First Presbyterian Church of Stamford, Conn.;

H. R. 11035. An act to provide for the duty free entry of mosaics designed for the use of

any corporation or association organized and operated exclusively for religious purposes;

H. R. 11747. An act to amend section 223 of the Revenue Act of 1950 so that it will apply to taxable years ending in 1954 to which the Internal Revenue Code of 1939 applies;

H. R. 11834. An act to allow a charitable deduction for certain bequests; and

H. R. 12152. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for the allowance, as deductions, of contributions to medical research organizations.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Finance:

H. R. 8905. An act to amend section 4141 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 for the purpose of repealing the manufacturers' excise tax on children's phonograph records retailing for 25 cents or less;

H. R. 10957. An act to provide for the free entry of certain stained glass or prefabricated panels of stained glass imported for use in the construction of a new sanctuary and auxiliary buildings for the First Presbyterian Church of Stamford, Conn.;

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H. R. 11834. An act to allow a charitable deduction for certain bequests; and

H. R. 12152. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide for the allowance, as deductions, of contributions to medical research organizations.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST MERGERS AND CONSOLIDATION OF BANKS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 2623, Senate bill 3911.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title, for the information of the Senate.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 3911) to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to provide safeguards against mergers and consolidation of banks which might lessen competition unduly or tend unduly to create a monopoly in the field of banking.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Texas.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

REDUCTION OF MOVING-PICTURE TAXES

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate Finance Committee may, before midnight tonight, report a bill reducing the tax on moving pictures.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, should not the bill have been reported during

the morning hour? Is it not normally done that way?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair cannot pass on that question.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this is a bill sought to be reported by the Finance Committee, and the meeting was held at 5 o'clock this afternoon. The bill has to do with reducing certain taxes on moving pictures.

Mr. DOUGLAS. May I ask the Senator from Virginia if the Committee on Finance did not meet during the session of the Senate without the permission of the Senate?

Mr. BYRD. The members of the committee met in a conference. They again met at 5 o'clock, when the Senate recessed, and formal action was taken at that time in reporting the bill by a majority of the committee, a quorum being present.

Mr. DOUGLAS. May I ask my good friend from Virginia if the real discussion did not take place while the Senate was in session and when permission had not been given? If so, I must object to the reporting of the bill.

Mr. BYRD. I would be very much surprised if the Senator from Illinois thinks Senators cannot discuss matters with each other. The committee is always discussing such questions. Final action was taken while the Senate was in recess, when a quorum was present, and by unanimous vote. One of the few members of the committee who was not present was the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I did not wish to impart any gloss to something that was illegal.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, there are thousands of little theaters all over the country. The bill will mean a great deal of relief for them. I hope the Senator from Illinois will permit the Senator from Virginia to file the report. The committee met while the Senate was in recess. Every State in the Union has hundreds of little theaters which would be helped by the relief afforded by the bill. We frequently file reports until midnight. Permission was received to file a report on the appropriation bill. I know the Senator would not want to deprive the Senate of the opportunity of considering legislation which is designed to bring relief to so many people.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The difficulty could be avoided if, instead of recessing tonight, the Senate would adjourn, so we could have a morning hour, when this matter could be considered. So I hope the Senator from Texas will cooperate with the Senator from Virginia. In fact, I shall move that the Senate adjourn, to reconvene in 5 minutes, so we can consider the matter.

Mr. President, I now so move that the Senate adjourn, to reconvene in 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is already a unanimous-consent agreement that when the Senate completes its business today it recess until tomorrow at 10:30 a. m.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I should like to see how many Members wish to have the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS] continue the course he has followed today. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that, notwithstanding the order previously entered, the motion of the Senator from Illinois that the Senate stand in adjournment be held to be in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—although I shall not object—I wish to say that I concur wholeheartedly in the statement made by the majority leader. I think that either we are going to have orderly procedure in the Senate, or the procedure in the Senate will be completely disrupted and the entire legislative program will be jeopardized.

I consider that a vote against the motion of the Senator from Illinois will be a vote of confidence in the leadership of the Senate—not only the majority leadership, but the minority leadership, as well. Therefore, I hope the motion will be rejected.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate now stand adjourned for 5 minutes, in order that there may be a morning hour.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I make the point of order that debate on a motion to adjourn is not in order.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President—

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I make the point of order that at this time debate is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I do not intend to object—

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I make the point of order that a motion to adjourn is not debatable. Therefore, I demand the regular order.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President—

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I demand the regular order.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, is not a unanimous-consent request before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I reserve the right to object to the unanimous-consent request.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I understood that the unanimous-consent request had been agreed to.

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. No, Mr. President; I was on my feet and addressing the Chair when the Chair asked whether there was objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct; the Senator from New Jersey had addressed the Chair.

Does the Senator from New Jersey object?

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out the portion of the bill dealing with the channeling of Government procurement contracts into distressed areas (p. 13314).

13. FOOD RESERVE. Sen. Martin, Iowa, inserted his statement relating to the establishment of an international food and raw materials reserve under the U. N. p. 13111
14. ASC COMMITTEES. Sen. Symington inserted and discussed correspondence with the Secretary concerning the operations of the Missouri State ASC Committee. p. 13119
15. RECLAMATION. Sen. Morse inserted correspondence from a local Chamber of Commerce regarding the size of farm units in the Columbia Basin project. p. 13282
16. RESEARCH. Sen. Mundt inserted a statement by Rep. Jensen, Iowa, and himself concerning the utilization of grain alcohol in the manufacture of fuel used for motor vehicles. p. 13283
17. HOUSING. Passed with amendment H. R. 11742, to extend and amend laws relating to the provision and improvement of housing and the conservation and development of urban communities, including provisions for farm housing loans and disposal of certain farm-labor camps. Conferees were appointed. p. 13294
18. FISHERIES. Sen. Neuberger inserted a telegram from a local outdoor group favoring S. 3275, the fisheries bill. p. 13322
19. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Sen. Morse inserted an Oregon Farmer Union article, "Patton on Foreign Aid". p. 13283
Sen. Malone stated that free trade destroys American workingmen and investors. p. 13321
20. IMPORTS. The Finance Committee reported without amendment H. R. 12254, to provide additional time for the Tariff Commission to review the customs tariff schedules (S. Rept. 2780). p. 13069
21. EXECUTIVE PAY; RETIREMENT. The "Daily Digest" states that "Conferees, in executive session, agreed to file a conference report on the differences between the Senate-and House-passed versions of H. R. 7619, to adjust the rates of compensation of heads of executive departments and of certain other Federal officials". p. D884
22. TRANSPORTATION. The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee submitted a report, "Transportation Problems of Alaska and the Pacific Coast States" (S. Rept. 2802). p. 13070
23. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Sen. Johnson announced that the Great Plains bill and Guar seed bills would be considered today (p. 13096). Agreed to waive the requirement that committee reports must lie over a day before being taken up (p. 13107).

HOUSE

24. FARM LOANS. Both Houses agreed to the conference report (see Digest 125) on H. R. 11544, to improve and simplify the credit facilities available to farmers and to amend the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 13231, 13293
25. WATERSHEDS. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on H. R. 8750, to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 13231, 13293
26. FOREIGN TRADE; SURPLUS COMMODITIES. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on S. 3903, to increase from \$1.5 billion to \$3 billion the authorization under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 13232, 13293
27. FOREIGN AID. Conferees were appointed, and later the conference report was received on H. R. 12130, the mutual security appropriation bill for 1957. The conference report includes provisions: Appropriating \$250 million for development assistance, deleting Senate language continuing funds available until June 30, 1958; appropriating \$135 million for technical assistance (instead of \$140,500,000 as proposed by the Senate), and \$15,500,000 for U. N. technical assistance (instead of \$10 million as proposed by the House); appropriating \$2,500,000 for ocean freight charges (instead of \$1,400,000 as proposed by the House and \$3,000,000 as proposed by the Senate). (H. Rept. 2931). pp. 13124, 13253
28. HOUSING. Passed with amendment H. R. 11742, to extend and amend laws relating to the provision and improvement of housing and the conservation and development of urban communities. The amendment to H. R. 11742, consisted of inserting the language of H. R. 12328, a similar bill. p. 13130
29. WHEAT. Passed without amendment S. 4221, to extend the period of the International Wheat Agreement until July 31, 1959. This bill is now ready for the President. p. 13161
30. FLOOD INSURANCE. Passed with amendments S. 3732, to provide insurance against flood damages. Adopted an amendment offered by Rep. Dies to require States to contribute one-half of the cost of the program after June 30, 1959, and an amendment by Rep. Dodd to authorize the Administrator to fix the premium on the loans as well as to establish the premium on the insurance. p. 13212
31. PERSONNEL. Rep. Lesinski discussed the administration of the Federal employees' loyalty-security program and inserted a statement by M. E. Harkwood, of the NFEE, suggesting a revision of this system. p. 13242
Received from the Treasury Department a report on operations of Federal agencies in connection with the bonding of employees; to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee. p. 13255
32. FORESTRY. Received and agreed to the conference report on H. R. 5712, to provide that the U. S. hold in trust for the Pueblos of Zia and Jemez a part of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant and a small area of public domain adjacent thereto (H. Rept. 2907). p. 13127
The Agriculture Committee reported with amendment H. R. 3436, to provide that sums paid to States from moneys received from national forests may be used

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

JULY 25, 1956.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. PASSMAN, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 12130]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 5, 12, 13, 15, 16, 24 and 26.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 4, 6, 11, 17, 22, 23, and 25, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,017,500,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$67,500,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$68,700,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$167,500,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$873,500,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment insert: \$250,000,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$1,900,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 20:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$2,500,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert: \$33,595,000; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 8, 18, and 27.

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
J. VAUGHAN GARY,
JOHN J. ROONEY (except
as to amendment No. 2),
CLARENCE CANNON,
A. M. FERNANDEZ,
HENDERSON LANHAM,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
WINFIELD K. DENTON,
JOHN TABER (except as to
amendments Nos. 2 and 17),
R. B. WIGGLESWORTH (except
as to amendment No. 2),
IVOR FENTON (except
as to amendment No. 2),
GERALD R. FORD, Jr. (except
as to amendment No. 2),
T. MILLET HAND,
Managers on the Part of the House.

CARL HAYDEN,
RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
DENNIS CHAVEZ,
ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
LISTER HILL,
STYLES BRIDGES,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL (except
as to amendment No. 2),
WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

MUTUAL SECURITY

MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Amendment No. 1: Deletes Senate language proposing that the appropriation remain available until June 30, 1958.

Amendment No. 2: Appropriates \$2,017,500,000 instead of \$1,735,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,300,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 3: Authorizes \$67,500,000 for infrastructure instead of \$60,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$75,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 4: Changes citation as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 5: Provides that the reappropriated funds shall remain available until June 30, 1957, as proposed by the House, instead of June 30, 1958, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 6: Inserts Senate language restricting use of funds for Yugoslavia.

DEFENSE SUPPORT

Amendment No. 7: Appropriates \$68,700,000 for Europe instead of \$63,700,000 as proposed by the House and \$71,200,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 8: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 9: Appropriates \$167,500,000 for Near East and Africa instead of \$165,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$170,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 10: Appropriates \$873,500,000 for Asia instead of \$865,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$882,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 11: Appropriates \$52,000,000 for Latin America as proposed by the Senate instead of \$35,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 12: Deletes the proposal of the Senate making \$15,000,000 available until June 30, 1958.

Amendment No. 13: Restores language of the House providing that not less than \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Amendment No. 14: Appropriates \$250,000,000 which includes funds for the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa and the President's Asian Fund.

Amendment No. 15: Deletes Senate language continuing funds available until June 30, 1958.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Amendment No. 16: Appropriates \$135,000,000 for technical assistance under section 304 (b) as proposed by the House instead of \$140,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 17: Appropriates \$15,500,000 for United Nations technical assistance as proposed by the Senate instead of \$10,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 18: Reported in disagreement.

OTHER PROGRAMS

Amendment No. 19: Appropriates \$1,900,000 for the United Nations Refugee Fund instead of \$2,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,800,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 20: Appropriates \$2,500,000 for ocean freight charges instead of \$1,400,000 as proposed by the House and \$3,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates \$33,595,000 for administrative expenses instead of \$34,145,000 as proposed by the House and \$33,045,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 22: Deletes House language appropriating \$100,000,000 for the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa in view of inclusion of this item in the amount provided under amendment No. 14.

Amendment No. 23: Changes citation as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 24: Deletes Senate language providing that 25 percent of certain funds remain available until September 30, 1957.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

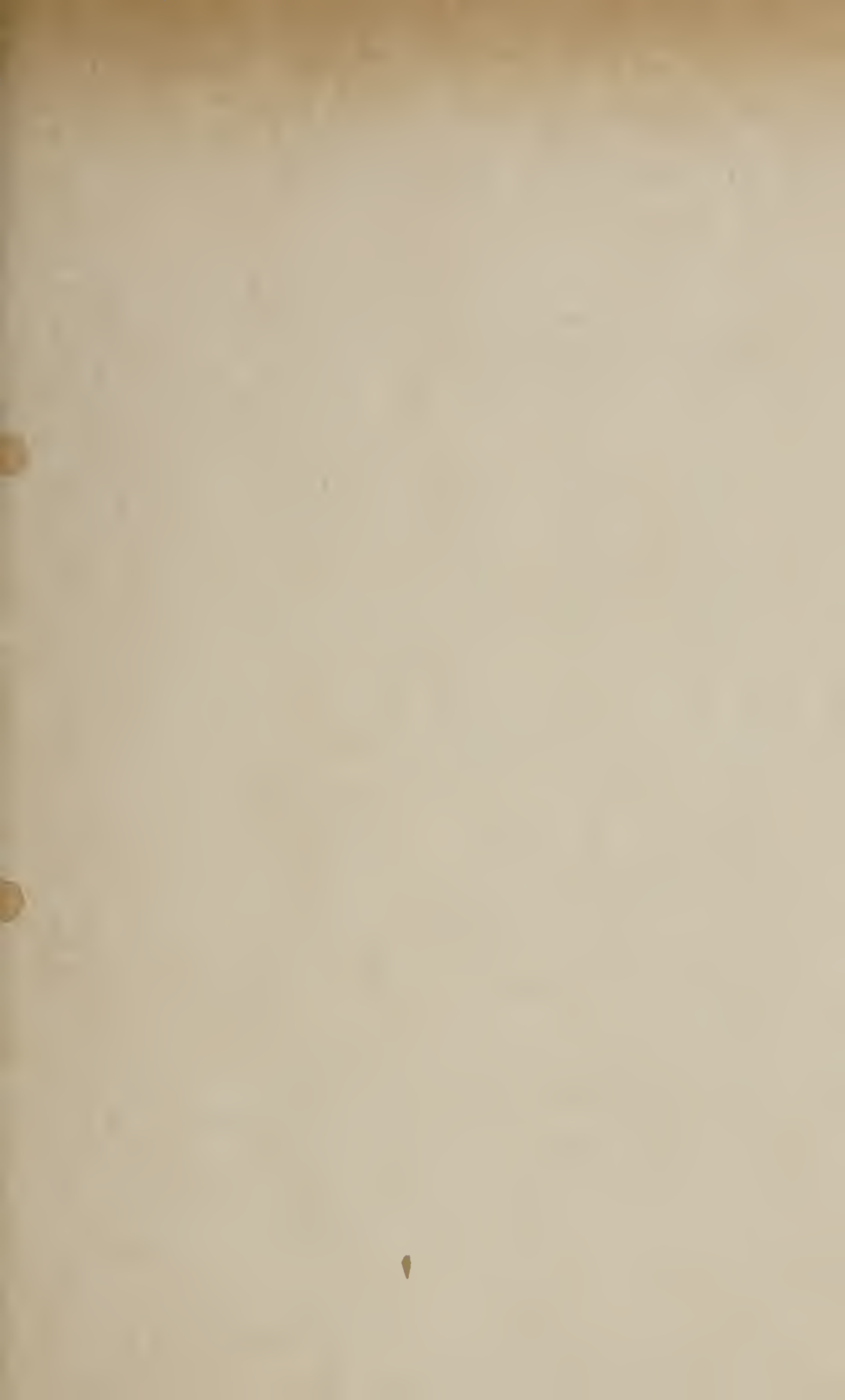
Amendment No. 25: Inserts Senate language excepting the special Presidential fund from the provisions of section 105.

Amendment No. 26: Restores House language providing that none of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956.

Amendment No. 27: Reported in disagreement.

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
J. VAUGHAN GARY,
JOHN J. ROONEY (except
as to amendment No. 2),
CLARENCE CANNON,
A. M. FERNANDEZ,
HENDERSON LANHAM,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
WINFIELD K. DENTON,
JOHN TABER (except
as to amendments Nos. 2 and 17),
R. B. WIGGLESWORTH (except
as to amendment No. 2),
IVOR FENTON (except
as to amendment No. 2),
GERALD R. FORD, Jr. (except
as to amendment No. 2),
T. MILLET HAND,
Managers on the Part of the House.





is

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, JULY 25, 1956

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m.
The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who hast blessed us with the gift of a new day, grant that during all its hours we may seek the higher and nobler levels of living.

May we have the insight and the inspiration, the skill and the energy, to make this day radiant and vibrant with that which is beautiful and best.

We pray that we may never look upon the work in which we are engaged as just a job, but as a joy and an opportunity to have a part and a place in the vast areas of human service and in the building of a better world.

Make us realize more fully that man cannot live by bread alone and that it is not enough to help him gain economic and social security, but that he needs that inner spiritual security which comes from faith and trust in Thee.

Hear us in the name of our blessed Lord who came to give us the abundant life. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

(Mr. WILSON of Indiana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

[Mr. WILSON of Indiana addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

BRIDGES ACROSS THE POTOMAC

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (S. 2568) to authorize and direct the construction of bridges over the Potomac River, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.
The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of July 23, 1956.)

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently no quorum is present.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 118]

Bailey	Dowdy	Patman
Bass, Tenn.	Eberharter	Phillips
Baumhart	Gamble	Powell
Bell	Gordon	Preston
Boykin	Gregory	Priest
Brooks, La.	Hébert	Prouty
Brooks, Tex.	Hillings	Scudder
Broyhill	Hoffman, Ill.	Short
Burleson	Johansen	Sieminski
Carnahan	Kelley, Pa.	Simpson, Pa.
Chatham	Lane	Thompson, La.
Clevenger	Long	Thornberry
Davis, Wis.	McDowell	Vinson
Dawson, Utah	Morrison	Whitten
Dingell	Nelson	Wickersham
Dolliver	O'Hara, Minn.	Wilson, Calif.

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 382 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 12130. An act making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing bill and requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes and appoints Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. CHAVEZ, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HILL, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. KNOWLAND, and Mr. DIRKSEN, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 1243. An act for the relief of Kyu Lee;

S. 1324. An act for the relief of Salvatore di Morello;

S. 1915. An act to provide for further effectuating the act of May 15, 1862, through the exchange of employees of the United States Department of Agriculture and employees of State political subdivisions or educational institutions;

S. 2569. An act to provide certain basic authority for the Department of State;

S. 3009. An act for the relief of Kiyoshi Kinoshita;

S. 3116. An act to provide for the promotion and strengthening of international relations through cultural and athletic exchanges and participation in international fairs and festivals;

S. 3259. An act to amend the act to promote the education of the blind, approved March 3, 1879, as amended, so as to authorize wider distribution of books and other special instructional material for the blind, to increase the appropriations authorized for this purpose, and for other purposes;

S. 3430. An act to amend title III of the Public Health Service Act, and for other purposes;

S. 3481. An act to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, and for other purposes; and

S. 3958. An act to improve the health of the people by assisting in increasing the number of adequately trained professional and practical nurses and professional public health personnel, assisting in the development of improved methods of care and treatment in the field of mental health, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5299) entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of the Virgin Islands National Park, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 5712) entitled "An act to provide that the United States hold in trust for the Pueblos of Zia and Jemez a part of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant and a small area of public domain adjacent thereto."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 3820) entitled "An act to increase the borrowing power of the Commodity Credit Corporation."

The message also announced that the Senate requests the House of Representatives to return to the Senate the bill H. R. 9591, entitled "An act to amend the act of August 31, 1954 (68 Stat. 1037), relating to the acquisition of non-Federal land within the existing boundaries of any national park, and for other purposes."

CONSIDERATION OF CONFERENCE REPORTS

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that during the remainder of this week it shall be in order to consider conference reports the same day reported, notwithstanding the provisions of section 2 of rule XXVIII.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

MOTIONS TO SUSPEND THE RULES

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it shall be in order during the remainder of this week for the Speaker at any time to entertain motions to suspend the rules, notwithstanding the provisions of clause 2 of rule XXVII.

May I say that it is understood that any bills on which the Speaker will recognize Members who offer motions to suspend the rules will be taken up with the minority leader. His views, of course, will be given consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. GROSS. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, can the gentleman give us some idea of the bills that would be called up under suspension? The other day we had a number of what in my opinion were nonessential bills called up under that procedure. I should like to know before acceding to this unanimous-consent request that any bills called up under this abnormal procedure are necessary and essential to the welfare of the people of this country.

Mr. McCORMACK. Of course, the question of considering a bill under suspension of the rules involves many factors. I would not want to unnecessarily put down what bills would be taken up or ask the Speaker to do so because the Speaker decides when he will recognize a Member to make such a motion. That is in the jurisdiction of the Speaker to determine. Certainly, if there was a rule granted, I am sure a Member would not want to have his bill considered under suspension of the rules, as I certainly would not, and I do not think the Speaker would, where there might be some doubt as to getting the necessary two-thirds vote. Now, referring to the bills that might be called up, there are two or three projects in which Members on your side are greatly interested. I certainly would not want them brought up, and I cannot imagine that they would want them brought up under suspension of the rules if they can be considered in the usual way under a rule.

With reference to the gentleman's inquiry, there has been an understanding, or I should say there has been a conversation between the leadership on my side and the leadership on the gentleman's side, and no bills will be brought up under suspension without the leadership on your side being conferred with and advised. I think that certainly should satisfy any Member.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I assume that when those bills were called up the other day under suspension that there was prior consultation between the leadership. Is that not true?

Mr. McCORMACK. The situation the other day was different than now.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I object.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. PASSMAN, GARY, ROONEY, CANNON, FERNANDEZ, LANHAM, NATCHER, DENTON, TABER, WIGGLESWORTH, FENTON, FORD, and HAND.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight to file a report on the bill, H. R. 12130.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was not objection.

CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 112 I was present and voted "aye." I ask unanimous consent that the Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

VERENDRYE NATIONAL MONUMENT

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 1774) to abolish the Verendrye National Monument, and to provide for its continued public use by the State of North Dakota for a State historical site, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of July 23, 1956.)

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

KANE OHE BAY, OAHU

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H. R. 7890) to authorize the Commissioner of Public Lands to sell public lands located at Kaneohe Bay, Oahu, to certain persons, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 1, line 3, strike out "of section."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HAWAIIAN ORGANIC ACT

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 8837, an act to amend certain sections of the Hawaiian Organic Act, as amended, relating to the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, with Senate amendments thereto, and agree to the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 2, line 1, strike out "1954" and insert "1956."

Page 2, line 2, strike out "their present terms" and insert "the terms for which they were elected."

Page 2, line 6, strike out "1956," and insert "1958."

Page 14, line 8, strike out all after "Sec. 8." down to and including line 12 and insert "Subsection (a) of section 7 of this act shall take effect upon the approval of this act. The remainder of this act shall first take effect with respect to the 30th Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii and apply to each legislature thereafter. The 28th and 29th legislatures of said Territory shall continue to be governed by the same provisions of said organic act which were in effect prior to the approval of this act, except that portion of section 55 of said organic act which is deleted by subsection (a) of section 7 of this act."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ORGANIC ACT OF GUAM

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 11522, an act to implement section 25 (b) of the Organic Act of Guam by carrying out the recommendations of the Commission on the Application of Federal Laws to Guam, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 1, strike out lines 3 to 6, inclusive.

Page 1, line 7, strike out "(b) Section" and insert "That (a) section."

Page 2, line 3, strike out "(c)" and insert "(b)."

Page 2, line 13, after "3" insert ", and by substituting a comma for the period at the

Now it is true that the administration claims to be a great friend of the small or low-income farmer. In fact, the President sent Congress a special program to help these farmers early in 1955. Although there was nothing new in his program—it merely collected proposals which have been made for years and emphasized programs already in effect—his recommendations would have helped considerably if only his administration would pursue them vigorously. But the fact is that they went in the opposite direction the administration had been taking for more than 2 years.

In fact, the President put in charge of his new program Under Secretary Morse, whose attitude is less than sympathetic, if not hostile, to the problems of small farmers.

One of the recommendations was additional credit for low-income farmers, but the Administration has gone the opposite direction by at least three policies:

First. The loan funds of the Farmers' Home Administration, which are made available to small farmers only after local bankers are unable to justify loans, were slated for cuts in three successive budgets.

Second. The Administration's very first budget shows a cut of \$1.8 million from the Truman budget for FHA administrative funds and its second budget shows a cut of \$4.5 million, or 17 percent, from the previous appropriation for this important agency.

Third. The Department of Agriculture boosted interest rates on FHA loans by one-half of 1 percent in 1954. In addition it quietly raised the interest rates on special disaster loans from 3 to 5 percent, but soon after the press discovered this action, Congress forced the Administration to go back to the lower rate.

Small farmers need help but they have never asked for charity. They have repaid their FHA loans ahead of schedule and with interest. They have used Government programs in the past to put a foundation under their operations so that they could be first-class citizens in our rural communities. They need more of this help. Farmers whose operations are so small that they cannot earn a decent standard of living even when prices are high and growing conditions are favorable should be given the opportunity to enlarge their operations. This is why adequate credit is so essential and is also why the "tight money" policy of this Administration has hurt so many small farmers. The pattern of family farming in America must be watched over with great vigilance. It cannot be taken for granted, and it certainly cannot survive the economic wringer through which it is being wrung. It is a vital part of our democracy—economic, educational, spiritual and productive democracy.

To strengthen our family farms is to strengthen our entire Nation and by doing this we are setting an example which will help us win the victory in the battle for men's minds around the world.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS] is recognized.

[Mr. PHILLIPS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1957

Mr. PASSMAN submitted the following conference report and statement:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 2931)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its amendments numbered 1, 5, 12, 13, 15, 16, 24 and 26.

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 4, 6, 11, 17, 22, 23, and 25, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 2: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 2, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$2,017,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 3: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 3, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$67,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 7: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 7, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$68,700,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 9: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 9, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$167,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 10: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 10, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$873,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 14: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 14, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter stricken out and inserted by said amendment insert "\$250,000,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 19: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 19, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$1,900,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 20: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 20, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$2,500,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 21: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 21, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the sum proposed by said amendment insert "\$33,595,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 8, 18, and 27.

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
J. VAUGHAN GARY,
JOHN J. ROONEY (except
as to Amendment No. 2)
CLARENCE CANNON,
A. M. FERNANDEZ,
HENDERSON LANHAM,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
WINFIELD K. DENTON,
JOHN TABER (except
as to Amendments Nos. 2 and 17),
R. B. WIGGLESWORTH (except
as to Amendment No. 2),
IVOR FENTON (except
as to Amendment No. 2),
GERALD R. FORD, Jr. (except
as to Amendment No. 2),
T. MILLET HAND,
Managers on the Part of the House.

CARL HAYDEN,
RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
DENNIS CHAVEZ,
ALLEN J. ELLENDER,
LISTER HILL,
STYLES BRIDGES,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL (except
for No. 2),
WILLIAM KNOWLAND,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recommended in the accompanying conference report as to each of such amendments, namely:

MUTUAL SECURITY

Military assistance

Amendment No. 1: Deletes Senate language proposing that the appropriation remain available until June 30, 1958.

Amendment No. 2: Appropriates \$2,017,500,000 instead of \$1,735,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$2,300,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 3: Authorizes \$67,500,000 for infrastructure instead of \$60,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$75,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 4: Changes citation as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 5: Provides that the reappropriated funds shall remain available until June 30, 1957, as proposed by the House, instead of June 30, 1958, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 6: Inserts Senate language restricting use of funds for Yugoslavia.

Defense support

Amendment No. 7: Appropriates \$68,700,000 for Europe instead of \$63,700,000 as proposed by the House and \$71,200,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 8: Reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 9: Appropriates \$167,500,000 for Near East and Africa instead of \$165,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$170,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 10: Appropriates \$873,500,000 for Asia instead of \$865,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$882,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 11: Appropriates \$52,000,000 for Latin America as proposed by the Senate instead of \$35,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 12: Deletes the proposal of the Senate making \$15,000,000 available until June 30, 1958.

Amendment No. 13: Restores language of the House providing that not less than \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala.

Development assistance

Amendment No. 14: Appropriates \$250,000,000 which includes funds for the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa and the President's Asian Fund.

Amendment No. 15: Deletes Senate language continuing funds available until June 30, 1958.

Technical cooperation

Amendment No. 16: Appropriates \$135,000,000 for technical assistance under section 304 (b) as proposed by the House instead of \$140,500,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 17: Appropriates \$15,500,000 for United Nations Technical Assistance as proposed by the Senate instead of \$10,000,000 as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 18: Reported in disagreement.

Other programs

Amendment No. 19: Appropriates \$1,900,000 for the United Nations Refugee Fund instead of \$2,000,000 as proposed by the House and \$1,800,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 20: Appropriates \$2,500,000 for Ocean Freight Charges instead of \$1,400,000 as proposed by the House and \$3,000,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 21: Appropriates \$33,595,000 for Administrative Expenses instead of \$34,145,000 as proposed by the House and \$33,045,000 as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 22: Deletes House language appropriating \$100,000,000 for the special authorization for the Middle East and Africa in view of inclusion of this item in the amount provided under Amendment No. 14.

Amendment No. 23: Changes citation as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 24: Deletes Senate language providing that 25 per centum of certain funds remain available until September 30, 1957.

General provisions

Amendment No. 25: Inserts Senate language excepting the Special Presidential Fund from the provisions of section 105.

Amendment No. 26: Restores House language providing that none of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956.

Amendment No. 27: Reported in disagreement.

OTTO E. PASSMAN,
J. VAUGHAN GARY,
JOHN J. ROONEY (except
as to amendment No. 2),
CLARENCE CANNON,
A. M. FERNANDEZ,
HENDERSON LANHAM,
WILLIAM H. NATCHER,
WINFIELD K. DENTON,
JOHN TABER (except as to
Nos. 2 and 17),
R. B. WIGGLESWORTH (except
as to Amendment No. 2),
IVOR D. FENTON (except
as to amendment No. 2),
GERALD R. FORD, JR. (except
as to amendment No. 2),
T. MILLET HAND,
Managers on the Part of the House.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. JENSEN (at the request of Mr. MARTIN) on account of death in family.

To Mr. VURSELL indefinitely on account of serious illness in family.

To Mr. BAUMHART (at the request of Mr. ARENDS) for the balance of week on account of death in family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. STAGGERS, for 5 minutes today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. RIVERS in two instances and to include two newspaper items.

Mr. KEARNEY.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. WIDMALL in three instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MORANO in five instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HINSHAW, and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ALGER in five instances, and include extraneous matter.

Mr. O'BRIEN of New York.

Mr. DORN of South Carolina, and include a speech.

Mr. BONNER (at the request of Mr. McCORMACK) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. EVINS and to include the report of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy, and further to extend his remarks and include an article, notwithstanding the fact it exceeds 2 pages of the RECORD and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost \$150.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois preceding the vote on the Un-American Activities resolution.

Mr. BURDICK in two instances.

Mr. DIXON in four instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. DONOHUE to extend his remarks during the debate on S. 3732.

Mr. MURRAY of Illinois (at the request of Mr. VANIK) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PELY (at the request of Mr. CANFIELD) to extend his remarks just prior to the consideration of H. R. 4090.

Mr. CANFIELD to extend his remarks just prior to the passage by the House of the housing bill.

Mr. SHEEHAN, Mr. MAILLIARD, Mr. GAVIN, and Mr. SAYLOR (at the request of Mr. CANFIELD) each to extend their remarks in four instances and in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ROONEY (at the request of Mr. MULTER) and include extraneous matter.

Mr. RODINO (at the request of Mr. MULTER) in two instances, in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. FRIEDEL (at the request of Mr. MULTER) and include extraneous matter.

Mr. MCCARTHY (at the request of Mr. MULTER) in two instances, in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. POWELL (at the request of Mr. MULTER) in five instances, in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MULTER in five instances, in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ANFUSO (at the request of Mr. MULTER) and include an article, notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds the limit and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost \$205.34.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 2121. An act to provide for the relief of certain members of the Armed Forces who were required to pay certain transportation charges covering shipment of their household goods and personal effects upon return from overseas, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3882. An act to require the registration of certain persons who have knowledge of or have received instruction or assignment in the espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage service or tactics of a foreign government or foreign political party, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5299. An act to authorize the establishment of the Virgin Islands National Park, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5712. An act to provide that the United States hold in trust for the Pueblos of Zia and Jemez a part of the Ojo del Espiritu Santo Grant and a small area of public domain adjacent thereto;

H. R. 6024. An act to withdraw and restore to its previous status under the control of the Territory of Hawaii certain land at Kaa-kaukui, Honolulu, Oahu, T. H.;

H. R. 6794. An act to authorize certain members and former members of the Armed Forces of the United States to accept and wear decorations, and supporting documents conferred upon them by the Government of the Philippines;

H. R. 7290. An act to authorize female Reserve officers of the Army or Air Force appointed as nurses or women medical specialists to be members of the Army National Guard of the United States or Air National Guard of the United States, as appropriate;

H. R. 7888. An act to authorize the Commissioner of Public Lands to sell public lands located at Weliwell, Island of Kauai, to certain claimants;

H. R. 8068. An act for the relief of Elma Agnes Gibson Hollingsworth;

H. R. 8110. An act to incorporate the National Music Council;

H. R. 8474. An act to quiet title and possession with respect to certain real property in the State of Alabama;

H. R. 9314. An act granting the consent of Congress to the States of Illinois and Wisconsin to enter into a compact relating to interstate public school districts where an educational community extends into both such States;

H. R. 9547. An act to amend sections 401 and 701 (e) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so as to simplify the procedures governing the prescribing of regulations under certain provisions of such act, and for other purposes;

H. R. 9956. An act to amend subdivision e of section 58, Notices, of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended;

H. R. 11636. An act to amend chapter 3 of title 18, United States Code, relating to animals, birds, and fish;

H. R. 11696. An act to authorize the conveyance of homestead allotments to Indians, Aleuts, or Eskimos in Alaska;

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16. RESEARCH. Sen. Capehart inserted his statement concerning his proposed bill (S. 3503) to establish a research program for the purpose of developing increased industrial uses of agricultural products. p. 13402
17. TRANSPORTATION. Sen. Kefauver inserted and commented on an ICC report relative to increased freight rates. p. 13426
18. ELECTRIFICATION. Sen. Gore and others spoke of the need for new energy sources. p. 13431
19. VETERANS' BENEFITS. Sen. Hill inserted an article and commented on the expiration of the GI Bill of Rights. p. 13443
20. RECLAMATION. Passed as reported S. 3468, to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to amend certain contracts for furnishing water to the city of Rapid City, S. Dak. p. 13450
21. PATENTS. Sen. Thye inserted his statement urging passage of H. R. 2128, to provide for the extension of patents. p. 13450
22. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Sen. Mansfield concluded his series of remarks on U. S. foreign policy. p. 13375
Sen. George inserted a summary of the treaties, bills and resolutions acted upon favorably by the Foreign Relations Committee. p. 13409
23. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Sen. Magnuson announced that the conference report on the fisheries bill (S. 3275) would be called up for consideration today. p. 13461

HOUSE

24. FOREIGN AID. Agreed to the conference report on H. R. 12130, the mutual security appropriation bill for 1957. Action on the amendments in disagreement consisted of the following: Amended the Senate amendment by providing that not less than \$18.5 million of the \$50 million grant to Spain be used for agricultural commodities (instead of not less than one-half, as provided in the Senate amendment), and receded and concurred in the other two amendments in disagreement. p. 13484
25. CROP INSURANCE. Passed as reported H. R. 5275, to authorize FCIC reinsurance on any crop or plantation insurance provided in Puerto Rico by a duly authorized agency of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. p. 13487
26. APPROPRIATIONS. Conferees were appointed, the conference report was received, and agreed to, on H. R. 12350, the second supplemental appropriation bill for 1957. (H. Rept. 2941). (See attached table regarding USDA items. The bill also includes \$150,000 for the Commission on Increased Industrial Use of Agricultural Products. pp. 13498, 13587, D893
27. SOCIAL SECURITY. Received and agreed to the conference report on H. R. 7225, to amend and revise title II of the Social Security Act. The conference report includes the following provisions:
"...a farmer will report two-thirds of his gross income where it is \$1,800 or less as his net income. Where his gross income is over \$1,800, he may report either his actual net income, or if his net income is less

than \$1,200 he may report \$1,200 as his net income.. ...permit members of farm partnerships to use the optional method of reporting.

"The conference agreement substantially follows the House-passed bill by providing that rentals will be credited as self-employment income where the owner or tenant of the land participates materially with the individual working the land in the production or the management of the production of an agricultural or horticultural commodity. Share farmers would be covered as self-employed persons.

"...farmworkers who, first, are paid \$150 or more in a calendar year by one employer; or, second, perform agricultural labor for an employer on 20 or more days during the calendar year for cash wages computed on a time basis would be covered.

"...accepted the Senate provision which would exclude from coverage agricultural workers from any foreign country who are admitted to the United States on a temporary basis.

"...provides for an exclusion from coverage of persons producing or harvesting gum resin products as provided in the Senate bill." (H. Rept. 2936). p. 13530

28. ADVISORY COMMITTEE. Passed without amendment S. 3314, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to pay the expenses of an Advisory Committee on Soil and Water Conservation. This bill is now ready for the President. p. 13550
29. MARKETING. Passed without amendment H. R. 8384, to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, so as to include cranberries for canning or freezing processing. p. 13551
30. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION; SURPLUS COMMODITIES. Agreed to the Senate amendments to H. R. 12270, to authorize certain construction at military installations. The bill authorizes the Secretary of Defense to use for family housing in foreign countries, foreign currencies not to exceed \$250 million acquired pursuant to the provisions of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, or through other commodity transactions of the CCC. The Senate had passed this bill earlier in the day. This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 13346, D893
31. FISHERIES. Agreed to the conference report on S. 3275, to establish a sound and comprehensive national policy with regard to fisheries resources. p. D893
32. PERSONNEL. Both Houses received and agreed to the conference report on H. R. 7619, the executive pay and retirement bill. The conferees agreed to the salary items stated in Digest 124 (as passed by the Senate), except that they deleted the provision allocating 7 directors of CSS commodity offices at GS-16. However, they inserted a general provision for additional GS-16's so that the Civil Service Commission will be enabled to allocate the CSS positions at that grade if it determines that such grade is equitable. (H. Rept. 2935). This bill is now ready for the President. pp. 13406, 13519
Passed without amendment H. R. 11515, to provide for the payment of travel and transportation cost for persons selected for appointment to certain positions in the U. S. and Alaska. pp. 13486, 13559
33. FORESTRY. Rep. Hoffman received permission to file additional views on timber hearings before the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and the Government Operations Committee. p. 13477

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Goon Shee (Goon Ju Hai)."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

NICOLA MARCELLO

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 9579) for the relief of Nicola Marcello.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Nicola Marcello shall be classifiable as a returning resident alien as defined in section 101 (a) (27) (B) of that act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MRS. THEODORE (NICOLE XANTHO) ROUSSEAU

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 11504) for the relief of Mrs. Theodore (Nicole Xantho) Rousseau.

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. AVERY. On the rest of the bills on the Private Calendar there were no committee reports when the House convened this morning. I am reluctant to object to these bills. May I ask, will there be another opportunity for the sponsors to bring these bills up?

The SPEAKER. That is very doubtful. The time may be short between now and tomorrow. If the gentleman wants to take the responsibility of objecting, that is up to him.

Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, for the purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act, section 352 (a) of that act shall be held to be inapplicable to Mrs. Theodore (Nicole Xantho) Rousseau.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EVELYN ALBI

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 9384) for the relief of Evelyn Albi.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Evelyn Albi, of 711 Elizabeth Street, Denver, Colo., the sum of \$500. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims of said Evelyn Albi against the Government of the United States, in connection with the \$500 departure bond posted by the said Evelyn Albi on behalf of Elvira Bartolin on November 17, 1952: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or deliv-

ered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WEST MARKS BAPTIST CHURCH OF QUITMAN COUNTY, MISS.

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 9640) to require the Secretary of Agriculture to release certain restrictions on the real property heretofore conveyed to the West Marks Baptist Church of Quitman County, Miss.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of Agriculture shall convey to the trustees of West Marks Baptist Church of Quitman County, Miss., all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to the real property described in section 2 of this act.

SEC. 2. The real property referred to in the first section of this act consists of a tract of land lying in the northwest quarter of section 34, township 28 north, range 1 west in Quitman County, Miss., more particularly described as follows: Starting at the northwest corner of said section 34; thence south along the west line of said section, a distance of 167 feet; thence south 73 degrees 58 minutes east, a distance of 437.2 feet to the center line of a road bearing north 00 degrees 50 minutes east; thence north 00 degrees 50 minutes east along the center line of said road, a distance of 61.9 feet to the point of beginning; thence north 73 degrees 58 minutes west, a distance of 223 feet; thence north 15 degrees 29 minutes east, a distance of 188.5 feet; thence south 72 degrees 32 minutes east, a distance of 174.5 feet to the center line of said road; thence south 00 degrees 50 minutes west, a distance of 191 feet to the point of beginning; containing, after deduction of right-of-way for road, 0.79 acre, more or less, together with the improvements thereon and the rights and appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining, and the equipment and chattels contained therein.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HAL A. MARCHANT

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return for immediate consideration to Private Calendar No. 1077, the bill (S. 1154) for the relief of Hal A. Marchant.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, notwithstanding the provisions of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920, as amended, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to cause the gas screw vessel *Jenny*, official number 256330, now owned by Hal A. Marchant, of Coulee Dam, Wash., to be documented as a vessel of the United States with full coastwise privileges, upon compliance with the

usual requirements for documentation, so long as the vessel is owned, and shall continue to be owned, by a citizen of the United States and the said vessel *Jenny* shall be deemed to be entitled to engage in such trade so long as it is so documented.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MIROSLAV SLOVAK

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return for immediate consideration to Private Calendar No. 1106, the bill (S. 3363) for the relief of Miroslav Slovak.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Federal Communications Commission is authorized to issue a license to Miroslav Slovak as an operator under subsection (L) of section 303 of the Communications Act of 1934 (48 Stat. 1082), notwithstanding the requirement of such subsection with respect to citizenship.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FRANK R. DAVIS

Mr. THOMSON of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return for immediate consideration to Private Calendar No. 1104, the bill (S. 1184) for the relief of Frank R. Davis.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Frank R. Davis, of Ten Sleep, Wyo., the sum of \$1,229.52. The payment of such sum shall be in full satisfaction of his claim against the United States for reimbursement for losses sustained as a result of his failure to secure a contract from the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of the Interior for the building of certain fences in Big Horn and Washakie Counties, Wyo., because his bid on such contract, which was mailed and registered at the post office at Ten Sleep, Wyo., on March 15, 1954, was not dispatched from such post office until March 18, 1954, and was therefore not received by the Bureau of Land Management office in Billings, Mont., in time for consideration in awarding such contract, even though such bid was lower than the successful bid on such contract: *Provided,* That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 121]

Adair	Gamble	Powell
Bailey	Gavin	Preston
Bass, Tenn.	Gordon	Priest
Baumhart	Hébert	Prouty
Bell	Hoffman, Ill.	Rhodes, Ariz.
Blitch	Holt	Richards
Boykin	Hosmer	Scudder
Brooks, La.	Jensen	Shelley
Brooks, Tex.	Johansen	Siler
Burleson	Kelley, Pa.	Talle
Carnahan	Lane	Thompson, La.
Chatham	Long	Thornberry
Christopher	McDonough	Vinson
Clevenger	Morrison	Vursell
Dawson, Ill.	Nelson	Wickersham
Diggs	O'Hara, Minn.	Young
Dowdy	O'Neill	
Eberharter	Patman	

The SPEAKER. Three hundred and eighty Members are present, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for mutual security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I presume the gentleman proposes to take some time to explain what happened in conference on this bill.

Mr. PASSMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana does not intend to take any time, but I will be very happy to answer any questions as to the actions of the conferees.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman and withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of July 25, 1956.)

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH].

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I simply want to state for the record that I have signed this conference report not because it meets with my personal views but because I believe it is the best conference report that apparently can be obtained under the circumstances.

I want to call attention to the fact that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY], the gentleman from New York

[Mr. TABER], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WIGGLESWORTH], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FENTON], and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD], have all signed this report as managers on the part of the House, specifically taking exception to the decision reached under Amendment No. 2.

Amendment No. 2 is the amendment which fixes the amount of military assistance to be made available to our military allies, and it fixes it at just about a billion dollars or 33 1/3 percent below the amount originally requested by the President.

Mr. Speaker, Admiral Radford has stated that a cut of \$1 billion would result in the reduction in the military program for Europe of \$600 million; in the Korean military program of 23 percent; in the Formosa military program of 14 percent; in the Pakistan military program of 27 percent; in the Turkish military program of 24 percent; and in the Greek military program of 22 percent, as well as eliminating one-half of the sum requested for the advanced weapons program, considered vital at this time by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

As far as I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, I do not want to share in the responsibility for that action. I think we are taking an unwarranted gamble in the field of national security. I regret the decision that has been made.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, as pointed out by the gentleman from Massachusetts, there were 5 members of the conference committee from the House who did not agree to amendment No. 2. It should be pointed out, in addition to what has been said by the gentleman from Massachusetts, that if this conference report is approved the President's original request for both economic and military aid will be cut approximately 20 percent. The reduction in the military figure itself will be approximately 33 percent. In my opinion, this reduction in the military aid portion of the program results in a very calculated risk, one which I think we are taking very unwisely. I wish to reemphasize my objection to the figure that was agreed to by the conferees. Every military leader who appeared before the mutual security subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations indicated that if a substantial reduction was made—and I repeat, a 33 percent cut was made—we would have to revise our own military plans and programs in all parts of the world.

It seems to me that we should reasonably abide by the recommendations of the military experts. In this case we are not. In my judgment, it is a very serious calculated risk. As I said, I wish to reemphasize my opposition to the amount which was agreed upon for military aid and assistance. In my judgment, the figure that was included in the Senate version was far more preferable to what we finally agreed to in conference.

(Mr. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and to extend his remarks.)

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to ask the gentleman to tell us specifically the increase over the amount authorized in the bill when it left the House?

Mr. PASSMAN. I may say the gentleman from Iowa that the total increase over the House authorization bill amounts to \$11,595,000. The conference report is \$344,355,000 below the amounts appropriated by the other body.

Mr. GROSS. How much new money is contained in this bill?

Mr. PASSMAN. The total amount of new money is \$3,766,570,000.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this conference report and I am opposed to these continued increases in foreign aid spending. This Nation of ours has \$768 billion of public and private debt. With the \$6 billion to \$7 billion already in the pipeline for foreign handouts there should not have been a single new dollar appropriated for this purpose.

In addition to the \$768 billion of public and private debt in this country, we are in arrears, for instance, in our contribution to the Federal employees retirement fund to the extent of \$13,800,000,000. To make the Federal employees retirement fund actuarially sound today would call for an appropriation of \$6 billion.

This bill is one of the contributing factors to the inflation we have and if this Nation is forced into financial bankruptcy this kind of spending will be one of the reasons.

I am opposed to any further appropriations for foreign aid, this foreign WPA extravaganza, with the billions already in the pipeline.

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I was going to extend my remarks at some length on this bill, but the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford] stated my position clearly and adequately, and at this point I wish to embrace and concur in the remarks on this report made by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford].

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 8: Page 2, line 22, after the colon, insert the following: "Provided, That at least \$50,000,000 on a grant basis shall be available for Spain, exclusive of interregional expenses: *Provided further*, That not less than one-half of the amount available for Spain shall be used for agricultural commodities."

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment with an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. PASSMAN moves that the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate No. 8, and concur

therein with an amendment, as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert "": *Provided*, That at least \$50,000,000 on a grant basis shall be available for Spain, exclusive of interregional expenses: *Provided further*, That not less than \$18,500,000 of the amount available for Spain shall be used for agricultural commodities."

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 18: Page 3, line 19, insert "": *Provided*, That the United States contribution to the 1958 calendar year program shall not exceed 33.33 percent of the United Nations program."

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment No. 27: Page 8, line 11, insert:

"SEC. 107. The Congress hereby reiterates its opposition to the seating in the United Nations of the Communist China regime as the representative of China, and it is hereby declared to be the continuing sense of the Congress that the Communist regime in China has not demonstrated its willingness to fulfill the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and should not be recognized to represent China in the United Nations. In the event of the seating of representatives of the Chinese Communist regime in the Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations, the President is requested to inform the Congress insofar as is compatible with the requirements of national security, of the implications of this action upon the foreign policy of the United States and our foreign relationships, including that created by membership in the United Nations, together with any recommendations which he may have with respect to the matter."

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House recede and concur in the Senate amendment.

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider the votes by which action was taken on the several motions was laid on the table.

SUSPEND THE APPLICATION OF CERTAIN FEDERAL LAWS WITH RESPECT TO PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution (H. J. Res. 695) to suspend the application of certain Federal laws with respect to personnel employed by the House Committee on Ways and Means in connection with the investigations ordered by House Resolution 331 and House Resolution 606, 84th Congress.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That service or employment of any person as an attorney, accountant, expert, or professional staff member in assist-

ing the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, in the investigations authorized by House Resolution 331 and House Resolution 606, 84th Congress, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such person within the provisions of section 281, 283, or 284 of title 18 of the United States Code, or of any other Federal law imposing restrictions, requirements, or penalties in relation to the employment of persons, the performance of services, or the payment or receipt of compensation in connection with any claim, proceeding, or matter involving the United States.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CELLER: On page 1, line 3, after "person", insert "not presently employed by the Federal Government."

The amendment was agreed to.

The House joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RETURN OF ENROLLED HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Con. Res. 271) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States is requested to return to the House of Representatives the enrolled House joint resolution (H. J. Res. 511) granting the consent of Congress to the States of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut to confer certain additional powers upon the Interstate Sanitation Commission, established by said States pursuant to Public Resolution 62, 74th Congress, August 27, 1935. If and when said resolution is returned by the President, the action of the presiding officers of the two Houses in signing said resolution shall be deemed rescinded, and the Clerk of the House is authorized and directed, in the enrollment of said resolution, to make the following correction: On the last line of the enrolled resolution strike out "waived" and insert "reserved."

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CERTIFICATIONS OF CERTAIN ACTIONS BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to sundry resolutions of the House he did, on Thursday, July 26, 1956, make certifications to the United States attorney, District of Columbia, the United States attorney, southern district of New York, the United States attorney, eastern district of Missouri, as follows:

To the United States attorney, District of Columbia:

House Resolution 637: The refusal of Otto Nathan to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

House Resolution 638: The refusal of Arthur Miller to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

To the United States attorney, southern district of New York:

House Resolution 634: The refusal of George Tyne to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

House Resolution 635: The refusal of Elliott Sullivan to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

House Resolution 636: The refusal of Peter Seeger to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

To the United States attorney, eastern district of Missouri:

House Resolution 631: The refusal of Anne Yasgur Kling to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

House Resolution 632: The refusal of John W. Simpson to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

House Resolution 633: The refusal of William E. Davis to answer questions before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Consent Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Consent Calendar.

AMENDING FEDERAL PROPERTY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES ACT

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2364) to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

AMENDING THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 9048) to amend the Public Health Service Act so as to improve the mental health of the Nation through grants for special projects to develop improved methods of care, treatment, and rehabilitation of the mentally ill.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

FISH HATCHERY IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 221) to establish rearing ponds and a fish hatchery in western Oklahoma.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

INCREASING BENEFITS TO WIDOWS OF FORMER EMPLOYEES OF LIGHTHOUSE SERVICE

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2937) to increase from \$50 to \$75 per month the amount of benefits payable to widows of certain former employees of the Lighthouse Service.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman the grounds of his objection to the bill, to see if we cannot reach some agreement in regard to it? It has been passed over on the Consent Calendar on 4 or 5 successive calendar days.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. As far as the objectors are concerned, the basis of our request that it be passed over is the fact that there is an adverse report on the bill from the Civil Service Commission. Under those circumstances it certainly does not seem right that the bill be passed under unanimous consent.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 10238) to authorize and direct the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to accept certain land in Buncombe County, N. C., for cemetery purposes.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

MARITIME ADMINISTRATION, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The Clerk called the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 614) to authorize the construction of 2 prototype ships, and the conversion of 1 Liberty ship, by the Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this joint resolution be stricken from the Consent Calendar. It has passed the House and should be stricken from the calendar.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the joint resolution will be stricken from the calendar.

There was no objection.

House Resolution 614 was laid on the table.

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

The Clerk called the bill (S. 2374) to authorize the Secretary of the Army to enter into contracts to furnish water for municipal water supplies from flood-control and river and harbor projects.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, may I ask what the objection is?

Mr. FORD. In my personal opinion, there is no objection, but 3 or 4 Members of this body have in the past asked that this bill be passed over. In deference to their views, and since I am not certain that they are here now, I believe we ought to protect those Members who have so expressed themselves heretofore. On the basis of the previous action, I ask that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF MAXIMUM DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC ENERGY REACTORS

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 9743) to encourage maximum development of atomic-energy reactors for the generation of low-cost electric power and the production, utilization, and treatment of special nuclear and other materials, and for other purposes.

Mr. DEANE. Mr. Speaker, at the request of several Members, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. COLE. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, this bill is 1 of 2 bills of very great importance with respect to our atomic-energy program. A few days ago we spent a lot of time expressing ourselves as being anxious to move along with the peacetime development of reactors for producing atomic energy. This bill was reported unanimously by the Joint Committee. It is of great urgency. I was hopeful that the bill would pass at this time. Therefore, in order to bring it to a head, I must object to having the bill passed over.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. HAYS of Ohio, Mr. PRICE, and Mr. HOLIFIELD objected.

BELTON RESERVOIR PROJECT, TEXAS

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 159) to provide for the reconveyance of certain lands in the Belton Reservoir project, Texas, to former owners of such lands.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

WHITNEY RESERVOIR PROJECT, TEXAS

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 1609) to provide for the reconveyance of certain lands in the Whitney Reservoir project, Texas, to former owners of such lands.

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

FISH AND GAME LAWS

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 8250) to require conformance with State and Territorial fish and game laws and licensing requirements on Federal lands not subject to such laws.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the sponsor of the bill, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

ALBENI FALLS RESERVOIR PROJECT, IDAHO

The Clerk called the bill (S. 598) to provide for adjustments in the lands or interests therein acquired for the Albeni Falls Reservoir project, Idaho, by the reconveyance of certain lands or interests therein to the former owners thereof.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES ACT OF 1946

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 11515) to amend section 7 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended, to provide for the payment of travel and transportation cost for persons selected for appointment to certain positions in the continental United States and Alaska for other purposes.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. McCORMACK. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman state the reason for this request?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. The bill involves the expenditure of \$4,500,000.

Mr. McCORMACK. Is that the reason?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. That is right.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

AMENDMENT OF BANKRUPTCY ACT

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 9459) to amend section 77 (c) (6) of the Bankruptcy Act.

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Oreg. This bill will now be sent to the President. An identical bill, H. R. 7726, was laid on the table. p. 13824

Passed without amendment S. 3227, to authorize the Little Wood River project, Idaho. This bill will now be sent to the President. Earlier in the day agreed to a resolution for consideration of H. R. 7850, a companion bill, which was then laid on the table. pp. 13837, 13910

10. REPORTS were received from the Government Operations Committee as follows:
Civil Defense and National Survival (H. Rept. 2946)
Availability of information from departments and agencies (H. Rept. 2947)
Improper use of Government equipment and personnel (H. Rept. 2948)
Federal role in aviation (H. Rept. 2949)
Purchase-resale transactions of Commodity Credit Corp. (H. Rept. 2952)
Operations of Federal Bureau of Public Roads (H. Rept. 2953). p. 13959

SENATE

11. MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957. Agreed to the conference report on this bill, H. R. 12130. This bill will now be sent to the President. Sen. Hayden inserted a table showing the amounts in the bill as passed by the House and Senate and as agreed to in conference. p. 13788
12. APPROPRIATIONS. Sen. Hayden inserted a table reflecting the action of the House and Senate on the regular and supplemental appropriation bills in the 2nd session of the 84th Congress. p. 13790
- Both Houses received and
13. FLOOD CONTROL. / agreed to the conference report on H. R. 12080, the omnibus Army flood control bill. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13777
14. HOUSING. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on H. R. 11742, to extend and amend housing laws, including farm housing provisions. This bill will now be sent to the President. pp. 13782, 13854, 13925
15. FLOOD INSURANCE. Both Houses agreed to the conference report on S. 3732, to provide insurance against flood damage. This bill will now be sent to the President. pp. 13788, 13934, 13872
16. SOCIAL SECURITY. Agreed to the conference report on H. R. 7225, the social security bill. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13791
17. FISHERIES; WILDLIFE. Agreed to the conference report on S. 3275, the fisheries-wildlife bill (see item 4 above). This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13637
18. FARM LABOR. Passed with amendment H. R. 6888, providing for admission into the U. S. of certain aliens skilled in shepherding. p. 13680
19. PROPERTY; TAXATION. Debated, but did not take final action on, S. 4183, to authorize payment to local governments of sums in lieu of taxes and special assessments with respect to certain Federal real property. pp. 13712, 13718, 13731, 13733, 13735, 13743, 13762
20. LAND TRANSFER. Agreed to the House amendment to S. 2585, authorizing exchange of land at the Beltsville Research Center. The amendment exempts the Coneross watershed project, S. C., from congressional review. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13709
- Passed without amendment H. R. 9640, to require the Secretary of Agricul-

ture to release certain restrictions on the real property heretofore conveyed to the West Marks Baptist Church of Quitman, Miss. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13725

21. POINT-OF-ORDER BILL. Passed without amendment H. R. 11682, providing permanent legislation for various provisions heretofore authorized by appropriation acts, authorizing a Forest Service working capital fund, etc. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13636
22. POULTRY INSPECTION. Sen. Murray spoke in favor of mandatory poultry inspection and inserted a magazine article on this subject. p. 13628
Sen. Morse spoke in favor of such inspection and inserted an article on the matter. p. 13896
- ELECTRIFICATION; and Sen. Neuberger
23. RECLAMATION. Sen. Morse inserted articles favoring the Hells Canyon Dam. pp. 13897, 13625
24. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Martin, Iowa, praised the Administration's farm policies and inserted his statement, "Fifty Facts for Farmers." p. 13773
25. PERSONNEL. Agreed to a concurrent resolution to correct certain clerical errors in H. R. 7619, the executive pay and retirement bill. p. 13775
26. EXPENDITURES; PERSONNEL. Sen. Byrd submitted the report of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures on Federal employment and pay for June. p. 13617
27. MINING CLAIMS. Concurred in the House amendments to S. 3941, relating to certain mining claims which were eligible for validation under the act of Aug. 12, 1953, but which were not validated solely because of failure of the owners to take certain action to protect their claims within the prescribed period. This bill will now be sent to the President. p. 13743
28. SURPLUS COMMODITIES. Sen. Stennis commended the program of using foreign currencies received from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities in the construction of foreign military family housing, and suggested the possibility of enlarging the program. p. 13709
29. MONOPOLIES. The Judiciary Committee reported with amendments H. R. 9424, to amend the Clayton Act by requiring prior notification of corporate mergers (S. Rept. 2817). p. 13616
The Small Business Committee submitted its report on the study of fair trade (S. Rept. 2819). p. 13617
30. BUDGET BUREAU. Both Houses passed without amendment S. J. Res. 199, to authorize an additional position of Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget (pp. 13734, 13937). This joint resolution had been reported by the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee without amendment earlier in the day (S. Rept. 2824) (p. 13616). This measure will now be sent to the President.
31. ELECTRIFICATION. Sen. Humphrey inserted a statement and commented on the extent of the Government's investment in hydroelectric public power. p. 13757
32. COTTON. Sen. Stennis inserted his statement concerning the problem of cotton textile import. p. 13710

"D. Overlapping and undefined functions resulting from the trielemental, land-sea-air approach to the allocating of roles and missions to the separate armed services."

(Comment: This is factually wrong. Congress in writing roles and missions into the National Security Act rejected the Prussian-German trielemental theory and based roles and missions on the American "functional" or "balanced force" concept. This Army General Staff statement is the product of either deliberate misrepresentation or ignorance. At least until now Army General Staff cleverness has not been characterized by ignorance of essential facts and military terminology.)

"Courses of actions listed"

"Having isolated the deterrents to integration of the Armed Forces, it is possible to deduce certain courses of action which singly, or in combination, might provide a concept for the most suitable organization for a thoroughly integrated Military Establishment. These are:

"A. Retain present organization, but develop a common doctrine for all services.

"B. Retain present organization, but re-define the functions for the separate services.

"C. Revise the National Security Act to reorganize the Department of Defense above the military services level.

"D. Revise the National Security Act to reorganize the military services, per se, into an integrated national armed force.

"[Here followed analyses of the four courses of action with the conclusion that course (C) offered the most chance of success in achieving traditional Army unification objectives.]

"[The Army's argument in favor of this course follows.]

"This concept visualizes a Military Establishment organized as follows:

"(1) An essentially military Department of Defense, organized as a joint military staff. This Department is directed by a civilian Secretary of Defense who is both a Cabinet officer and commander of the Armed Forces in the name of the President as Commander in Chief."

(Comment: To assure that the supreme general staff will be certain of controlling the Department of Defense, the entire Department is to be included in the supreme staff.)

"Directly responsive to the Secretary, as a staff affiliate, is a civilian controller and a civilian general counsel. Through these agencies the Secretary controls the legal and budgetary functions of the Department and the military services.

"(2) Directly subordinate to the Secretary of Defense is the chief of the joint staff. The joint staff is the operating element, which in fact comprises the Department of Defense."

(Comment: The joint (supreme) staff becomes the Department of Defense—manpower, research, troop information and education, draft requirements, industrial requirements, procurement, etc. This would be the greatest single grant of power to the military in all modern history. The magnitude of this grant of power to the military is readily apparent when it is considered that the Department of Defense is the greatest single spending agency in the world today. The power that would accrue to the joint (supreme) staff through its direct and indirect control of the national economy which would inevitably flow from the expenditure of the defense billions is appalling to any thinking American.)

"The Chief of the Joint Staff is appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. He may be from any of the 3 military services, however, the office will be rotated among the 3 services. His tenure will be limited by statute. He may be extended for additional 2-year periods upon nomination by the President with the consent of the

Senate. Upon assuming office, he will be retired from his service and upon completing his assignment he may no longer return to duty with any component of the military services but will continue in retirement at the full statutory pay of his office. During his term in office, he will be, as a civilian, the military commander of the armed services, but will have no budgetary authority. He will be the military adviser to the Secretary of Defense, the President, and the National Security Council."

(Comment: Chief of the Joint Staff—

1. Will be retired before taking office. By overnight change of clothes he is supposed, apparently, to become a civilian.

2. Cannot be a civilian. Under law a retired officer remains an officer. Retired officers are in the military service of the Government. This was decided by the Supreme Court in the case of *U. S. v. Tyler* (1882) (105 U. S. 244). There are various statutes which confirm this status of retired officers. For example, section 1c, title 10, United States Code provides as follows:

"(a) The Regular Army is that component of the Army which consists of persons whose continuous service on active duty in both peace and war is contemplated by law, and of persons who are retired members of the Regular Army."

Further, article 2 (4) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice provides that:

"Retired personnel of a regular component of the Armed Forces who are entitled to receive pay" are subject to court-martial jurisdiction.

This is just another example of the ignorance or deliberate misrepresentations of preparing this paper.

3. Is commander of all military forces, and the joint (supreme) staff, which includes the entire Department of Defense.

4. "No budgetary authority." A meaningless restriction. The Chief of Staff, as herein proposed, will control the Department of Defense (the supreme staff), and his power to set military policy, strategy requirements, manpower requirements, weapons and industrial requirements will be so great as to exert indirect control over defense budgets. He will have all the planning agencies and can produce the facts to support his requirements. No other agency will have a source of military information; hence no way of checking on the Chief of Staff's decisions.

5. Will be sole military advisor to Secretary of Defense, President, and National Security Council. Thus the civilian "superiors" will have only one viewpoint, and recommendation, and will not have any way of knowing whether there were serious military objections to what has been decided by the Chief of Staff. Civilian superiors will have only one alternative to Chief of Staff's position and that would be to veto it. This they could not do as they would have no alternate plan to substitute for it. This is the manner in which the chiefs of the great German general staff boxed in and controlled their nominal constitutional superiors.)

"Two deputies provided"

"3. The chief of the joint staff will be served by two deputies: a deputy chief of staff for plans and operations, and a deputy chief of staff for requirements. These officers will each be of a different armed service than the chief of the joint staff and each other. They may serve for no more than 4 years in the Department of Defense after assuming deputy status and upon completion of their assignment will be retired on full pay, with the exception that they may be reappointed immediately as chief of staff of the joint staff.

"(4) The deputy chief of staff for plans and operations will be served by 3 assistant chiefs of staff: an assistant chief of staff for operations, assistant chief of staff for plans, and an assistant chief of staff for intelligence. Each of these assistant chiefs of staff

will be of a different military service. They may serve for no more than 4 years in the Department of Defense after assuming assistant status and upon completion of their assignment will be retired on full pay, with the exception that they may be reappointed immediately as a deputy or as chief of the joint staff.

"(5) The deputy chief of staff for requirements will be served by 3 assistant chiefs of staff: an assistant chief of staff for personnel, assistant chief of staff for logistics and an assistant chief of staff for research and development. Each of these assistant chiefs of staff will be from a different service and will be subject to the same terms of tenure of office and retirement as the assistants for operations, plans, and intelligence.

"(6) This Department of Defense joint staff need not be wholly military but no fixed ratio of civilian appointments to military personnel should be established. The staff, however, should be predominantly military. Throughout subordinate staff organization, the principle of integrated assignment of officers from different services to personnel spaces should be adhered to, as should a policy of rotation of specific spaces among the different services. Officers below the assistant chief of staff level on duty with the Department of Defense joint staff should be limited to no more than 4 consecutive years of staff duty, with a minimum 2 years duty required outside the department before he can be reassigned for another tour. This restriction can be voided during time of war or national emergency declared by the Congress."

(Comment: All civilian deputy and assistant secretaries of defense would be replaced by military officials. A really clean sweep by the supreme general staff: eliminates all chance of Secretary of Defense having influence in or information from Department of Defense except as permitted by the Chief of Staff.

Also note how line of succession to higher power in the supreme staff is provided. Duty on the supreme staff becomes a new career, subject only to occasional interruptions for other duty. However, in war and national emergency there is no restriction on continuous duty. This closely parallels similar aspects of the great German general staff system, which led to a permanent corps of general staff officers whose careers centered almost exclusively on general staff duty. This in turn resulted in loss of realism and increased "ivory tower" thinking.)

"No separate departments"

"(7) Below the Department of Defense, there will be no separate Departments of Army, Navy, and Air Force per se. The directing functions of the present military departments will be absorbed into either the Department of Defense, the separate service staffs, or both."

(Comment: One big merger into one service, precisely what Congress has prohibited in the most unmistakable terms, complete centralization of control into the Department of Defense, which is, in fact, the supreme general staff.)

"(8) The chief of staff of the joint staff will hold direct command over the Army, Navy, and the Air Force through the commanding Generals of the Army and the Air Force and the Chief of Naval Operations. He will also designate and command directly the unified commanders. Forces for the unified commands will be allocated by the chief of staff and provided, on his order, by the service commanding generals and Chief of Naval Operations. The chief of staff of the joint staff will be responsible to the Secretary of Defense for the strategic planning and direction of the Armed Forces and for maintaining the efficiency of the Military Establishment, its state of preparation for military operations, and plans therefore."

(Comment: Chief of staff commands the Army, Navy, and Air Force through the military heads of those services. The Secretaries of Army, Navy, and Air Force are eliminated, replaced by the military. No longer will the Secretary of Defense control the military departments through their respective secretaries. Every vestige of civilian control is destroyed. Also destroyed is the Marine Corps. There is less chance of civilian control under this Army General Staff blueprint than there was in the German armed forces in the palmiest days of the great general staff.)

"From this analysis, course of action C offers the most chance of success in achieving traditional Army unification objectives. Therefore, the most suitable organization for a thoroughly integrated Military Establishment can be achieved by revision of the National Security Act of 1947 to reorganize the Department of Defense above the military services level within the concept outlined for course of action C."

(Comment: A correct statement. What is the traditional Army General Staff unification objective? James Forrestal knew what that objective was. He pointedly stated it was the isolation of civilian control of the military, and he further stated that General Marshall "quite frankly said so." This plan certainly would achieve that objective.)

ESSENTIALS OF THE ARMY GENERAL STAFF PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING A PRUSSIAN-TYPE HIGH COMMAND

1. Destruction of the war-proven Joint Chiefs of Staff.
2. Creation of a single chief of staff.
3. Creation of a supreme general staff.
4. Elimination of civilian Deputy and Assistant Secretaries of Defense.
5. Replaces civilian Deputy and Assistant Secretaries of Defense with deputy and assistant Chiefs of Staff.
6. Makes Department of Defense identical with the supreme general staff. Thus, the Chief of Staff and the supreme staff would control all the activities now performed by the Department of Defense. Its power would effect every home, school, and industry in the country.
7. Eliminates the civilian Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force.
8. Replaces the civilian secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force with military officers.
9. Gives Chief of Staff actual command over all Armed Forces.
10. Chief of Staff to have power to settle all differences of opinion in Armed Forces as to proper national military policy. Does not even have to refer basic policy questions to Secretary of Defense or President.
11. Chief of Staff displaces Secretary of Defense as real authority over Department of Defense. Chief of Staff directs Department of Defense for the Secretary of Defense.
12. Chief of staff sole adviser on military matters to Secretary of Defense, President, and National Security Council. Can control the information his "superiors" receive.
13. Would be able likewise to decide what information Congress should receive on national defense matters. Would be the end of effective congressional action in defense matters.
14. Would eliminate the Marine Corps.
15. Establishes system for successive promotions through the supreme staff hierarchy, and continuing rotation of individual officers to duty in the supreme staff.
16. Creates "ivory tower" in which those who make plans are not responsible for carrying them out.
17. Substitutes the Prussian-German supreme general staff system for the United States-developed Joint Chiefs of Staff system.
18. Thus it would destroy civilian control of the military, prevent congressional "interference" in military matters, and destroy the war-proven JCS system, substituting in its

place the high command system of the vanquished.

NOTE.—Every one of these proposed changes is contrary to the letter or spirit of the report of the Hoover Commission Task Force on National Security.

FEDERAL FLOOD INSURANCE ACT OF 1956—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, I understand that the conference report on the flood insurance bill is at the desk. I call this matter to the attention of the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 3732) to provide insurance against flood damage, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report. (For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement I have prepared explaining the details of the conference action may be printed in the body of the Record at this point.

I urge immediate adoption of the conference report.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR LEHMAN

Fortunately, the House made few changes in its action on this Senate bill. Therefore, there were only a few points to be adjusted in the conference between the two Houses.

The Senate found it necessary to recede to the House in the following three matters:

1. Under the conference bill a loan-contract program will be made available whereby a potential flood victim, upon payment of a fee to be fixed by the Administrator of this program, can assure himself of the right to a loan in the event he becomes a flood victim. It is expected that this program will operate in a manner similar to the procedures provided for the V-loans under the Defense Production Act of 1950. This loan-contract program will supplement the flood-insurance program provided in other portions of the bill. Potential flood victims may choose to purchase their flood protection in the form of insurance or loans or a combination of the two. For a fee less than it will cost to buy flood insurance, a potential flood victim may assure himself of the financial means to repair flood loss under the loan-contract provision. The bill as it passed the Senate contained no comparable provision.

2. Under the conference bill, the flood insurance and loan-contract program will be administered by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator in whom is vested operating and management policy. Under the conference bill, he may appoint a Commissioner to assist him in these duties. As it passed the Senate, the bill would have created a Federal Flood Insurance Administration as an agency of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and would have required a Commissioner to head that Administration to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Sen-

ate bill would also have vested operating and management control in the Commissioner.

3. The conference bill modifies the definition of "flood" to make it clear that the insurance and loan-contract program will cover, among other forms of water damage, surface landslides due to excess moisture, thus excluding underground cave-ins. As it passed the Senate, the bill defined "flood" to include, among other things, any landslide due to excess moisture.

This concludes a summation of the matters on which the Senate receded to the House. In two respects the House receded to the Senate in the conference bill.

First, the House receded to the Senate on the ratemaking provisions so that the maximum subsidy on the rate for insurance or loan contracts is 40 percent. As the bill passed the House it would have placed no limit on the amount of subsidy for flood insurance or loan contracts issued to owner-occupants of dwellings.

Second, the House also receded to the Senate on certain technical changes affecting the requirement for State participation in paying subsidies under the program after June 30, 1959.

While I personally am not pleased with all the provisions of this bill, I am happy that for the first time the Congress of the United States is placing the finishing touches on an experimental program of flood insurance that should go far toward relieving the anguish of those affected by floodwaters. Deficiencies in the program can be spotted as the provisions of the statute are placed in actual operation. These defects can be remedied by future legislation where it is advisable. The important thing is that the conference bill will accomplish a humanitarian and practical method of helping flood victims to help themselves through a program of insurance. I urge immediate adoption of the conference report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report. The report was agreed to.

MUTUAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the conference report on the mutual security appropriation bill is at the desk. The Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] will call it up.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the report.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The report will be read for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the report. (For conference report, see House proceedings of today.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I ask that the report be agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the report.

The report was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the House of Rep-

representatives announcing its action on certain amendments of the Senate to House bill 12130, which was read as follows:

In the House of Representatives, U. S.,
July 26, 1956.

Resolved, That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 18 and 27 to the bill (H. R. 12130) making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and concur therein;

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, and concur therein with an amend-

ment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed by said amendment, insert: " *Provided*, That at least \$50,000,000 on a grant basis shall be made available for Spain, exclusive of interregional expenses: *Provided further*, That not less than \$18,500,000 of the amount available for Spain shall be used for agricultural commodities."

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question

is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Arizona.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I have a table which reflects the amount of the bill as passed by the House, the amount of the bill as passed by the Senate, and the amount carried by the conference report, in the case of each item. I ask that the table be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Comparative statement on mutual security appropriations bill, 1957

Items	Appropriations, 1956	Estimates, 1957	Recommended in House bill, 1957	Recommended by Senate, 1957	Conference agreement
MILITARY ASSISTANCE					
Appropriation.....	\$1,022,200,000	\$3,000,000,000	\$1,735,000,000	\$2,300,000,000	\$2,017,500,000
Unobligated and unreserved balance.....	33,900,000	166,600,000	195,500,000	195,500,000	195,500,000
Total, military assistance.....	1,056,100,000	3,166,600,000	1,930,500,000	2,495,500,000	2,213,000,000
DEFENSE SUPPORT					
Europe.....	85,500,000	78,700,000	63,700,000	71,200,000	68,700,000
Near East and Africa.....	113,700,000	170,000,000	165,000,000	170,000,000	167,500,000
Asia:					
Appropriation.....	800,000,000	882,000,000	865,000,000	882,000,000	873,500,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000				
Subtotal, Asia.....	825,000,000	882,000,000	865,000,000	882,000,000	873,500,000
Latin America.....			35,000,000	52,000,000	52,000,000
Total, defense support:					
Appropriation.....	999,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	1,175,200,000	1,161,700,000
Unobligated balance.....	25,000,000				
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	1,024,200,000	1,130,700,000	1,128,700,000	1,175,200,000	1,161,700,000
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE					
Near East and Africa.....	73,000,000	63,000,000	69,000,000	293,000,000	250,000,000
Asia.....	51,000,000	80,000,000	70,000,000		
Latin America.....	38,000,000	27,000,000			
Total, development assistance.....	162,000,000	170,000,000	130,000,000	293,000,000	250,000,000
TECHNICAL COOPERATION					
General authorization.....	127,500,000	140,500,000	135,000,000	140,500,000	135,000,000
United Nations program.....	24,000,000	15,500,000	10,000,000	15,500,000	15,500,000
Organization of American States.....	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Total, technical cooperation.....	153,000,000	157,500,000	146,500,000	157,500,000	152,000,000
OTHER PROGRAMS					
Special assistance, joint control areas.....	21,000,000	12,200,000	12,200,000	12,200,000	12,200,000
Special Presidential fund.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000
Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.....	12,500,000	12,500,000	12,500,000	12,500,000	12,500,000
United Nations refugee fund.....	1,200,000	2,300,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	1,900,000
Escapee program.....	6,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
United Nations Children's Fund.....	14,500,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000
United Nations Relief and Works Agency:					
Appropriation.....	58,366,750				
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	62,000,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000
North Atlantic Treaty Organization.....	3,700,000				
Ocean freight, voluntary relief shipments.....	2,000,000	1,400,000	1,400,000	3,000,000	2,500,000
Ocean freight, surplus agricultural commodities.....	13,000,000	14,000,000			
Control Act expenses.....	1,175,000	1,175,000	1,175,000	1,175,000	1,175,000
Administrative expenses.....	33,500,000	35,250,000	34,145,000	33,045,000	33,595,000
President's fund for Asian development.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000		
Special authorization for Middle East and Africa.....		5,950,000	5,500,000	5,500,000	5,500,000
Foreign reactor projects.....					
Total, other programs:					
Appropriation.....	366,941,750	401,775,000	284,920,000	185,220,000	185,370,000
Unobligated balance.....	3,633,250	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000	45,300,000
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	370,575,000	447,075,000	330,220,000	230,520,000	230,670,000
Total, mutual security:					
Appropriation.....	2,703,341,750	4,859,975,000	3,425,120,000	4,110,920,000	3,766,570,000
Unobligated balance.....	62,533,250	211,900,000	240,800,000	240,800,000	240,800,000
Total appropriation and unobligated balance.....	2,765,875,000	5,071,875,000	3,665,920,000	4,351,720,000	4,007,370,000
Conference agreement under Senate bill.....					344,350,000
Conference agreement over House bill.....					341,450,000

COMPARISON OF ESTIMATES AND APPROPRIATIONS, 84TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the Congress has now completed action on all of the regular and supplemental appropriation bills for this year. I have a table which reflects the action of the House of Representatives and the action of the Senate on the budget estimates submitted to each body. The final amount approved for the regular and supplemental appropriation bills for 1957

is \$59,729,807,628. This amount is a net decrease of \$220,529,181 from the budget estimates of \$59,950,336,809 submitted to the Senate. The table does not reflect permanent appropriations, estimated to total \$7,564,859,833, which required no further action from Congress.

The table also shows action by the Congress on deficiencies and supplementals for 1956. The final amount approved for these was \$918,109,962, which is a decrease of \$24,531,766 below estimates of \$942,641,728 submitted to the Senate.

The grand total of all appropriations approved by the 84th Congress, 2d session, amounts to \$60,647,917,590, which is \$245,060,947 below the budget estimates of \$60,892,978,537 considered by the Senate during the session. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a table showing the details on the appropriation for each department for the session.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Comparison of estimates and appropriations, 84th Cong., 2d sess.

Department or establishment	Estimates considered by House	Reported to House		Passed House		Estimates considered by Senate	Reported to Senate	
		Date	Amount	Date	Amount		Date	Amount
Regular annual acts, 1957:								
Agriculture.....	\$1,987,302,268	May 11	\$1,983,512,568	May 14	\$1,983,512,568	\$1,989,841,668	May 18	\$2,016,771,068
Commerce.....	1,552,673,000	Apr. 27	1,382,003,000	May 2	1,382,003,000	1,522,673,000	May 23	1,445,566,000
Defense.....	34,147,850,000	May 3	33,635,066,000	May 10	33,635,066,000	34,147,850,000	June 18	34,983,734,000
District of Columbia.....	(182,899,500)	Mar. 15	(179,797,800)	Mar. 19	(179,797,800)	(182,899,500)	June 1	(181,682,050)
Federal payment.....	22,358,650	do	22,358,650	do	22,358,650	22,358,650	do	22,708,650
General Government.....	15,014,475	Feb. 27	14,849,275	Mar. 1	14,849,275	15,014,475	May 24	14,969,975
Independent offices.....	5,783,704,000	Mar. 2	6,005,157,260	Mar. 7	6,010,543,290	5,783,704,000	do	5,916,997,258
Interior.....	426,748,200	Feb. 17	415,963,200	Feb. 21	415,963,200	435,142,300	Apr. 17	433,851,400
Labor—HEW.....	2,363,618,400	Mar. 2	2,296,810,781	Mar. 5	2,296,981,781	2,363,885,400	June 1	2,372,023,281
Legislative.....	33,664,903	May 24	89,376,450	May 29	89,376,450	122,496,933	June 14	117,804,058
Mutual security.....	4,859,975,000	July 6	3,425,120,000	July 11	3,425,120,000	4,859,975,000	July 14	4,105,420,000
Public Works.....	818,501,000	May 21	787,453,000	May 22	790,758,000	818,501,000	June 8	871,886,000
State—Justice—Judiciary.....	593,164,820	Apr. 20	541,367,372	Apr. 25	541,367,372	599,104,820	May 21	556,271,517
Treasury, Post Office.....	3,649,872,000	Feb. 3	3,618,699,000	Feb. 7	3,618,699,000	3,649,872,000	Mar. 6	3,639,579,000
Subtotal, regular annual acts.....	56,289,481,710		54,217,736,566		54,226,598,586	56,330,419,246		56,497,582,207
Supplemental acts, 1957:								
The supplemental, 1957.....	1,222,849,525	July 7	1,555,536,425	July 12	1,555,589,275	1,254,364,525	July 14	1,722,089,675
Second supplemental, 1957.....	1,912,095,000	July 20	2,341,895,000	July 24	1,941,895,000	2,365,553,038	July 24	2,311,391,438
Subtotal, regular and supplemental acts, 1957.....	59,424,426,241		58,115,166,981		57,724,082,861	59,950,336,809		60,531,063,320
Deficiencies and supplementals, 1956:								
Urgent deficiency, 1956.....	64,505,201	Feb. 3	64,504,201	Feb. 7	64,670,201	64,505,201	Feb. 8	70,195,066
Second supplemental, 1956.....	835,902,923	Mar. 15	795,743,823	Mar. 21	795,768,823	878,136,527	Apr. 11	858,864,176
Labor, 1956.....		do		Mar. 15			Mar. 15	
Subtotal, deficiencies and supplementals, 1956.....	900,408,124		857,248,024		860,439,024	942,641,728		929,059,242
Grand total, 84th Cong., 2d sess.....	60,324,834,365		58,972,415,005		58,584,521,885	60,892,978,537		61,460,122,562

Department or establishment	Passed Senate		Public law		Increase (+) or decrease (−) compared to budget estimates to Senate	Bill No.	Law No.
	Date	Amount	Date	Amount			
Regular annual acts, 1957:							
Agriculture.....	May 22	\$2,018,331,068	June 4	\$1,993,744,968	+\$3,903,300	11777	554
Commerce.....	May 31	1,446,316,000	June 19	1,416,732,000	−105,941,000	10899	604
Defense.....	June 26	34,783,734,000	July 2	34,656,727,000	+508,877,000	10986	639
District of Columbia.....	June 5	(181,687,490)	June 29	(181,682,490)	(−1,287,010)	10003	637
Federal payment.....	do	22,708,650	do	22,558,650	+200,000		
General Government.....	June 6	14,969,975	June 13	14,969,975	−44,500	9536	578
Independent offices.....	do	5,925,187,646	June 27	5,966,517,826	+182,813,826	9739	623
Interior.....	Apr. 23	433,876,400	June 13	423,934,100	−11,208,200	9390	573
Labor—HEW.....	June 5	2,372,523,281	June 29	2,366,380,781	+2,495,381	9720	635
Legislative.....	June 18	117,804,058	June 27	117,804,058	−4,692,875	11473	624
Mutual security.....	July 24	4,110,920,000		3,766,570,000	−1,093,405,000	12130	
Public Works.....	June 13	872,186,000	July 2	856,727,000	−38,226,000	11319	641
State—Justice—Judiciary.....	May 25	556,271,517	June 19	548,930,957	−80,173,863	10721	603
Treasury, Post Office.....	Mar. 7	3,639,579,000	Apr. 2	3,629,139,000	−20,733,000	9064	467
Subtotal, regular annual acts.....		56,314,407,595		55,780,736,315	−549,682,931		
Supplemental acts, 1957:							
The Supplemental, 1957.....	July 16	1,724,639,675		1,691,341,875	+436,977,350	12138	
Second supplemental, 1957.....	July 25	2,316,142,438		2,257,729,438	−107,823,600	12350	
Subtotal, regular and supplemental acts, 1957.....		60,355,189,708		59,729,807,628	−220,529,181		
Deficiencies and supplementals, 1956:							
Urgent deficiency, 1956.....	Feb. 10	65,695,066	Feb. 14	65,695,066	+1,189,865	9063	406
Second supplemental, 1956.....	Apr. 12	838,864,176	May 19	852,414,896	−25,721,631	10004	533
Labor, 1956.....	Mar. 15					H. J. Res. 582	432
Subtotal, deficiencies and supplementals, 1956.....		904,559,242		918,109,962	−24,531,766		
Grand total, 84th Cong., 2d sess.....		61,259,748,950		\$ 60,647,917,590	−245,060,947		

¹ Amounts shown do not include budget estimates of \$1,150,000,000 for Department of Commerce and \$500,000 for Department of Labor to be derived by transfer from Highway Trust Fund. Conference totals do not include \$800,000,000 for Department of Commerce and \$300,000 for Department of Labor to be derived from Highway

Trust Fund.

² Does not include \$1,200,000,000 contained in H. R. 10654 for acreage reserve and soil conservation payments which the House did not act upon.

³ Does not include permanent appropriations, estimated to total \$7,564,859,833.

Public Law 853 - 84th Congress
Chapter 803 - 2d Session
H. R. 12130

AN ACT

Making appropriations for Mutual Security for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, namely:

Mutual Security
Appropriation
Act, 1957.

MUTUAL SECURITY

For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, as follows:

Military assistance: For assistance authorized by section 103 (a) (3), including not to exceed \$23,000,000 for administrative expenses to carry out the purposes of title I, chapter 1, and section 124, \$2,017,500,000 of which \$67,500,000 shall be available for infrastructure as authorized by section 104 (a); and in addition not to exceed \$195,500,000 of unobligated and unreserved funds heretofore appropriated under authority of section 103 (a), section 104 and section 124 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, are continued available until June 30, 1957, for the purposes of sections 103 (a) (3) and 104: *Provided*, That none of the funds made available for military assistance under this Act shall be used to furnish military equipment to Yugoslavia except for maintenance of equipment heretofore furnished or to provide spare parts for replacement purposes;

Ante, p. 555.

69 Stat. 284.
22 USC 1834.

22 USC 1814.

Restriction.

Defense support: For assistance authorized by section 131 (c), for Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey), \$68,700,000: *Provided*, That at least \$50,000,000 on a grant basis shall be available for Spain, exclusive of inter-regional expenses: *Provided further*, That not less than \$18,500,000 of the amount available for Spain shall be used for agricultural commodities; for the Near East (including Greece and Turkey) and Africa, \$167,500,000; for Asia, \$873,500,000; and for Latin America, \$52,000,000, of which not less than \$15,000,000 shall be used for assistance to Guatemala;

Ante, p. 556.

70 Stat. 733.
70 Stat. 734.

Development assistance: For assistance authorized by section 201, \$250,000,000;

Technical cooperation, general authorization: For assistance authorized by section 304 (b), \$135,000,000;

Ante, p. 557.

United Nations expanded program of technical assistance: For contributions authorized by section 306 (a), which shall constitute the total United States contribution through December 31, 1957, \$15,500,000: *Provided*, That the United States contribution to the 1958 calendar year program shall not exceed 33.33 per centum of the United Nations program;

Ante, p. 557.

Technical cooperation programs of the Organization of American States: For contributions authorized by section 306 (b), \$1,500,000;

Ante, p. 557.

Special Presidential Fund: For assistance authorized by section 401 (b), \$100,000,000;

Special assistance in joint control areas in Europe: For assistance authorized by section 403 (b), \$12,200,000;

Ante, p. 558.

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration: For contributions authorized by section 405 (a), \$12,500,000: *Provided*, That no funds appropriated in this Act shall be used to assist directly in the migration to any nation in the Western Hemisphere of any person not having a security clearance based on reasonable standards to insure against Communist infiltration in the Western Hemisphere:

22 USC 1925.
Restriction.

Ante, p. 558. United Nations Refugee Fund: For contributions authorized by section 405 (c), which shall constitute the total United States contribution through June 30, 1957, \$1,900,000;

Ante, p. 558. Escapee program: For assistance authorized by section 405 (d), \$6,000,000;

Ante, p. 558. United Nations Children's Fund: For contributions authorized by section 406 (b), which shall constitute the total United States contribution through December 31, 1957, \$10,000,000;

22 USC 1927. United Nations Relief and Works Agency: For contributions authorized by section 407 (b), \$45,300,000 of unobligated balances of funds appropriated under this head in the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956, are continued available through June 30, 1957, for the purposes authorized by section 407;

69 Stat. 436. Ocean freight charges, United States voluntary relief agencies: For payments authorized by section 409 (c), \$2,500,000;

Ante, p. 558. Control Act expenses: For carrying out the purposes of the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, as authorized by section 410, \$1,175,000;

Ante, p. 558. Administrative expenses: For expenses authorized by section 411 (b), \$33,595,000;

Ante, p. 565. Foreign research reactor projects: For expenses necessary to enable the President to carry out foreign research reactor projects authorized by section 12 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956, \$5,500,000;

68 Stat. 830. Funds appropriated under each paragraph of this Act (other than appropriations under the head of military assistance), including specified amounts of unobligated balances, and amounts certified pursuant to section 1311 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1955, as having been obligated against appropriations heretofore made for the same general purpose as such paragraph, which amounts are hereby continued available during the fiscal year 1957, may be consolidated in one account for each paragraph.

31 USC 200.

70 Stat. 734.
70 Stat. 735.

Engineering fees.
Reports to Congressional committees.

Foreign currency.
66 Stat. 662.
31 USC 724.

65 Stat. 373.
22 USC 1651 note.

Foreign government debts.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 102. Payments made from funds appropriated herein for engineering fees and services to any individual engineering firm on any one project in excess of \$25,000 shall be reported to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives at least twice annually.

SEC. 103. Pursuant to section 1415 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1953, and in addition to other amounts made available pursuant to said section, not to exceed the equivalent of \$2,000,000 of foreign currencies or credits owed to or owned by the United States shall remain available until expended, without reimbursement to the Treasury, for liquidation of obligations incurred against such currencies or credits prior to July 1, 1953, pursuant to authority contained in the Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended, and Acts for which funds were authorized by that Act and, hereafter, foreign currencies generated under the provisions of this Act shall be utilized only for the purposes for which the funds providing the commodities which generated the currency were appropriated.

SEC. 104. None of the funds provided by this Act nor any of the counterpart funds generated as a result of assistance under this or any other Act shall be used to make payments on account of the principal or interest on any debt of any foreign government or on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; nor shall any of these funds be expended for any purpose for which funds have been withdrawn by any recipient country to make payment on such debts: *Provided, however,* That to the extent that funds have

been borrowed by any foreign government in order to make a deposit of counterpart and such deposit is in excess of the amount that would be required to be deposited pursuant to the formula prescribed by section 142 (b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, such counterpart may be used in such country for any agreed purpose consistent with the provisions of such Act. 69 Stat. 285.
22 USC 1852.

SEC. 105. Except for the appropriation entitled "Special Presidential Fund", not more than 20 per centum of any appropriation item made available by this Act shall be obligated and/or reserved during the last two months of the fiscal year. Restriction.

SEC. 106. Section 108 of the Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1956 (Public Law 208, 84th Congress), is hereby amended by substituting "during the two succeeding fiscal years" for "until June 30, 1958" in the third sentence thereof, and by substituting "under the authority of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended" for "in this Act" in the fifth proviso thereof. 69 Stat. 438.

SEC. 107. None of the funds contained in this Act shall be used to carry out the purposes of section 13 of the Mutual Security Act of 1956. Ante, p. 566.

SEC. 108. The Congress hereby reiterates its opposition to the seating in the United Nations of the Communist China regime as the representative of China, and it is hereby declared to be the continuing sense of the Congress that the Communist regime in China has not demonstrated its willingness to fulfill the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and should not be recognized to represent China in the United Nations. In the event of the seating of representatives of the Chinese Communist regime in the Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations, the President is requested to inform the Congress insofar as is compatible with the requirements of national security, of the implications of this action upon the foreign policy of the United States and our foreign relationships, including that created by membership in the United Nations, together with any recommendations which he may have with respect to the matter. Seating of Communist China in U. N., opposition.
Presidential report to Congress.

SEC. 109. This Act may be cited as the "Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1957". Short title.

Approved July 31, 1956.

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